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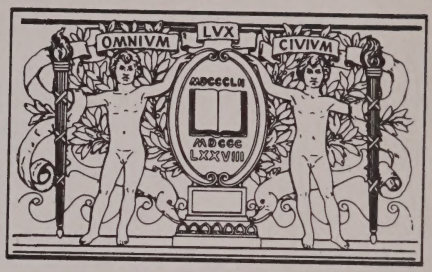

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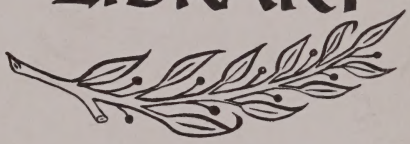

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VOL. XLVII.

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CONTENTS

OF

No. C.

Art.		Page
I.	Fifty Years of Ohio	1
	1. The Statutes of Ohio and of the North Western Territory, adopted or enacted from 1788 to 1833, inclusive; together with the Ordinance of 1787. Edited by Salmon P. Chase.	
	2. The Ohio Gazetteer and Traveller's Guide. By Warren Jenkins.	
II.	Milton	56
	The Poetical Works of John Milton.	
III.	Political Economy.	73
	Principles of Political Economy. Part the First. Of the Laws of the Production and Distribution of Wealth. By Henry C. Carey.	
IV.	Anglo-Saxon Literature	90
	1. A Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language. With a Preface on the Germanic Tongues, a Map of Languages, and the Essentials of Anglo-Saxon Grammar. By the Rev. J. Bosworth.	
	2. King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Boëthius, "De Consolatione Philosophiæ"; with an English Translation, and Notes. By J. S. Cardale.	
	3. Analecta Anglo-Saxonica. A Selection, in Prose and Verse, from Anglo-Saxon Authors of various Ages, with a Glossary. By Benj. Thorpe.	
	4. Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry. By John Josias Conybeare.	
	5. The Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf, the Traveller's Song, and the Battle of Finnesburgh, edited, together with a Glossary of the more difficult Words, and an Historical Preface, by John M. Kemble.	
V.	McKenney and Hall's Indian History . . .	134
	History of the Indian Tribes of North America, with Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of the	

Principal Chiefs. By Thomas L. McKenney, late of the Indian Department at Washington; and James Hall, of Cincinnati.

VI. Fashions in Dress 148
National Standard of Costumes. A Lecture on the Changes of Fashion, delivered before the Portsmouth Lyceum, by Charles W. Brewster.

VII. Holmes's Prize Dissertations 161
Boylston Prize Dissertations for the Years 1836 and 1837. By Oliver Wendell Holmes, M. D.

VIII. Voyages of the Zeni 177
1. Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed, udgivet af det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab. Andet Bind.
(Bemaerkninger over de Venetianerne Zeni tilskrevne Reiser i Norden; af C. C. Zahrtmann.
2. The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London. Volume the Fifth.
(Remarks on the Voyages to the Northern Hemisphere, ascribed to the Zeni of Venice. By Captain C. C. Zahrtmann.

IX. Romantic Poetry in Italy 206
1. L' Ildegonda e la Fuggitiva, Novelle Romantiche di Tommaso Grossi.
2. I Lombardi alla Prima Crociata, Canti Quindici di Tommaso Grossi.
3. Ulrico e Lida, Novella di Tommaso Grossi.
4. L' Esule di Pietro Giannone.
5. Poesie di Giovanni Berchet.

X. Critical Notices.
1. Stearns's Life and Discourses 236
2. Jackson's Geology of Maine 241
3. Mariotti's Romanze 244
4. Vethake's Political Economy 246
5. Geology and Zoology of Massachusetts . . 250
6. State Historical Societies 253
7. Products of Industry in Massachusetts . 255
8. Bradbury's History of Kennebunk Port . 259
9. Everett's Address at Williamstown . . . 261

Editor's Note 262

Quarterly List of New Publications 263

CONTENTS

OF

No. CI.

ART. PAGE

I. COMMON SCHOOL EDUCATION 273

1. The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Chapter Fifth.

2. The Revised Statutes of Massachusetts.

3. An Act authorizing the Establishment of District School Libraries.

4. An Act to establish a Board of Education.

5. An Act concerning Schools.

6. First Annual Report of the Board of Education, with the First Annual Report of the Secretary.

7. Report of the Secretary of the Board of Education, on the Subject of School Houses, supplementary to his First Annual Report.

8. Report on Elementary Public Instruction in Europe. By C. E. STOWE.

9. Report and Resolves relative to qualifying Teachers of Common Schools.

10. Abstract of the Massachusetts School Returns, for 1837.

11. Resolves relative to qualifying Teachers for Common Schools.

II. SPARKS'S LIFE AND WRITINGS OF WASHINGTON . 318

The Writings of GEORGE WASHINGTON ; being his Correspondence, Addresses, Messages, and Other Papers, Official and Private, selected and published from the Original Manuscripts, with a Life of the Author, Notes, and Illustrations. By JARED SPARKS.

III. AMERICAN HEALTH CONVENTION 381

Proceedings of the American Health Convention, assembled in Boston, May 30th, 1838.

IV. EMBASSIES TO EASTERN ASIA 395

1. Embassy to the Eastern Courts of Cochin-China, Siam, Muscat, in the United States Sloop of War Peacock, David Geisinger, Commander, during the Years 1832–3–4. By EDMUND ROBERTS.

2. A Voyage round the World ; including an

Embassy to Muscat and Siam, in 1835–37. By W. S. W. Ruschenberger.
3. Outline of a Consular Establishment for the United States of America in Eastern Asia.

V. Kenrick's American Orchardist 423
The New American Orchardist. By William Kenrick.

VI. Lieber's Essay on Penal Law 452
A Popular Essay on Subjects of Penal Law and on Uninterrupted Solitary Confinement at Labor. By Francis Lieber.

VII. Probus 464
Probus, or Rome in the Third Century. In Letters from Lucius M. Piso, from Rome, to Fausta the Daughter of Gracchus, at Palmyra.

VIII. Dewey's Discourses. 469
Moral Views of Commerce, Society, and Politics, in Twelve Discourses. By Orville Dewey.

IX. Kingsley Historical Discourse 480
A Historical Discourse before the Citizens of New Haven, April 25th, 1838, the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the First Settlement of the Town and Colony. By James L. Kingsley.

X. Critical Notices.
1. Historical Sketches of the Old Painters . . 485
2. Cooper's Homeward Bound 488
3. Writings of Mrs. Gilman 489
4. Joanna of Naples 491
5. Literary Addresses 493
6. Lieber's Political Ethics. 494
7. Records of Travel 495
8. Guizot on European Civilization 496
9. Wines on School Discipline 498
10. Hall on the Western States 499
11. Jewett's Passages in Foreign Travel . . . 501
12. Sketches of a New England Village . . . 502
13. Spencer's Edition of De Tocqueville . . . 503
14. Drake's Black Hawk 504
15. Morris's Poems 504

Quarterly List of New Publications 505

Index 513

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. C.

JULY, 1838.

ART. I. — 1. *The Statutes of Ohio and of the North Western Territory, adopted or enacted from* 1788 *to* 1833, *inclusive; together with the Ordinance of* 1787. Edited by SALMON P. CHASE. Cincinnati: 1833–4–5. Three volumes, large octavo.

2. *The Ohio Gazetteer and Traveller's Guide; containing a Description of the several Towns, Townships, and Counties, with their Water Courses, Roads, Improvements, Mineral Productions*, &c. &c. First revised Edition. By WARREN JENKINS. Columbus: 1837. 12mo. pp. 546.

"A LITTLE after eleven o'clock, on the night following our elections in this place," says a letter from Cincinnati, written in October, 1837, "I was called to the door by a very vigorous rapping. It was some one in great haste to know the result of the day's work, and who had mistaken our house for the one in which the votes were to be counted. After directing him aright, I threw the door open a little wider, that I might see what young patriot this was, that so keenly desired to know the state of parties. The light of the hall lamp fell full on his face. It was Hezekiah Flint, one of the first band of white men, that ever came to reside in the wilds of Ohio."

Such facts are startling. In the stranger to Ohio history,

it requires an effort of imagination, to conceive of one of the founders of that great and populous State, as still an active and strong man, out at midnight to learn the result of an election. But a few facts and a little thought do away the wonder; for it was but fifty years, last April, since the first band of white residents entered what now forms the State of Ohio; and every one of the many men of seventy, yet vigorous and stirring, was entering into busy life, when the plain upon which Cincinnati is built was sold for less than fifty silver dollars!

Nor is this growth surprising, except that it is without precedent. The causes fully explain the result. Land so cheap, and labor so high, that a day's work would buy an acre; titles direct from government; a climate temperate and healthful; and, above all, a national compact, forbidding slavery, securing civil and religious freedom, and all those privileges that others had struggled for through ages of blood and turmoil, — these were mighty inducements to the worn soldiers and impoverished yeomen of Massachusetts and New Jersey. Never, since the golden age of the poets, did that song, of which Mr. Butler makes mention in his History of Kentucky, "the syren song of peace and of farming," reach so many ears, and gladden so many hearts, as after Wayne's treaty at Greenville in 1795. "The Ohio" seemed to be, literally, a land flowing with milk and honey. The farmer wrote home, of a soil "richer to appearance than can possibly be made by art"; of "plains and meadows, without the labor of hands, sufficient to support millions of cattle summer and winter"; of wheat lands, that "will, I think, vie with the island of Sicily";* and of bogs, from which might be gathered cranberries enough to make tarts for all New England; while the lawyer said, that, as he rode the circuit, his horse's legs were dyed to the knee with the juice of the wild strawberry. At that time the dreadful fevers of 1807 and 1822 were not dreamed of; the administration of Washington had healed the divisions among the States; the victory of Wayne had brought to terms the dreaded savages; and, as the dweller upon the barren shore of the Atlantic remembered these things, and the wonderful fact, in addition, that the inland garden to which he was invited was crossed

* Written in 1786; *Secret Journals of Congress*, Vol. IV. p. 322.

in every direction by streams, even then counted on as affording means for free commercial intercourse, and that it possessed, beside, nearly seven hundred miles of river and lake coast, the inducements for emigration became too strong to be resisted ; the wagon was tinkered up at once, the harness patched anew, and a few weeks found the fortune-seeker looking down from the Chesnut Ridge, or Laurel Hill, upon the far-reaching forests of the West.

But, should the inquirer turn from the bare fact of Ohio's growth, and a view of the great causes which have produced it, and ask a detail of the operation of those causes, we are forced to tell him, that even the *annals* of that State are still to be compiled. A philosophical history cannot be yet looked for. The great movement which has begun at the West, the men of this day cannot see the scope or end of. They can but note down what passes before them from hour to hour, as the astronomers of old noted the motions of the sun and stars ; in the hope that, by and by, a political Copernicus and Newton may come, who will reduce their seeming discords to harmony, and, amid apparent chaos, show order and beauty.

Even the labor of collecting historical materials has but now begun. The first effort of importance was made by the Historical Society of the State last December, and that will avail nothing unless followed up by strong and persevering action. Of individual effort nothing is worth notice except Mr. Chase's three volumes, containing the whole body of statute law, beginning in 1788 and extending to 1833, prefaced by a sketch of the State history. This work may rank first among the materials for the future historian, as the legislation of a democratic community is the best permanent exponent of its character ; and, but for the compiler of these volumes, portions of even the legislation of this young land would, probably, soon have been lost. "It was absolutely impossible," says Mr. Chase, "to procure a complete set of the territorial laws. Of the laws of 1792 but a single copy is known to have existed in the State. The State library contained none, and none remained among the rolls in the office of the Secretary ;* and those that have written mere local and partial sketches have done it too often carelessly, and have produced a strange confusion

* Chase, *Statutes*, Vol. I. p. 5.

respecting many recent facts, some of which we shall have occasion to mention further, by and by. Mr. Butler, whose general care and accuracy we have had occasion to praise heretofore, has made some blunders, through sheer heedlessness in copying, — as where he quotes Sparks's account of Gist's journey down the Ohio in 1751, and substitutes *Scioto* for *Miami*, and *November* for *February*;* and even Mr. Chase, by following Blunt's "Historical Sketch," (which, by the way, he refers to erroneously, as an Appendix to the *American Annual Register* of 1825–6, † it having been bound up with that volume, though published two years before, and to be had without it,) instead of consulting the Journals of Congress, has been betrayed into one or two very erroneous statements; while Messrs. Flint and Hall, the two writers whose beauty of description and ease of style will attract most readers, are peculiarly open to the charge of carelessness.

One instance of this occurs with regard to La Salle's second voyage to the Mississippi, in 1683, in which year that most persevering man went from Canada, down the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, to the Gulf of Mexico. Mr. Flint, speaking of this voyage, tells us, that La Salle on his way down, founded the towns of Kaskaskia and Cahokia,‡ left them in charge of Tonti, and then returned to Canada;§ while Mr. Hall quotes a Monsieur Jontel, to show that he landed at the mouth of the Mississippi in 1683, and ascended that river.‖ From what source Mr. Flint drew his information we know not; but the writer referred to by Mr. Hall, (and whose name was Joutel not Jontel,) was the chronicler

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* Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. II. pp. 37, 480. — Butler's *History*, Introd. p. xxiv. — The same error occurs in his *Western Chronology*.

† *Statutes*, Vol. I. pp. 10, 11, &c.

‡ Holmes (*Annals*, Vol. I. p 487) quotes *American State Papers*, Vol. XI. p. 35, for the settlement of Kaskaskia, in 1703. The reference should be to Vol. XII.; but the authority is of little weight; the assertion respecting the settlement of that town being in a note to the American Secretary of State, from Onis, the Spanish minister; the historical blunders of which note are pointed out in the reply of Mr. Adams, referred to in the text. But there is no reason to think that La Salle ever heard of the places named by Mr. Flint. Neither Tonti, nor Joutel, who went up the Mississippi after La Salle's death, mention them, and the place of which La Salle gave to the former the command was Fort St. Louis, upon the Illinois.

§ *Indian Wars of the West*, p. 22.

‖ *Western Sketches*, Vol. I. p. 141. This passage, and most of that division of the volume in which it occurs, are reprinted from the *Illinois Magazine* for 1831 – 2.

of La Salle's last voyage, which brought him to the mainland of America in February, 1685. Had these writers consulted even Holmes's *Annals*, (which were published before the works in which these errors occur,) they could not have made the mistakes in question; but (and it is a curious fact) neither Flint, Hall, Holmes, nor Butler, refers, when speaking of La Salle, to the detailed account of that leader's adventures drawn up by the Chevalier Tonti, his lieutenant, and by him presented to the King of France; which account was translated and published in London, in 1698, and the translation reprinted entire in the Collections of the New York Historical Society for 1814; and the main facts again republished, with other valuable matters relating to the West, in a note from J. Q. Adams to the Spanish minister, in the twelfth volume of "American State Papers," in 1819.

A still more glaring case of carelessness, and one that may well excite a smile, occurs in the first volume of Mr. Hall's *Sketches*, (page 188,) where he enters into a learned discussion with regard to the probable reasons which governed those who planned the defences of old Fort Pitt; and concludes, that they must have been either led away by their military habits, in opposition to the dictates of prudence, or wished to awe the Indians by the show of unreal power; all which argument is based upon the idea, that "in those days there was little or no artillery west of the mountains."* But Washington's Journal, in 1753, speaks of eight pieces of cannon at the fort on French Creek, which he visited; and Holmes could have informed Mr. Hall, that the fort, which the English had begun at the Fork of the Ohio,† was taken by the French, on the 17th of April 1754, with

* All this passage is a reprint of part of the second of a series of "Letters from the West," written by Mr. Hall in 1820 for the *Portfolio*, and reprinted in a volume in London, 1828. We have no fault to find with Mr. Hall for reprinting his Magazine writings in his "Sketches," as he has, in the Preface, stated the fact, that his volumes are compiled, not written anew. But we do think that one, who claims to be thought high authority, is blamable for reprinting periodical articles of an historical kind, in a permanent form, without revision and correction; particularly after having been so often ridiculed for his disquisition upon the word *chute* (*Letters from the West*, p. 185); which he was very much puzzled by, though, apparently (see those Letters, p. 197, &c.) an adept in French.

† Holmes's *Annals*, (Vol. II. p. 53,) and Marshall's *Life of Washington*, (last edition, Vol. I. p. 4,) speak of this fort, as on "the southern branch of the Ohio," and as in possession of workmen employed by the Ohio Company; but Washington's letters (Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. II. pp. 1, 6) show it to have been at "the fork," and in possession of Virginia troops.

eighteen pieces ; and that Braddock's advance, of twelve hundred men, carried to their field of defeat ten pieces ; while honest Frederic Post could have told him, that, on the 3d of December, 1758, after Forbes had taken Fort Du Quesne, his party was greeted by its garrison "with twelve great guns." *

We mention these errors not from the mere love of fault-finding, — the pleasures of which, however, neither critic nor gossip can dispute, — but because we think entire accuracy desirable, even in small matters, while it can yet be arrived at without long study. On this ground we shall notice whatever mistakes come in our way, and, where we err ourselves, trust that we may find a corrector in our turn.

From what we have said, it must be evident, that, although the completion of the first half-century, since the settlement of Ohio, makes a notice of its progress natural and proper at this time, any thing like a complete view of that progress must be out of the question. Had we the materials, they could not properly be presented in a general sketch ; and a critical examination could embrace, at any one time, in a work of this kind, but a small portion of the century and a half, elapsed since the first Europeans visited the Ohio valley. We shall, therefore, speak principally of the results, giving such details only as are least accessible and most interesting.

There were a few events, connected with Ohio, previous to the Revolution, which had a bearing upon her present condition. One was, the rejection by France, in 1755, of the offer, made by England, to give up all her claim to the territory west of a line drawn from the mouth of French Creek, † twenty leagues up that stream toward Lake Erie, and from the same point direct to the last mountains of Virginia which descend toward the ocean. ‡ The Indians between this line and the Mississippi were to be considered

* Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*, Vol. II. Appendix. Fort Du Quesne was taken November 25th.

† The spot where Franklin, Venango County, Pennsylvania, now stands. — French Creek was in those times called by the French, *Rivière aux Bœufs* ; and by the English, *Beef River* and *Buffalo River*. — The Alleghany was called sometimes by that name, sometimes *Ohio* ; Washington, in his Journal of 1753, uses both. French Creek was used by the French as their great thoroughfare to the Ohio.

‡ *Secret Journals of Congress*, Vol. IV. p. 74.

independent; but France was to retain Canada, and her settlements on the Illinois and Wabash. Had this offer been accepted, there is little doubt, from the ability always shown by the French in the management of the Indians, that their colonies would have been planted upon the Scioto, the Miami, and the Maumee; so that, even though the country had finally come under the control of the British colonists, it would have borne the marks of French manners, prejudices, and habits. Another event worthy of notice (we omit the war of 1756, as too well known to need comment,) was the proclamation of the King in 1763, after the treaty of Paris, forbidding his governors in America to grant any warrants of survey or patents "for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic ocean from the west or northwest"; or upon any lands not ceded by the Indians.* The effect of this proclamation was to prevent all attempts to settle any part of what now forms the State of Ohio; which, had it been done by Virginia (within whose charter the Northwest Territory was thought to lie), would have been accompanied, probably, by the introduction of slavery; and at any rate by a tinge of monarchical feelings and ways of thought, that, in the twelve years which elapsed before the Revolution, might have obtained some foothold in that territory.

In this manner, the soil of Ohio remained wholly untouched by Europeans until the Revolution. And, during that struggle, it was preserved from settlement by the contest which arose among the States with reference to the ownership of the vacant lands; slavery being thus again prevented from entering its bounds, and the less worthy and moral kept back, until the settlers of Marietta and Cincinnati had given somewhat of a character to the population. Nor was this all; for, when Jefferson's proposal to exclude slavery from the Northwest Territory after 1800 was defeated, it was so by the favorers of slavery, all the free States voting for it; and yet it was to that defeat, that its *total* exclusion was owing, three years later.† — Thus was the State, of which we write, reserved, apparently, until all was ripe, to try within her limits the experiment of dem-

* *Land Laws*, p. 84.

† See *Old Journals*, Vol. IV. p. 373. — Dane's *Abridgment* (Supplement), Vol. IV. Appendix, Note A.

ocratic institutions, originating under the most favorable circumstances. The first men, that trod her soil as citizens, were soldiers of the Revolution; the companions and friends of Washington; and they went to a land which could, when they entered it, bear up, as it has been said, no other than freemen.

The first step, that was taken towards settling the Northwest Territory, was by the presentation of a memorial to Congress, from the officers and soldiers of the revolutionary army, entitled to land-bounties under the Resolves of September 16th, 1776, and August 12th, 1780.* This memorial was forwarded to General Washington by Rufus Putnam, upon the 16th of June, 1783; and by him was transmitted to the President of Congress, together with General Putnam's letter, which gave at length his views respecting the settlement of the western country, and the location of military posts there.† But at that time the final grants of Virginia, Connecticut, and Massachusetts had not been made; and the Federal legislature, upon the 29th of October, 1783, having under consideration a memorial from General Armand, resolved, that, much as they desired to fulfil their engagements to the officers of the army, they could not, at that time, assign to them any particular district.‡

We cannot enter into an examination of the protests, remonstrances, and petitions, which resulted in the cession, by all the States, of their vacant lands to the Union;§ but

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* *Land Laws*, p. 337.

† The letters relating to this petition were sent by Mr. Sparks to the Committee for the Celebration of the Settlement of Ohio, at Cincinnati, 1835, and were by them published, with the Oration of the day, &c.

‡ *Land Laws*, p. 339. — *Old Journals*, Vol. IV. p. 304.

§ The only account of the steps which led to the cessions of Virginia, &c. that is at all complete, is in Blunt's *Historical Sketch*. — The best statement of the grounds upon which Virginia and the other States claimed the West, is to be found in *Secret Journals of Congress*, Vol. III. p. 175. We may here notice an error in Blunt's *Sketch* (p. 71.) which Mr. Chase has copied (p. 13.). After mentioning the Resolution passed by Congress upon the 30th of October, 1779, recommending Virginia to forbear from issuing warrants for unappropriated lands, Mr. Blunt says, "Congress did not confine itself merely to remonstrances; but ordered Colonel Broadhead to be stationed in the western country, with a competent force to prevent intrusions upon that territory. In the execution of these orders, that officer, in the month of October, 1779, being informed, that certain inhabitants of Virginia had crossed the Ohio, he ordered them to be apprehended, &c." The date of the letter from Colonel Broadhead, informing Congress, that he had

must content ourselves with the bare statement, that New York conveyed her claims to Congress on the 1st of March, 1781; that Virginia released hers upon the first of that month, three years later; while Massachusetts delayed till the 19th of April, 1785, and Connecticut till the 14th of September, 1786.

Meanwhile, upon the 22d of October, 1784, the Five Nations had relinquished to the United States all their claims to the grounds west of Pennsylvania;* and, upon the 21st of the following January, the Wyandots and Delawares, by the treaty of Fort McIntosh (which post stood near the ground now occupied by Beaver, Pennsylvania), gave to the whites the whole south of what is now Ohio.† The Indian title being thus done away, and all the State claims but that of Connecticut given up, Congress, upon the 20th of May, 1785, passed their ordinance for the disposal of lands in the West.‡ Under this ordinance, Thomas Hutch-

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expelled these Virginians from beyond the Ohio, is given in the Journals of Congress, and proves it to have been written four days before the passage of the Resolution, in consequence of which, Mr. Blunt's account would lead us to think he was sent to the West; — in which sense Mr. Chase understood it; as he says, "To enforce this recommendation (of October 30th) Colonel Broadhead was stationed in the Western country," &c. — The facts were these; the General Assembly of Pennsylvania sent to Congress, early in 1779, a representation of the exposed state of their frontiers, then threatened by the Indians, acting under British incitement. This, upon the 25th of February, was sent to Washington; who, early in March, sent Colonel Broadhead to Pittsburg, as director of Indian affairs there. At that time the Delawares, who lived along the Ohio from the Muskingum towards Pittsburg, were divided; some, under White-eyes, being for peace, and others, under Pipe, for war. (See Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, Vol. II. p. 122.) — Broadhead, called by them the Great Sun, more than once prevented a union of the whole nation against the Americans, by defending their property from the ravages of the frontier-men; and for this purpose acted as stated in his letter of October 26th; which says, expressly, that he turned the Virginians from the Indian lands, not the disputed territory. While acting to prevent the savages from being wronged by the whites, Broadhead offended many of the latter; but Congress agreed to support him, (*Old Journals*, Vol. III. p. 449.) and, when suits were brought against him, indemnified him, (*Old Journals*, Vol. IV. p. 183). — For Washington's letter, sending Broadhead to the West, see Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. VI. p. 205. — In the Appendix to Vol. VIII. of that work are some remarks, by Madison, on the opposition in Congress to the western claims of Virginia, &c.

* *Land Laws*, p. 122. † *Ibid.* p. 148.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 349. It is worthy of remark, that the first ordinance reported to Congress, May 28th, 1784, proposed to divide the public lands into townships or "hundreds" of ten miles square, each divided again into a hundred parts; the plan next reported, April 26th, 1785, proposed townships seven miles square; and this, during the debate, was altered to six miles square, which was the size suggested by Putnam in 1783.

ins, Geographer of the United States, assisted by a surveyor from each State, proceeded to examine and divide the newly acquired territory.

Among those, who at that time visited the region in question, was Colonel Benjamin Tupper. During the summer and fall of 1785, this gentleman, acting as temporary surveyor for Massachusetts, made himself acquainted with the country about the Muskingum; and, being fairly carried away by its beauty and seeming fertility, was strongly instrumental, it is believed, in causing its selection as the resting-place for the colony that went out nearly two years afterwards, under the patronage of the Ohio Company. Indeed, there is reason to think that Tupper's visit to the West was the immediate cause of the formation of that company; which resulted from a meeting of those entitled to land bounties, called through the newspapers by General Putnam and Colonel Tupper, in January, 1786. The meeting took place upon the 1st of March; the "Ohio Company of Associates" was organized; and the resolution taken, to collect a million dollars' worth of certificates, and to employ some one at the West, who should select a spot, for which they might definitely contract with Congress. Congress, on their part, showed a disposition to do all in their power to forward the settlement of the northwestern lands; and with that view, upon the 21st of April, 1787, passed a resolution, authorizing the sale of those surveyed townships, which might remain after the portion assigned the army had been drawn for, for public securities; the sale to commence upon the 21st of the following September, and the price not to be less than one dollar per acre.*

Before this public disposition of the lands commenced, however, it was the purpose of the Associates to make a separate contract for that part of the territory, which their agent in the West might select as most suitable. This agent was General Samuel Holden Parsons, who, as Indian commissioner, had, in the year 1786, visited the Ohio country as far down, at least, as the mouth of the Great Miami, where a treaty was concluded, on the 31st of January, with "the Shawanoe nation."† This gentleman, in the spring of 1787, selected, after due examination, the same spot which had

* *Old Journals*, Vol. IV. p. 739. † *Ibid.* p. 627. — *Land Laws*, p. 258.

pleased Colonel Tupper, — the valley of the Muskingum. At the mouth of this river he proposed to have the chief city, while the purchase was to stretch along the Ohio to the mouth of the Scioto,* so as to include the half of the rich valley that borders that stream. Many things acted as inducements to this selection; the beautiful scenery and rich soil upon the banks of the clear "Elk-eye";† the protection that would be afforded to the settlers by Fort Harmar, built in 1786, and then the frontier post; the near neighbourhood of Western Virginia, from which men and food might be had in time of need; the knowledge, that within the selected territory were coal, salt, and iron,‡ and (as strong an inducement as any) the expectation, then entertained, that through the Cuyahoga and Muskingum would be the communication between the Ohio and Lake Erie, while the bulk of the Atlantic trade, it was thought, would pass the mountains from James River and the Potomac, and flow down the Kenhawa. §

One other thing is said to have influenced General Parsons; this was the advice of some persons, that were supposed to be good judges, that he should *not* select the spot he did. The story is this, and, as our informant had it from General Rufus Putnam, we presume it to be correct. After General Parsons had examined the country immediately about the junction of the Muskingum with the Ohio, he proceeded up the valley of the former, that he might have a view of the interior. Having gone many miles, he met with one of the Zanes, four of which family were among the most noted of the frontier rangers. ‖ Zane was probably engaged in salt-

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* The Scioto was early famous for its rich bottoms; "for forty miles on each side of it," says Dr. Franklin, in his *Albany Plan of Union*, 1754, "and quite up to its heads, is a body of all rich land; the finest spot of its bigness in all North America."

† The meaning of the Indian word "Muskingum."

‡ In the passage, part of which we have given, from Franklin, in 1754, he refers to "the particular advantage of sea-coal in plenty, (even above ground,) in two places," which recommended the Scioto Valley.

§ See Washington's *Correspondence*, during 1785 – 6; particularly a letter to Knox (Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. IX. p. 110), in which he says, that the confluence of the Kenhawa and Ohio may in time "be a more eligible place than Pittsburg." Under the impression that it might be, the Ohio Company laid out, opposite to the Kenhawa, the town of Fairhaven; which is still but a small village, and will, probably, never be more.

‖ They founded Wheeling in 1770. See Silliman's *Journal*, Vol. XXXI. p. 3.

making at Salt Creek, which runs into the Muskingum, about ten miles below the present town of Zanesville.* Parsons, well knowing that the man he had chanced upon knew, from an acquaintance of fifteen years or more, the whole of what now forms the State of Ohio, asked his advice touching the location of the purchase which the Ohio Company proposed to make. Zane, having pondered the matter, and consulted with some of the old Delaware Indians that lived thereabout, recommended the General to choose either the Miami country, or the valley of the Scioto, in preference to that which he was then examining. What it was that made Parsons doubt the good faith of the pioneer, we know not; but he came to the conclusion that Zane really preferred the Muskingum to any other point, and wished to purchase it himself when the sales should begin during the following September.† This impression did away what little doubt still remained in his mind; and, returning to the east, he laid his proposal to contract with Congress for all the land along the Ohio, between the seventh range of townships and the Scioto, and running back as might be afterwards agreed upon, before the directors of the Company of Associates.

His choice being approved by them, he addressed a memorial to the legislature of the confederation, asking them to empower the Board of Treasury to make the proposed contract. This memorial was reported upon on the 14th of July, the day after the passage of the well-known Ordinance of 1787;‡ and the report was passed, and the Board authorized to make the contract, upon the 23d of that month.§ Information of this act of Congress having reached New York, Rufus Putnam and Manasseh Cutler, for themselves and their associates, wrote upon the 26th to the Board of Treasury, offering to accept the proposition of the report with some few variations, but providing that the company should receive no more land than they paid for. Three months

* Silliman's *Journal*, Vol. XXXI. p. 84.

† This anecdote has been told, somewhat differently, in the *American Quarterly Review*, for March, 1833, p. 100. Had the writer of that article looked at the contract made by the Ohio Company, he would not have said their choice was made when the first settlers were on their way to the West; nor, had he thought a moment, would he have supposed Yankees so shiftless as to take any man's opinion *pro* or *con*, as conclusive in a matter of such importance.

‡ *Old Journals*, Vol. IV. p. 755.

§ *Ibid. Appendix*, p. 17. — *Land Laws*, p. 362.

passed before the contract was finally concluded,* the indenture bearing date October 27th; and, when the patents issued, in 1792, the million and a half of acres named in this contract were diminished to something over eleven hundred thousand; the rise in continental certificates having prevented the Company from securing the sum they had expected. In consequence of this non-performance, by the Associates, of their original plan, they lost the rich lands upon the Scioto, their western range of townships being the fifteenth.

All being now ready for actual emigration, a plan of the city, which was to be built at the mouth of the Muskingum, was prepared in Boston; and, by a vote of the Company in November, one hundred settlers were to be sent forward at once; being furnished with provisions while on the way to the new country, and taken into pay at four dollars per month, from their arrival at Pittsburg till the following May. Each man was to provide himself with "a good musket, bayonet, and cartridge-box"; and if he had besides an axe and hoe, and the mechanic his needful tools, he was to be transported free of cost.† Accordingly, in December, one party assembled at Danvers, Massachusetts, and upon the 1st of January a second detachment left Hartford. Their route was the old road, nearly that followed by Braddock; and it was April before the united parties left the Youghiogany, and began to float down toward their destined home; so that any who might have counted upon the wages which they were to receive after passing Pittsburg, and which were to be paid in land, must have found their farms but small, compared to their expectations.

Upon the 7th of April, 1788, this little band of forty-seven persons landed, and encamped upon the spot where Marietta now stands; and from that day Ohio dates her existence.‡ The river, at whose mouth this first colony of the

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* These matters may be found at length in the *Land Laws*. The price of the land was to be one dollar per acre, subject to a deduction for bad lands, not to exceed 33 cents per acre throughout. One seventh of the purchase might be paid for by warrants for military bounties.

† Carey's *Museum*, 1787, Vol. II., *Chronicle*, page 14.

‡ Many of the facts which we state are derived from oral testimony, in the general accuracy of which we have full confidence; many others might be brought to light by examining the newspapers of the day. The measures taken by the *Ohio Historical Society*, at its last session, will make perma-

new settlers placed itself, was noted, even then, as the scene of many interesting historical events. At the forks of the Muskingum, upon the 9th of November, 1764, Bouquet had received from the Indians two hundred and six persons who had been made captive during the short but bloody war of Pontiac.* Near that spot the first Protestant Christians that lived in Ohio, the Moravians, built their house of worship in 1772.† There dwelt the noble-spirited Logan;‡ and the well-known peace chief of the Delawares.§ Heckewelder labored upon its banks; there, upon the 16th of April, 1781, was born his daughter Maria, the first of the "Buckeyes";‖ and, in one year from that time, was enacted there the most disgraceful of all frontier acts, the murder of the Moravian Indians.¶

Upon these matters we cannot dwell; nor can we, indeed, refer to more than a few events relative to the settlement made by Putnam and his companions. As this settlement was undertaken at a time when Indian hostilities were much to be apprehended, the more remote savages having, the preceding fall, avowed their intention to oppose all attempts to civilize the northwestern wilderness, upon the ground that those, who had made the treaties of 1785 and 1786, were not authorized to do so,** one of the most prominent objects of the settlers was the renewal of these treaties; and the Indians were invited to meet the whites for that purpose in May, at a spot seventy or eighty miles up the Muskingum. Meanwhile, the governor, Arthur St. Clair, who had been appointed upon the 5th of the preceding

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nent the testimony of most of the early pioneers still living. See also some papers on the history of Ohio in the *Western Monthly Magazine*, for 1833.

* Bouquet published an account of his western expeditions of 1763 and 1764, in Philadelphia. The Indians gave up two hundred and six prisoners, and the Shawanese gave hostages for the delivery, in the spring, of a hundred more still in their hands. Holmes (*Annals*, Vol. II. p. 131) says, Bouquet made peace with the savages; but he only agreed to the selection of emissaries to go and make peace with Sir William Johnson; he had no authority to make peace himself.

† Doddridge's *Indian Wars*, p. 257.

‡ McClung's *Sketches of Western Adventure*, p. 279.

§ Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, Vol. II. p. 122.

‖ Silliman's *Journal*, Vol. XXXI. p. 66.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 64. Doddridge, p. 248. The writer in Silliman's *Journal* says, Crawford was in this expedition; but, from Doddridge's account, we think this a mistake.

** Carey's *Museum*, Vol. II. *Chron.* p. 2.

October, not having reached the West, it became necessary to erect a temporary government for their internal security; for which purpose a set of laws was passed, and published by being nailed to a tree in the village, and Return Jonathan Meigs was appointed to administer them. It is a strong evidence of the good habits of the people of the colony, that, during three months, but one difference occurred, and that was compromised.* Indeed, a better set of men, altogether, could scarce have been selected for the purpose, than Putnam's little band. Washington might well say, "no colony in America was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has first commenced at the Muskingum. Information, property, and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community." †

With the information which belonged to them was mingled a little of that pedantic love of ancient learning which tinged the better educated of those days. This showed itself in a meeting of the directors and agents held, July 2d, upon the banks of the Muskingum, for the purpose of naming the city which had just been laid out, and also the public squares. As yet the settlement had been called merely "The Muskingum," but the name Marietta was now formally given it, in honor of Marie Antoinette; the square upon which the block-houses stood was christened "*Campus Martius;* the square No. 19, *Capitolium;* the square No. 61, *Cecilia;* and the great road through the covert way, *Sacra Via.*" ‡ Nor was the taste in English composition much more in accordance with that of our days, than the conceits just mentioned. Of this we have evidence in an Oration, now before us, delivered upon the 4th of July, 1788, by James M. Varnum, who, together with S. H. Parsons and John Armstrong, had been appointed to the bench on the 16th of the previous October.

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* *Western Monthly Magazine*, 1833, Vol. I. p. 395.

† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. IX. p. 384.

‡ Carey's *Museum*, Vol. IV. p. 390. In the fifth volume of that periodical, page 284, is an account of the city of Athens, which the Spaniards at this time proposed to build at the mouth of the Missouri. "On the very point" where the rivers joined, was to be Fort Solon; not for defence, however, "but for the retirement of the governor from the busy scenes of public employment!"

The governor, as we have said, had not yet arrived, which fact gives occasion for the following passage.

"May he soon arrive! Thou gently-flowing Ohio, whose surface, as conscious of thy unequalled majesty, reflecteth no images but the grandeur of the impending Heaven, —bear him, oh! bear him safely to this anxious spot! And thou, beautifully-transparent Muskingum, swell at the moment of his approach, and reflect no objects but of pleasure and delight."

But at the close of this first-fruit of Ohio literature, the Judge looked forward, with prophetic eye, to the fortunes of the just-entered wilderness; and, in these dim and seer-like terms, foretells the future.

"Religion and government commenced in those parts of the globe, where yonder glorious luminary first arose in his effulgent majesty. They have followed after him in his brilliant course; nor will they cease till they shall have accomplished, in this western world, the consummation of all things.

"Religion inspires us with certain hope of eternal beatitude, and that it shall begin upon the earth, by an unreserved restitution to the common centre of existence. With what rapture and ecstasy, therefore, may we look forward to that all-important period when the universal desires of mankind shall be satisfied! When this new Jerusalem shall form one august temple, unfolding its celestial gates to every corner of the globe! When millions shall fly to it, "as doves to their windows," elevating their hopes upon the broad-spreading wings of millenial happiness! Then shall the dark shades of evil be erased from the moral picture, and the universal system appear in all its splendor! Time itself, the era and the grave of imperfection, shall be ingulfed in the bosom of Eternity, and one blaze of Glory pervade the Universe!"

It would appear that the Ohio listened to the prayer of the orator, for, upon the 9th, St. Clair arrived. The ordinance of 1787 * provided two distinct grades of government for the northwest territory, under the first of which the whole power was in the hands of the Governor and the three judges, and this form was at once organized upon the Governor's arrival. The first law, which was "for regulating and establishing the militia," was published upon the

* This instrument is so well known, and so easy of access, that we have not thought it worth while to detail its provisions.

25th of July;* and, the next day, appeared the governor's proclamation, erecting all the country, that had been ceded by the Indians east of the Scioto river, into the County of Washington. †

We have spoken of a proposal made to the Indians early in 1788, to hold a treaty with the whites in May, at a spot seventy or more miles up the Muskingum. The proposed meeting was delayed from time to time; but stores, presents, and other valuables were collected at the designated spot, to wait there until both nations were ready. Upon the 12th of July, however, a party of Chippewas attacked this post; and, though they were repulsed, and six of them made prisoners by the Delaware Indians, who were friendly to the settlers, it was thought best to withdraw the stores to Fort Harmar, and there hold the treaty. ‡ This was done, though the Indians could not be brought to conclusive action until the 9th of the following January, § when the business was "ended to the entire satisfaction of all concerned."

"The progress of the settlement," says a letter from the Muskingum, "is sufficiently rapid for the first year. We are continually erecting houses, but arrivals are faster than we can possibly provide convenient covering. Our first ball was opened about the middle of December, at which were fifteen ladies, as well accomplished in the manners of polite circles as any I have ever seen in the old States. I mention this to show the progress of society in this new world; where I believe we shall vie with, if not excel, the old States, in every accomplishment necessary to render life agreeable and happy."

The emigration westward even at this time was very great; the commandant at Fort Harmar reporting four thousand five hundred persons as having passed that post between February and June, 1788; many of whom would have stopped on the purchase of the Associates, had they been ready to receive them.

During the following year, and indeed until the Indians, who, in spite of treaties, had been committing small depredations all the time, stealing horses and sinking boats, went fairly and openly to war, the settlement on the Muskingum grew slowly, but steadily, and to good purpose.

* Chase, Vol. I. p. 92. † Carey's *Museum*, Vol. IV. p. 433. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 203. § *Land Laws*, p. 149.

During the years from 1790 to 1795, it suffered severely, sometimes coming to the brink of destruction from famine and savage foes. But, when that war was ended, though its comparative sterility had become known, and thousands passed its barren hills scoffing, as they guided their keels to the richer regions about the Miami, its progress was of the most encouraging kind. The men, that stopped there, were those that were willing to work hard, and gain no more than independence after all; and the general character of the settlers about Marietta, from that time forward, afforded the best guaranty that the population of the Purchase would be industrious, persevering, and economical. On the rough "knobs" of Meigs, and Athens, and Washington, were laid the foundations of quite as much true wealth, as upon the fertile plains of the lower country; for true wealth is as much in the habits of the tiller, as in the soil that is tilled.

In later years, the Muskingum valley suffered very severely from sickness; and, when the financial troubles of 1817–18 brought the richest citizens of Ohio to the verge of utter poverty, the poorer emigrants from New England had cause enough to groan, and to lament that they had been persuaded to leave their homes.

"Marietta," says an epistle written about that time, "I find a poor, muddy hole; — the mud here is more disagreeable than snow in Massachusetts. My advice to all my friends is not to come to this country. There is not one in a hundred but what is discontented; but they cannot get back, having spent all their property in getting here. It is the most broken country that I ever saw. Poor, lean pork at twelve cents; salt, four cents; poor, dry fish, twenty cents. The corn is miserable, and we cannot get it ground; we have to pound it. Those that have lanterns, grate it. Rum twenty-five cents a gill; sugar thirty-seven cents a pound; and no molasses! This country has been the ruin of a great many poor people; it has undone a great many poor souls for ever."

The melancholy picture presented by this letter-writer was, even then, one half imagination. The idea of the corn being "miserable," for instance, was, we presume, drawn from the shrivelled appearance of the southern and western corn, which, to a raw Massachusetts man, seems an evidence of worthlessness; though we admit the lantern grating * to

* Doddridge tells us, that this was in common use among the frontier settlers.

have been an evil, as also the absence of molasses ; — and the mud of which our writer complains is a good objection to the whole Ohio valley to this day.

At present the Ohio Company's purchase is but thinly settled, compared to other parts of the State ; but its population is, generally, of an excellent character. The expected communication through the Muskingum did not take place. That river is, at this time, undergoing improvements, that will make it as valuable for navigable purposes as it is now for its water-power ; and along the Hockhocking valley also the State is constructing a canal.

But the worldly well-being of that portion of Ohio, of which we have been speaking, is more in prospect than possession ; and, much as has been said about the unlucky choice of the Associates, for their posterity and the world we believe that choice to have been an admirable one. We believe the day will come, when as perfect a union of knowledge and good habits with wealth, and the means of attaining wealth, will be found in the purchase of the Company, as in any part of the State. The uplands of that region afford most excellent wheat lands ;* and the hill-sides, the best sheep pastures. Iron abounds in the immediate vicinity, and salt and coal extend through the whole district. Some of the salt-springs yield from two to four hundred bushels a day, and it is generally of excellent quality. The coal exists in unknown abundance, in veins from five to twelve feet in thickness ; some above and some below the bottoms of the valleys.† We have here, therefore, all that can be wished of the means for acquiring comfort and wealth, and these means so placed as to demand toil and economy for their developement. This fact, united to the very admirable character of the original settlers, and the slow growth hitherto, leads us to think that General Parsons' selection will, in the end, prove a very fortunate one.

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* For many sections, that were a few years since called barrens, and for which at tax-sales but from two to five cents an acre could be had, the purchasers are now paying to the original owners Congress price, as the land will bring from fifteen to twenty-five bushels of wheat to the acre.

† For a full account of the mineral wealth of the Purchase, see Dr. Hildreth's excellent article in Silliman's *Journal*, Vol. XXIX. The State Geologists (1838) state, that probably 12,000 square miles of Ohio are underlaid with coal, and 5000 with workable beds, averaging six feet in thickness ; each square mile of this thickness contains six millions of tons ; and in England the annual consumption is but fifteen millions.

Having, in this brief manner, given an outline of the planting of the first colony in Ohio, we next turn to the settlement of the Miami country, the most important, in immediate results, of all the early settlements.*

The region between the two Miamies of the Ohio† was early known to the whites as one of great fertility. In 1751, Christopher Gist, the agent of the old English Ohio Company, went a hundred and fifty miles up the larger of those two streams;‡ and in 1752 the English had made a fort, or trading station, among the Piankeshaws, a tribe of the Twigtwees, or Miamies, on what is now called Loramie's Creek, forty-seven miles above Dayton; which post was attacked and taken by the French during that year.§ The Miami valleys were afterwards examined by Boone, during his captivity among the Shawanese in 1778;‖ and by the war parties, which Bowman and Clarke led against the Indian villages on the Little Miami and Mad River. But as the Shawanese were among the most inveterate enemies of the whites, and the unceasing plagues of the Kentucky settlers, no attempt was made to effect a lodgment near their towns until after the treaty made with them in January, 1786. During the spring of that year, Benjamin Stiles, of Redstone (now Brownsville), on the Monongahela, visited the newly ceded district, and, being much pleased with it, went to Philadelphia for the purpose of interesting some of the leading men in its purchase and settlement.¶ He was introduced to John Cleves Symmes, a representative in Congress from New Jersey. Mr. Symmes was so much interested by the accounts given him of the beauty and fertility of the Miami region, that he determined to visit it himself, which he did; though

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* In 1800 the population of the Miami country was 15,000, one third of that in the whole State; in 1790 it was two thirds of all in the State, viz. 2000; in 1810, more than one quarter, viz. 70,000.

† Beside the Great and Little Miami emptying into the Ohio, there were two rivers of that name which emptied into the Lakes; one was the Maumee; the other, running into Lake Michigan, was, according to some, the Chicago, according to others, Fox River, and, as a few think, the St. Joseph's. We may take occasion, in some future paper, to examine this question and others connected with it.

‡ Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II., pp. 37, 480.

§ *Land Laws*, p. 148. — Sparks's *Works of Franklin*, Vol. IV. p. 71.

‖ Carey's *Museum*, Vol. II. p. 324.

¶ *Cincinnati Directory*, for 1819, p. 16. The historical sketch in this volume was compiled from the evidence of the first settlers then alive.

at what period precisely we do not know. Finding the representations of his informant to fall short of, rather than exceed the truth, he applied himself, upon his return, to the task of interesting others in the proposed purchase; and, on the 29th of August, 1787, wrote to the President of Congress, requesting that the Board of Treasury might be empowered to contract with him and his associates for all the lands between the Miami rivers, and running as far north as the north line of the Ohio Company's purchase; the terms of the contract to be substantially the same as those to be made with "Messrs. Sargent, Cutter, and Co." His petition was referred to the Board, with authority to contract upon the 2d of the following October.*

Upon the 26th of the next month Symmes issued a pamphlet, addressed "to the respectable public," stating the terms of this contract, and the scheme of sale which he proposed to adopt.† This was, to issue his warrants for not less than a quarter section (a hundred and sixty acres), which might be located anywhere, except, of course, upon reservations, and spots previously chosen. No section was to be divided, if the warrant held by the locator would cover the whole. The price was to be sixty-six cents and two thirds till May, 1788; then one dollar till November; and, after that time, was to be regulated by the demand for land. Every locator was bound to begin improvements within two years, or forfeit one sixth of his purchase to whosoever would settle thereon and remain seven years. Military bounties might be taken in this as in the purchase of the Associates. For himself Symmes retained one township at the mouth of the Great Miami, at the junction of which stream with the Ohio he proposed to build his great city; to help the growth of which he offered each alternate lot to any one that would build a house and live therein three years.

As Continental certificates were rising, in consequence of the great land purchases then making with them, and as difficulty was apprehended in procuring enough to make his first payment, Symmes was anxious to send forward settlers early, that the true value of his purchase might become known

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* *Land Laws*, p. 372.

† See *Land Laws* for the terms, and final settlement of Symmes' Contract.

at the East. He had, however, some difficulty in arranging with the Board of Treasury the boundaries of the first portion which he was to occupy.*

In January, 1788, Matthias Denman, of New Jersey, took an interest in Symmes' purchase, and located, among other tracts, the section and fractional section upon which Cincinnati has been built.† Retaining one third of this particular locality, he sold another third to Robert Patterson, and the remainder to John Filson; and the three, about August, 1788, agreed to lay out a town on the spot, which was designated as being opposite Licking River, to the mouth of which they proposed to have a road cut from Lexington, Kentucky, to be connected with the northern shore by a ferry. Mr. Filson, who had been a schoolmaster, was appointed to name the town; and, in respect to its situation, and as if with a prophetic perception of the mixed race that were in after days to inhabit there, he named it Losantiville, which, being interpreted, means *ville*, the town, *anti*, opposite to, *os*, the mouth, *L*, of the Licking.‡ This may well put to the blush the *Campus Martius* of the Marietta scholars, and the Fort Solon of the Spaniards. What the connexion may have been, it is out of our power to say; but Mr. Filson was killed in about a month from this time by a single Indian, near the Great Miami.§

Meanwhile, in July, Symmes got thirty people and eight four-horse wagons under way for the West. These reached Limestone (now Maysville) in September, where they found Mr. Stiles with several persons, from Redstone. But the mind of the chief purchaser was full of trouble. He had not only been obliged to relinquish his first contract, which was expected to embrace two millions of acres, but had failed to conclude one for the single million which he now proposed taking. This arose from a difference between him and the government, he wishing to have the whole Ohio front between the Miamies, while the Board of Treasury wished to confine him to twenty miles upon the Ohio. This propo-

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* *Manuscript Letters* of Symmes.

† Many facts relative to the settlement of Cincinnati we take from the depositions of Denman, Patterson, Ludlow, and others, contained in the report of the chancery trial of *City of Cincinnati* vs. *Joel Williams*, in 1807.

‡ *Cincinnati Directory*, for 1819, p. 18.

§ Symmes' *Letters*. — Patterson's *Deposition*.

sition, however, he would not for a long time agree to, as he had made sales along nearly the whole Ohio shore. * Leaving the bargain in this unsettled state, Congress considered itself released from its obligation to sell; and, but for the representations of some of his friends, our adventurer would have lost his bargain, his labor, and his money. Nor was this all. In February, 1788, he had been appointed one of the judges of the Northwest Territory, in the place of Mr. Armstrong, who declined serving. This appointment gave offence to some; and others were envious of the great fortune which it was thought he would make. Some of his associates complained of him, also, probably because of his endangering the contract to which they had become parties. With these murmurs and reproaches behind him, he saw before him danger, delay, suffering, and, perhaps, ultimate failure and ruin; and, although hopeful by nature, apparently he felt discouraged and sad. However, a visit to his purchase, where he landed upon the 22d of September, revived his spirits; and, upon his return to Maysville, he

* It may be as well to give here a sketch of the changes made in Symmes' contract. His first application was for all the country between the Miamies, running up to the north line of the Ohio Company's purchase, extended due west. On the 23d of October, 1787, Congress resolved, that the Board of Treasury be authorized to contract with any one for tracts of not less than a million acres of Western lands, the front of which, on the Ohio, Wabash, and other rivers, should not exceed one third the depth. On the 15th of May, 1788, Dayton and Marsh, as Symmes's agents, concluded a contract with the Commissioners of the Treasury for two millions of acres in two equal tracts. In July, Symmes concluded to take only one tract, but differed with the Commissioners on the grounds stated in the text. After much negotiation, upon the 15th of October, 1788, Dayton and Marsh concluded a contract with government bearing date May 15th, for one million of acres, beginning twenty miles up the Ohio from the mouth of the Great Miami, and to run back for quantity between the Miami and a line drawn from the Ohio parallel to the general course of that river. In 1791, Symmes found this would throw his purchase too far back from the Ohio, and applied to Congress to let him have all between the Miamies, running back so as to include a million acres, which that body, on the 12th of April, 1792, agreed to do. When the lands between the Miamies were surveyed, however, it was found that the tract south of a line drawn from the head of the Little, due west to the Great Miami, would include less than 600,000 acres; but even this Symmes could not pay for, and, when his patent issued upon the 30th of September, 1794, it gave him and his associates but 248,540 acres, exclusive of reservations, which amounted to 63,142 acres. This tract was bounded by the Ohio, the two Miamies, and a due east and west line, run so as to comprehend the desired quantity. As Symmes made no farther payments after this time, the rest of his purchase reverted to the United States, who gave those that had bought under Symmes ample preemption rights. See *Land Laws*, pp. 372–382, *et seq.*

wrote to Jonathan Dayton, of New-Jersey, who had become interested with him, that he thought some of the land near the Great Miami "positively worth a silver dollar the acre, in its present state."

But, though this view of the riches now almost within his grasp somewhat reassured Symmes's mind, he had still enough to trouble him. The Indians were threatening; in Kentucky, he says, "they are perpetually doing mischief; a man a week, I believe, falls by their hands;" but still government gave him little help toward defending himself; for, while three hundred men were stationed at Muskingum, he had "but one ensign and seventeen men for the protection and defence of 'the Slaughter-house,'" as the Miami valley was called by the dwellers upon the "dark and bloody ground" of "Kentucke." And, when Captain Kearny and forty-five soldiers came to Maysville in December, they came without provisions, and but made bad worse. Nor did their coming answer any purpose; for, when a little band of settlers were ready to go, under their protection, to the mouth of the Miami, the grand city of Symmes that was to be, the ice stove their boats, their cattle were drowned, and their provisions lost, and so the settlement was prevented. But the fertile mind of a man like our adventurer could, even under these circumstances, find comfort in the anticipation of what was to come. In the words of Return Jonathan Meigs, the first Ohio poet with whom we have any acquaintance,

> "To him glad Fancy brightest prospects shows,
> Rejoicing Nature all around him glows;
> Where late the savage, hid in ambush, lay,
> Or roamed the uncultured valleys for his prey,
> Her hardy gifts rough Industry extends,
> The groves bow down, the lofty forest bends;
> And see the spires of towns and cities rise,
> And domes and temples swell into the skies." *

But alas! so far as his pet city was concerned, "glad Fancy" proved but a gay deceiver; for there came "an amazing high freshet," and "the Point," as it was, and still is called, was fifteen feet under water.

But, before Symmes left Maysville, which was upon the 29th of January, 1789, two settlements had been made within his purchase. The first was by Mr. Stiles, the original

* A Poem delivered at Marietta, July 4th, 1789, slightly altered.

projector of the whole plan; who, with other Redstone people, had located themselves at the mouth of the Little Miami, where the Indians had been led by the great fertility of the soil to make a partial clearing. To this point, on the 18th of November, came twenty-six persons, who built a block-house, named their town Columbia, and prepared for a winter of want and hard fighting.* But they were agreeably disappointed; the Indians came to them, and, though the whites answered, as Symmes says, "in a blackguarding manner," the savages sued for peace. One, at whom a rifle was presented, took off his cap, trailed his gun, and held out his right hand, by which pacific gestures he induced the Americans to consent to their entrance into the block-houses. In a few days this good understanding ripened into intimacy, the "hunters frequently taking shelter for the night in the Indian camps"; and the red men and squaws "spending whole days and nights" at Columbia, "regaling themselves with whiskey." This friendly demeanor on the part of the Indians was owing to the kind and just conduct of Symmes himself; who, during the preceding September, when examining the country about the Great Miami, had prevented some Kentuckians, who were in his company, from injuring a band of the savages that came within their power; which proceeding, he says, "the Kentuckians thought unpardonable."

The Columbia settlement was, however, like that proposed at the Point, upon land that was under water during the high rise in January, 1789. "But one house escaped the deluge." The soldiers were driven from the ground-floor of their block-house into the loft, and from the loft into the solitary boat which the ice had spared them.

This flood deserves to be commemorated in an epic; for, while it demonstrated the dangers to which the three chosen spots of all Ohio, Marietta, Columbia, and the Point, must be ever exposed, it also proved the safety, and led to the rapid settlement of Losantiville. The great recommendation of the spot upon which Denman and his comrades proposed to build their "Mosaic" town, as it has been called, appears to have been the fact that it lay opposite the

* *Cincinnati Directory*, for 1819, and Symmes' *Letters*. The land at this point was so fertile that from nine acres were raised 963 bushels of Indian corn.

Licking; the terms of Denman's purchase having been, that his warrants were to be located, as nearly as possible, over against the mouth of that river; though the advantage of the noble and high plain at that point could not have escaped any eye. But the freshet of 1789 placed its superiority over other points more strongly in view than any thing else could have done.

We have said, that Filson was killed in September, or early in October, 1788. As nothing had been paid upon his third of the plat of Losantiville, his heirs made no claim upon it, and it was transferred to Israel Ludlow, who had been Symmes's surveyor. This gentleman, with Colonel Patterson, one of the other proprietors, and well known in the Indian wars, with about fourteen others, left Maysville upon the 24th of December, 1788, "to form a station and lay off a town opposite Licking." The river was filled with ice "from shore to shore"; but, says Symmes, in May, 1789, "perseverance triumphing over difficulty, they landed safe on a most delightful high bank of the Ohio, where they founded the town of Losantiville, which *populates* considerably."

It is a curious fact, and one of many in Western history, that may well tend to shake our faith in the learned discussions as to dates and localities with which scholars now and then amuse the world, that the date of the settlement of Cincinnati is unknown, even though we have the testimony of the very men that made the settlement. Judge Symmes says, in one of his letters, "On the 24th of December, 1788, Colonel Patterson, of Lexington, who is concerned with Mr. Denman in the section at the mouth of Licking river, sailed from Limestone," &c. Some, supposing it would take about two days to make the voyage, have dated the being of the Queen City of the West from December 26th. This is but guess-work, however; for, as the river was full of ice, it might have taken ten days to have gone the sixty-five miles from Maysville to the Licking. But, in the case in chancery to which we have referred, we have the evidence of Patterson and Ludlow, that they landed opposite the Licking "in the month of January, 1789"; while William McMillan testifies, that he "was one of those who formed the settlement of Cincinnati on the twenty-eighth day of December, 1788." As we know of nothing more conclusive on the

subject than these statements, we must leave this question in the same darkness that we find it, and proceed to more certain events.

The settlers of Losantiville built a few log huts and block-houses, and proceeded to lay out the town; though they placed their dwellings in the most exposed situation, yet, says Symmes, they "suffered nothing from the freshet." The Judge spent a little time with them, and then fell down to North Bend,* accompanied by the small army which had been allowed him for his protection. Here they built "a camp," "by setting two forks of saplings in the ground, a ridgepole across, and leaning boat-boards, which had been brought from Maysville, one end on the ground and the other against the ridge-pole; enclosing one end, and leaving the other open for a door, where the fire was built to keep out the cold, which was very intense."

Finding his point to be so low, that a city could not be safely built there, unless, as he says, "you raise her like Venice out of the waters," he surveyed the grounds between the north bend of the Ohio and the Miami; thinking a plan might be arranged so as to have the advantage of both rivers still, it being but a mile across the isthmus. He found the land, however, to be too hilly and broken, and was forced to content himself with a small town-plat reaching a mile and a half along the Ohio, of which he offered the alternate lots to settlers, of whom forty came within two months, and built themselves "comfortable log cabins."

But his longing for a city still continued; and, after much consideration, he determined in favor of a spot twelve miles up the Miami, and within half an hour's ride from North Bend; he preferred this to the Ohio shore, because he thought it better to concentrate the trade of the Miami valley, than to be one of many cities along the larger stream. The Miami was then considered navigable, and was for many years afterwards navigated by keel and flat boats; and, in Symmes's estimation, the country about the river was "superior in point of soil, water, and timber, to any tract of equal dimensions to be found in the United States." The hope that a great city was to arise at this point, long continued to

* So called, from its being the most northerly bend of the Ohio below the mouth of the Kenhawa.

comfort the harassed mind of the projector; and when St. Clair informed him, that he was about to visit and organize the Miami purchase, Symmes doubted much whether a new town which he had laid out at South Bend, or Losantiville, would be best fitted for the county seat; but, as the former was more central, thought, that, if it were made the county town, "it would probably take the lead of the present village (Losantiville) *until the city can be made somewhat considerable.*"

But the mind of this persevering and just man, which had never been at ease since he first embarked in the enterprise of reclaiming the wilderness, was to be still further tried. The Kentuckians, seeing that he, by his clemency, his moderation, and his firmness, still remained on good terms with the Indians, and that settlers were flocking to his lands, represented the boasted fertility of the soil as a lie, and the safety of the settlers as a delusion. Some even threatened to make it so, by destroying every Indian they could find in the Miami purchase. The soldiers that were with him were idle, disobliging, and burdensome. His surveyors and settlers were at times "put to great shifts from want of bread." Continental certificates were rising, and his purchase was endangered by the difficulty of obtaining them. Many, that had bought of him on speculation, threw up their contracts. Then came information, that the British were urging the Indians to war; and his expected recruits did not come. Next was actual warfare, and his settlers left him, fifty at one time. And, to complete his disquiet, his friends beyond the mountains wrote to him, that great attempts would be made to turn him from the bench; that he was universally disliked, almost hated, by the settlers, and that his eastern co-proprietors were displeased by his management.

The perils of warfare Symmes was prepared to meet. At the beginning he had said, "Disasters I expect; if I can prevent a defeat, it is as much as I hope for the first year;" "We may talk of treaties as we please; I am certain we must fight or leave the ground." And now that the day of trial was near by, he shrunk not. "What will be the issue," he says, "God only knows. I shall maintain the ground as long as I possibly can, ill prepared as we are. I can but perish, as many a better man has done before me."

But dislike and opposition, which his heart assured him he

had not merited, he did not meet without suffering. While yet on his way to the West in the summer of 1788, he said of his accusers, that "the only revenge he wished to have against them was, that they might have equal success in their views, attended with equal calumny and censure;" for which he thought he had "pretty good security, if they undertook to do business for many;" and the bitterness, which he then tasted, was increased every year that he lived.

It was not destined, however, that this frontier post of the West should perish. In June, a force of a hundred and forty men was sent to Cincinnati; and Fort Washington was commenced, upon the spot since made classic by the Bazaar of Mistress Trollope. In December, this band was increased to four hundred and forty, by the arrival of General Harmar, who was about to march against the Indians of the Maumee and Wabash. At this time Losantiville contained eleven families and twenty-four bachelors, beside the garrison.

In January, 1790, the governor and judges arrived at that village for the purpose of organizing the county; which Symmes, whom "the governor complimented with the honor of naming" it, called Hamilton, after the well-known Alexander, then Secretary of the Treasury. At this time, also, the name of Losantiville was abandoned, and Symmes and St. Clair adopted that of Cincinnati, or, as the former wrote it, Cincinnata, "in honor of the order of the Cincinnati, and to denote the chief place of their residence." The name is a good one, but the place ill suited for the residence of those honorable "knights," whose constitution could not even withstand the semi-aristocratic air of the seacoast.

In the spring of 1790, various stations were formed and garrisoned in the neighbourhood of Cincinnati; and General Harmar began to prepare for his campaign against the old Miami village at the junction of the St. Joseph's and St. Mary's, though he was not able to leave till the following September. Of his march, his ill success, amounting to a virtual defeat, and the outburst of savage warfare that followed, we shall not speak, as they may be found in any history of those times. The return of the troops, mournful as it was, had its ray of comfort, however, for our adventurer. "It is impossible," he says, "to describe the lands over which the army passed; I am told that they are inviting, to a charm."

But in 1791 came new troubles. It was found that it would

be very hard, if not impossible, for Symmes and his comrades to pay for the million of acres, extending twenty miles only on the Ohio, as so much of it lay back from that stream that he could not find purchasers. And this brought him into conflict, in some way, with St. Clair, a self-willed and arbitrary man, who had, also, about this time, seen fit to proclaim military law in a "part of the town of Cincinnati"; an act which the Judge thought "bordered hard on tyranny." And when Symmes offered to accompany the governor in the expedition for which he was then preparing, his Excellency gave him an answer that led him to think his presence would be rather disagreeable than otherwise. Next came the fear, that Congress might open a land-office, and, by competing with, ruin him; and then the panic that resulted from St. Clair's defeat on the 4th of November, 1791. When the news of that event reached the settlers, they left their farms with scarce an exception; dismay went through the whole West; and a savage warfare commenced, that for two years and eight months nearly equalled that of 1763. These things were all sources of great discomfort and loss to Symmes, who had, amid them all, but one cause for joy, and that a poor and unchristian one; — the general dislike that was brought upon his old foe, St. Clair, whose pride, no doubt, he was very glad to see humbled.

We say nothing of the particulars of that general's defeat, because they are well known. The effect was, as we have said, dreadful. It almost stopped emigration; nor was confidence felt again until the decisive victory of Wayne, in August, 1794, which led to the treaty of Greenville in the same month of the year following.

When the knowledge that peace had been made with the Indians became general, however, "all Kentucky," as Symmes says, "and the back parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania ran mad with expectations of the land-office opening" in the West; "they laugh me full in the face, when I ask them one dollar per acre for first-rate land, and tell me, they will soon have as good for thirty cents." Even his North Bend settlers left him, to push their fortunes in those interior valleys, of which the soldiers of St. Clair and Wayne gave such descriptions. The mere prospect of a treaty diminished the population of his young town one half, and its completion gave his hopes almost a death-blow. So

uniformly unfortunate was this founder of the most thriving colony of the Ohio, that warfare and peace, prosperity and adversity, seemed equally to injure his interests; and, to complete the picture, he was now at variance with his friend and adviser, Dayton.

But we cannot follow any farther his individual fortunes. No man ever seemed in a surer path to wealth, influence, and honor, than Judge Symmes when he first began his western operations. He was a man of good sense and very general information; just, kind, courageous, and persevering; but he had still some faults, which, coöperating with that fatherly but inscrutable Providence which governs all our external fortunes, thwarted his projects, destroyed his most promising plans, and involved him in quarrels and lawsuits, so that at last he died poor and neglected. But the cloud that is still upon his memory will one day rise. It is clear that, in despite of his failings, he was a true and high-minded man; and the future historian of Ohio will feel, as he examines his character, that it is one upon which he may dwell with pride.

From the conclusion of the treaty of Greenville, the rapid growth of the Miami valleys may be dated; for, after that time, but one great event occurred to embarrass the settlers of that region. This was the failure on the part of Symmes to pay for much of the land which he had sold. But even this difficulty was almost entirely removed by the preëmption laws to which we have referred. The country lying about the junction of Mad River and the Miami, was one of the most valuable portions which were in this situation. Seventeen days after Wayne's treaty, that is, upon the 20th of August, 1795, this tract was purchased of Symmes by St. Clair, James Wilkinson, Jonathan Dayton, and Israel Ludlow, who, during the next month, sent surveyors to lay out their purchase; and, in November, Mr. Ludlow named and surveyed the town of "Dayton," now one of the most flourishing in the State. The settlement of the new town began in the following April.

When it was found, however, that this purchase would not be included in Symmes's patents, the proprietors refused to accept the benefit of the preëmption law, and abandoned their contract; which was taken by Daniel C. Cooper, who realized a fortune from it.

From Cincinnati and Dayton, settlers spread in every direction. And it was not till the country was pretty well filled, that the towns began to grow; the population of Cincinnati increasing but two hundred persons from 1800 to 1805, while the whole region back received about twenty-five thousand emigrants during that time.

The great causes of the rapid advance of the Miami country were, its fertility, ease of access, healthful character, and uncommon amount of water-power. The Muskingum and Scioto valleys are not so broad as those of the Miamies; and the uplands between these last-named streams being upon limestone, while those about the former are based on sandstone, are richer, as well as more level. But the superiority of the Miami country, in respect to water-power, was still more striking. Though as yet but poorly improved in proportion to its capabilities, it at this time moves a very great amount of machinery; as may be seen by the following statement, which we take from a letter written to us by an inhabitant of Dayton, the population of which in 1833 was but three thousand four hundred.

"We have within our corporation three cotton factories; a carpet factory, four stories high, one hundred by forty feet, and now turning out one thousand yards of Ingrain and Venetian carpeting weekly; a gun-barrel manufactory, four stories high, which sends its work through the whole Mississippi valley from Illinois to Louisiana; three large establishments for the making of machinery; a large merchant flour mill; a fulling mill; a saw mill, with a lath factory, and machine for jointing, planing, and grooving boards; and an establishment for sawing stone. All these works are driven by the water of Mad River; and we hope soon to see three times as much more in operation. A company has been formed and chartered to bring the water of this river from a point three miles from town, and throw it into the canal (Miami), above all the works now in use. They will be able to use all the water of the river at one point, with a fall of seventeen feet. Mad River, above the town, affords mill-sites for many miles, at an average distance of about a mile apart."

This writer also says, that, nine miles above Dayton on the Miami, the whole of that river may be applied, with a fall of from thirteen to sixteen feet. And, in addition to these streams, are four large creeks with falls; twelve locks

upon the canal; and several springs affording water enough for mills; "in one case a single spring acts upon three successive wheels of twenty-five feet each."

With such advantages of situation and soil, the valleys of the Miami rivers must become thickly settled and highly cultivated. A canal already connects the interior with Cincinnati, and in a few years, beyond a doubt, the whole region from that city to Lake Erie will be traversed by a canal and a railroad; while from Cincinnati, as a centre, will radiate, in addition to these, a most admirable Macadamized turnpike-road, (now in a great measure finished); a canal and a railroad to Indiana; three other McAdam turnpikes, already constructed in part, two to meet the National road in Ohio, and the third to reach the centre of Kentucky; and that giant railroad, which, crossing Kentucky, Tennessee, and South Carolina, with branches to North Carolina and Georgia, is to rival the Mississippi, and make the West and the South one, as the West and Southwest are already one. *

The population of the region in question, though, like that of all very fertile countries, less generally hardworking than that of the more hilly tract purchased by the Ohio Company, is, to a very uncommon degree, industrious and sober. In the neighbourhood of Dayton great numbers of Germans are settled; and their steady, straight-forward, plodding habits exert a good influence over our more fickle and enterprising countrymen.

Some idea of the nature and amount of the productions of the country lying back of Cincinnati may be had from the following return of articles received at that point by the Miami canal, during the year ending December 1st, 1837.

89,000 bushels of corn,
75,000 barrels of flour,
22,000 " " pork, beside nearly three million pounds of bulk pork, and 1900 hogsheads of hams and shoulders,
54,000 barrels of whiskey,
249,000 pounds of butter, (printed in the canal report "kegs.")

* The Licking is also to be made navigable by slack-water improvements, now in progress. This river runs into the heart of Kentucky.

The exports of Cincinnati in 1826 amounted to but one million of dollars; in 1835 they were computed by an accurate observer at more than six millions. This includes, beside receipts by the canal and wagons, the produce in pork, lard, &c. of 162,000 hogs, driven to Cincinnati, and there killed; and also one hundred steam-engines, two hundred and forty cotton-gins, twenty sugar-mills, and a great variety of other manufactured articles of all kinds;—the results of more than fifty steam-factories at work in and about the city.

This same writer gives the following calculation of the exports of 1836.

Of Pork, ...	$3,000,000
" Flour, ...	600,000
" Whiskey, ...	750,000
" Iron manufactures, ...	2,000,000
" Hats, books, &c.	1,350,000
" Sundries, ...	400,000
	$8,100,000

During that year, also, there were built in Cincinnati, thirty-five steamboats, costing $850,000.

In illustration of the rapidity of the increase in the Miami valley, as compared with that of the Ohio Company's purchase, the following facts are worthy of attention. In 1834, the average value of lands* in Washington county, was, by tax appraisement, $1·23 per acre; in Meigs county, ·92; in Athens county, ·63; in Gallia county, 1·05. These are in the tract bought by the Associates. Let us now look at Symmes's purchase. Hamilton county, $10·00; Montgomery county, 4·53; Butler county, 6·04; Warren county, 5·11.

Turning from the fortunes of the two main settlements made in Ohio before the final peace with the Indians, we come to the history of Galliopolis.† And here we must confess our extreme deficiency of materials, although many of the original settlers are still residing in their "city of the

* This does not show the real value of the land, the appraised value being but about forty per cent. on the true value; but, for comparison, it answers as well as if it were nearer the truth.

† Commonly written *Gallipolis.*

French." And to this deficiency is added confusion, which we have in vain tried to do entirely away.

In May or June, 1788, Joel Barlow left this country for Europe, "authorized to dispose of a very large body of land" in the West.* In 1790, this gentleman distributed proposals in Paris, for the sale of lands, at five shillings per acre, which promised, says Volney, "a climate healthy and delightful; scarcely such a thing as frost in winter; a river called, by way of eminence, 'The Beautiful,' abounding in fish of an enormous size; magnificent forests of a tree from which sugar flows, and a shrub which yields candles; venison in abundance; without foxes, wolves, lions, or tigers; no taxes to pay; no military enrolments; no quarters to find for soldiers. Purchasers became numerous, individuals and whole families disposed of their property; and, in the course of 1791, some embarked at Havre, others at Bordeaux, Nantes, or Rochelle," each with his title-deed in his pocket. † Five hundred settlers, among whom were not a few carvers and gilders to his Majesty, coachmakers, friseurs and peruke-makers, ‡ and other artisans and *artistes* equally well fitted for a backwoods life, arrived in the United States in 1791–92; and, acting without concert, travelling without knowledge of the language, customs, or roads, they at last managed to reach the spot designated for their residence, after expending nearly, or quite, the whole proceeds of their sales in France.

They reached the spot designated; but it was only to learn, that the persons whose title-deeds they held did not own one foot of land, and that they had parted with all their worldly goods merely to reach a wilderness, which they knew not how to cultivate, in the midst of a people of whose speech and ways they knew nothing, and at the very moment when the Indians were carrying destruction to every white man's hearth. Without food, without land, with little money, no experience, and with want and danger closing around them, they were in a position, that none but Frenchmen could be in without despair.

Who brought them to this pass? Volney says, the Scioto

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* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. IX. p. 386.

† *View of the Climate and Soil of the United States, &c.*—The sugar-tree was the maple, and the wax-bearing myrtle the shrub that yielded candles.

‡ Brackenridge's *Recollections*, p. 42.

Company, which had bought of the Ohio Company; Mr. Hall says, in his *Letters from the West* (p. 137), a company who had obtained a grant from the United States; and, in his *Statistics of the West* (p. 164), the Scioto Company, which was formed from or by the Ohio Company, as a subordinate. Barlow, he says, was sent to Europe by the Ohio Company; and by them the lands in question were conveyed to the Scioto Company. Kilbourn says, "the Scioto Land Company, which intended to buy of Congress all the tract between the western boundary of the Ohio Company's purchase and the Scioto, directed the French settlers to Gallipolis, supposing it to be west of the Ohio Company's purchase, though it proved not to be." The Company, he tells us, failed to make their payments, and the whole proposed purchase remained with government.*

The last we believe to be the true account. No other connexion existed, so far as we can learn, between the Ohio and Scioto companies than this, that some persons were stockholders in both; so that the want of good faith, charged by most writers on those of whom the French bought, cannot apply in any degree to the Ohio Company. Nor do we know that there was a want of faith at all; the lands were believed to be what Barlow represented them. A contract with government was to have been regularly made, and funds (as we learn) were collected toward the payment. But the treasurer of the Company became bankrupt, and the funds were lost, how we know not. The spot to which the French were directed was supposed to be within the limits of the intended purchase; and, once there, the Company, which had failed, could do nothing for them. As we hold it to be good philosophy, as well as true charity, to choose of two sufficient causes that which involves the least moral guilt, we should ascribe that mingling of private and company concerns, which seems to have ruined the latter, to want of care, and not want of honesty.

But, whatever doubt there may be as to the causes of the suffering, there can be none as to the sufferers. The poor gilders, and carvers, and peruke-makers, who had followed a jack-a-lantern into the literally howling wilderness, found that their lives depended upon their labor. They must clear the

* Kilbourn's *Gazetteer*, 1831.

ground, build their houses, and till their fields. Now the spot upon which they had been located by the Scioto Company was covered in part with those immense button-wood or sycamore trees, which are so frequent along the rivers of the West, and to remove which is no small undertaking even for the American woodman. The coachmakers were wholly at a loss ; but at last, hoping to conquer by a *coup-de-main*, they tied ropes to the branches, and while one dozen pulled at them with might and main, another dozen went at the trunk with axes, hatchets, and every variety of edged tool, and by dint of perseverance and cheerfulness at length overcame the monster ; though not without some hair-breadth escapes ; for, when a mighty tree, that had been hacked on all sides, fell, it required a Frenchman's heels to avoid the sweep of the wide-spread branches. But, when they had felled the vast vegetable, they were little better off than before ; for they could not move or burn it. At last a good idea came to their aid ; and, while some chopped off the limbs, others dug, by the side of the trunk, a great grave, into which, with many a heave, they rolled their fallen enemy.

Their houses they did not build in the usual straggling American style, but made two rows or blocks of log cabins, each cabin being about sixteen feet square ; while at one end was a larger room, which was used as council-chamber and ball-room.

In the way of cultivation they did little. The land was not theirs, and they had no motive to improve it ; and, moreover, their coming was in the midst of the Indian war. Here and there a little vegetable garden was formed ; but their main supply of food they were forced to buy from boats on the river, by which means their remaining funds were sadly broken in upon. Five of their number were taken by the Indians ; food became scarce ; in the fall, a marsh behind the town sent up miasmata that produced fevers ; then winter came, and, despite Mr. Barlow's promise, brought frost in plenty ; and, by and by, they heard from beyond seas of the carnage that was desolating the fire-sides they had left. Never were men in a more mournful situation ; but still, twice in the week, the whole colony came together, and to the sound of the violin danced off hunger and care. The savage scout that had been lurking all day in the thicket,

listened to the strange music, and, hastening to his fellows, told them, that the whites would be upon them, for he had seen them at their war-dance ; and the careful Connecticut man, as he guided his broad-horn in the shadow of the Virginia shore, wondered what mischief "the red-varmint" were at next ; or, if he knew the sound of the fiddle, shook his head, as he thought of the whiskey that must have been used to produce all that merriment.

But French vivacity, though it could work wonders, could not pay for land. Some of the Gallipolis settlers went to Detroit, others to Kaskaskia ; a few bought their lands of the Ohio Company, who treated them with great liberality ; and, in 1795, Congress, being informed of the circumstances, granted to the sufferers twenty-four thousand acres of land opposite Little Sandy River, to which, in 1798, twelve hundred acres more were added ; which tract has been since known as *French Grant.*

The influence of this settlement upon the State was unimportant ; but it forms a curious little episode in Ohio history, and affords a strange example of national character.

Marietta and Cincinnati with their outposts, and Gallipolis, were the only settlements made in Ohio before Wayne's treaty. After that event, the Scioto valley and the Western Reserve were rapidly peopled ; but we are unable to give any facts of value relating to their settlement. The tract between the Little Miami and Scioto rivers had been originally reserved by Virginia for her soldiers ; but, as she allowed locations to be made without having the ground previously surveyed into regular portions, a great deal of overlapping, or shingling of titles (as it is called in the West), has taken place ; and the uncertainty and litigation, therefrom resulting, have diminished the value of a very excellent body of land ; the higher portions being among the best wheat lands in the West.

The fertility of the Scioto valley is proverbial. For the cultivation of maize it is unsurpassed, and the stock-farms which border upon it are among the largest and best in the State. The valley itself is subject to that miasma which produces intermittent fevers ; but this is yearly diminishing. East of the Scioto lies a broken country, through which, from the southwest to the northeast, passes the great iron deposite. There are several beds, and different kinds of

ore, all of which dip toward the east. With the iron is associated bituminous coal; which, though of an ordinary quality in general, and in thin layers, answers for the steam-engines which are used at the furnaces. The amount of available ore in the counties of Jackson, Lawrence, and Scioto, it is estimated by the State geologist, will supply four hundred thousand tons a year for two thousand seven hundred years; and these contain but a third or fourth of the whole deposite, though, from their proximity to the Ohio river, it has been little wrought but in them; there being in the two last-named counties fourteen or fifteen furnaces, producing an average of one thousand tons of pig metal a year. Nor can we omit the Buhrstone deposite, which, adjoining the iron, passes through the very midst of a country that will, in time, be yellow with wheat-fields; and which, for milling purposes, there is reason to think will afford stone nearly or quite equal to the French, when the same skill is used in selecting the blocks.

But that portion of Ohio, which at this time is most flourishing, all things considered, is the Western Reserve, or Connecticut Reserve. This district was retained by Connecticut when she made her transfer to the United States, in 1786, though against the judgment of many of our wisest statesmen.* In 1800, however, the right of jurisdiction was relinquished by the State to the Union, and patents were issued by the United States to the governor of Connecticut, for the use of those persons who had previously bought from her;† by which means all difficulties were quieted. The Reserve included all the land north of the forty-first degree of north latitude, and extended west from Pennsylvania one hundred and twenty miles.‡ It is a level and fertile country; and, though much of it was so wet, when covered with forests, that it was thought by many to be of little value, it has become dry as it has been opened to the sun, and presents at this time as fine an extent of arable and meadow land as can be seen anywhere; diversified, in the southern counties, by little lakes of crystal clearness; and, in point of cultivation,

* *Old Journals*, Vol. IV., pp. 645–648. — Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. IX. p. 178.

† *Land Laws*, p. 104.

‡ The writer in Silliman's *Journal*, for October, 1836, p. 34, says, the Reserve is bounded south by the Ohio. As it is not marked on our maps, this might mislead some.

fences, and buildings, no district in the West surpasses, if there be any that equals, the Reserve. This is in part owing to the habits of the original settlers, who were principally from Connecticut and Massachusetts; and in part to the fact, that the ground has to be well cleared, ditched, and cultivated, in order that it may be productive. A soil that demands labor that it may be made to yield, and yields a large return when that is given, is the soil that will make its owners most independent; and that boasted fertility of the prairies, which requires little or no pains on the part of the farmer, however much it may suit man's love of ease, is a misfortune, not a blessing.

The Reserve is peculiarly fitted for grazing, and is fast becoming a great cheese and butter making region; some of the cheese made there, is not unlike the Stilton cheese of England. Vast numbers of cattle are also raised there for the market. In point of mineral wealth, this district is not wanting, as the great iron deposite crosses it, and the coal-beds reach its southern borders. And, in respect to water-power, it is, at one point, unsurpassed; the Cuyahoga falling, at the new town called Cuyahoga Falls, two hundred and forty feet in two miles and a half; and affording from four to twenty thousand cubic feet of water per minute.* This point is destined, beyond doubt, to be one of immense importance. The Ohio Canal is within two miles; and the Pennsylvania and Ohio Canal will pass directly through the town, connecting this point, by complete water communication, with New York and New Orleans; and by canal and railroad, with Philadelphia. Every acre in its neighbourhood is capable of cultivation; and coal, lime, and freestone are found in the immediate vicinity.

Of the people of the Reserve we have spoken. They are hard-working and sober. Not more than half the townships, it is said, assess any poor tax. The temperance reform has been more general here than in any other part of Ohio. Thousands have abandoned distilling, notwithstanding its profits; and many farmers will not sell their corn for distillation. The young, also, are taught that industry and economy, which their fathers learned in New England. We have

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* *Ohio Gazetteer*, article, *Cuyahoga*. — Silliman's *Journal*, for October, 1836, p. 45.

known three Western Reserve boys leave home for Connecticut "to get their education," with fifteen dollars among them, and reach New Haven with twelve still in their pockets.* But such journeys are no longer necessary, as the people of the Reserve are building colleges for themselves.

The section of Ohio which was last settled, was the northwest corner; that portion having been retained by the Indians until 1819.† Since it came into the market, it has been rapidly filling up, the land being of an excellent quality, and well watered; and, when the Miami Canal shall be completed to the Maumee, as it will be in a year or two, this will be a very thriving section. Here, also, is a great water-power, the Maumee falling from sixty to seventy feet in the eighteen miles above Perrysburg.

Having thus glanced at the different portions of the State whose fiftieth birthday was commemorated last April, we will but ask our readers to bear with us a little longer, while we touch upon some points in which the State at large is concerned.

The first form of Territorial government was organized in July, 1788; the governor, and most of the leading men of that day, being Federalists. In September, 1799, the legislature, which the people were at that time, under the Ordinance, entitled to elect, assembled at Cincinnati. This body very naturally possessed some of the democratic temper, then prevalent; and the free use, which the governor made of his veto power, caused some clashing between the representatives and himself. In November, 1802, Congress having passed an act authorizing the formation of a State government, a convention met at Chillicothe to form a constitution. This convention was very thoroughly Jeffersonian; and the result of its meeting was a thorough democratic constitution. Of the excellences and defects of this instrument, we have not time to speak; but they are those of a truly popular form of government. Neither can we say any thing, in detail, of the laws that have been passed

* The Reserve boys cannot compete with the native Yankees, however; one of whom, a year or two since, being in the South of Ohio, and wishing to go home, bought him a cow, and, trudging at her heels with his book, lived on her milk and what he got in exchange for it, and sold her at an advance, when he reached his point of destination.

† *Land Laws*, p. 187, *et seq.*

by the State legislature. They have, in the main, evidenced the good sense and correct principles of the people. The great faults have been, haste in their preparation, continual change, and too much local legislation; all which have resulted from too great a love of making laws.*

But there are three things which have had, and will hereafter have, so great an influence upon the fortunes of Ohio, that we cannot close without a reference to their history; we mean steam-boats, canals, and common schools.

The idea of using steam in the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi occurred to Mr. James Rumsey, of Virginia, as early as the year 1782.† In 1784, his invention had been made known to Washington, who mentions it at the close of his letter to Governor Harrison, respecting internal improvements, dated October 10th of that year; and speaks of it more fully in a letter to Dr. Williamson, written upon the 15th of the following March.‡ Mr. Rumsey also obtained, in 1784, patents from two States; but his plan, which was essentially to pump up water at the head of the boat, and force it out again at the stern (which pumping and forcing were to be done by an old-fashioned atmospheric steam engine), did not ever come into use, though the model of it worked well.

From that time, until Fulton determined to try his steam-boats on the western waters, people contented themselves with arks, keels, and flats. In 1811 and 1812, Mr. Fulton caused to be built at Pittsburg the *Orleans*, of four hundred tons. She left that place in December, 1812, and, passing down the river, presented for the first time to the dwellers upon its banks the spectacle of a self-moving boat. § But, though this did very well for a voyage down the stream, it was found to be even less available than the keel-boat for the passage against the stream; and, from 1812 to 1816, it was thought hopeless to make a steam-boat that should stem the current and ascend the rapids of the Mississippi and Ohio. In 1816, however, Captain Henry M. Shreve (since famous

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* Ohio has now thirty-six volumes of general laws. In 1837, were printed one hundred and forty-four pages of general, and six hundred and seventy-eight of local laws.

† *Cincinnati Directory*, for 1819, p. 64.

‡ Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. IX. pp. 68, 104.

§ *Cincinnati Directory*, for 1819, p. 55.

as the inventor of the snag-boats, or "Uncle Sam's tooth-pullers," as the river-men call them,) built at Wheeling the *Washington*, having one large boiler on her upper deck; and, though she was so unlucky as to burst this boiler while at Marietta on her way down, * she reached New Orleans in safety; and, returning to the Falls, first convinced the merchants and mariners of the West that such boats might supersede the keels. But even after this many doubted; and, when the first boat, the *Vesta*, was built at Cincinnati, in 1817, those best fitted to judge, scoffed at the idea, that she could bring freight up stream cheaper than the keel-boats; "Gentlemen," said the builder, a sanguine, and as they thought, mad man, "you now pay five and six dollars a hundred from New Orleans; but we shall some of us live to see steam doing the work for one half that."—He and they have lived to see it reduced to one eighth.

We need say nothing as to the immense influence which has been exerted upon the whole West by the use of steam-boats; their value is self-evident. At present, between six and seven hundred are plying upon the waters that discharge themselves through the Mississippi.

But, vast as must have been the effect of rapid and cheap carriage upon the great rivers and lakes, it would have done but little toward developing the resources of Ohio without those roads and canals which connect the interior with the coast. Long after steam-boats were in full operation, a wet fall and heavy roads made it so difficult to get produce to a market, that wheat-stacks rotted where they stood, or were given over to the swine, as not being worth the threshing. Now, the farmer in the interior may put his cheese or pork into the canal-boat, and, without touching land again, it passes to either extremity of the Union.

The great New York canal was suggested by Gouverneur Morris, in 1777; † but, as early as 1774, Washington tells us, that he had thought of a system of improvements by which to connect the Altantic with the Ohio; ‡ which system, ten years later, he tried most perseveringly to induce Virginia to act upon with energy. In the letter to Governor

* Silliman's *Journal*, for October, 1836. p. 1. The writer erroneously states the *Washington* to have been the first Western steam-boat.

† Sparks's *Life of Morris*, Vol. I. p. 497. ‡ Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. IX. p. 31.

Harrison, to which we referred a page or two back, he also suggests, that an examination be made as to the facilities for opening a communication, through the Cuyahoga, and Muskingum or Scioto, between lake Erie and the Ohio. Such a communication had been previously mentioned by Jefferson, in March, 1784; he even proposed a canal to connect the Cuyahoga and Big Beaver. * Three years later, Washington attempted to interest the federal government in his views, and exerted himself, by all the means in his power, to learn the exact state of the country about the sources of the Muskingum and Cuyahoga. † After he was called to the presidency, his mind was employed on other subjects; but the whites, that had meantime begun to people the West, used the course, which he had suggested, (as the Indians had done before them,) to carry goods from the Lake to the settlements on the Ohio; so that it was soon known definitely, that upon the summit level were ponds, through which, in a wet season, a complete water connexion was formed between the Cuyahoga and Muskingum.

From this time till 1817, the public mind underwent various changes; more and more persons becoming convinced that a canal between the heads of two rivers was far less desirable, in every point of view, than a complete canal communication from place to place, following the valleys of the rivers, and drawing water from them. In 1815, Dr. Drake, of Cincinnati, proposed a canal from some point on the Great Miami to the city in which he resided; ‡ and in January, 1818, Mr., afterwards Governor Brown, writes thus, "Experience, the best guide, has tested the infinite superiority of this mode of commercial intercourse over the best roads, or any navigation of the beds of small rivers. In comparing it with the latter, I believe you will find the concurrent testimony of the most skilful and experienced engineers of France and England, against the river, and in favor of the canal, for very numerous reasons." §

In accordance with these views, Mr. Brown made every inquiry respecting the feasibility of canals from the mouth of

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* Jefferson's *Correspondence*, Vol. II. p. 222.
† See Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. IX. pp. 214, 291, 303, *et seq.*
‡ Drake's *Picture of Cincinnati*, p. 224.
§ *Cincinnati Directory*, for 1819, p. 73.

the Cuyahoga to the Ohio, and from Dayton to Cincinnati; and in 1820, being then executive of the State, laid his views before the legislature. * Four years were devoted to making surveys and estimates, and arousing people to the utility of the proposed measure; and, in 1824, two lines were definitely determined on, the one beginning at the mouth of the Scioto River, crossing by the valley of the Licking to the upper Muskingum, and thence to the Lake; the second connecting Cincinnati with the Lake, by the valleys of the Great Miami, Loramie's Creek, the Auglaize, and the Maumee. The subject was now ready for legislative action, and in February, 1825, an act was passed, authorizing the construction of the route from the mouth of the Scioto, through to the Lake; and of the other, to Dayton. The only opposition to this act was by some of the land-owners in the eastern part of the State, and most of them were finally led to change their views.

The first cost of the Miami Canal, which connects Cincinnati with the fertile country lying back, was about $900,000, it being a little more than sixty-seven miles long. During the year ending October 31st, 1837, this canal received in tolls &c., deducting contingent expenses, about $57,000.

The Ohio Canal cost $4,244,539; its length being three hundred and thirty-three miles. During the year ending October 31st, 1837, the net income was something over $280,000. †

The Miami Canal has been since extended thirty miles beyond Dayton; and, at this time, the whole line, with the exception of fifty-three miles, is under contract, to its junction with the Wabash and Erie Canal, near Defiance.

The Wabash and Erie Canal begins at the head of steamboat navigation upon the great river of Indiana; and after passing into Ohio, extends about eighty-seven miles and then enters the Maumee. The whole line is under contract.

The other State works now in progress, are the Walhonding Canal, which passes from the Ohio Canal up the Walhonding or Whitewoman's River, and which will ultimately be extended up the various branches of that river into the

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* Chase, *Statutes*, Vol. I. p. 44.

† This is the net income paid into the treasury, without deducting repairs, &c. See abstract of statistics, at the close of this article.

counties of Richland, Knox, Holmes, and Wayne; the Hocking Canal, by which the Ohio Canal and Ohio River will be connected; the Muskingum River improvements, by which the Ohio Canal and Muskingum will be connected, and the latter be made navigable for steam-boats; the national road; and a side cut from the Miami Canal, of twenty miles. In addition to these public works, are two company canals connecting the Ohio Canal and Ohio River at different points; the one entering Pennsylvania and passing down the Big Beaver River, the other entering the Ohio just at the State line; and also the Whitewater Canal, connecting Cincinnati with the great Indiana Canal, and so with the whole interior of that State. There are also in progress, two railroads from Sandusky, one to connect with the Miami Canal at Dayton, the other running into the centre of Huron County.

But perhaps the best idea that we can give of the commercial facilities, natural and acquired, of Ohio, will be by the following statement, showing the number of counties bordering on the Ohio and Lake Erie, and also how many are crossed by a canal, railroad, or Macadamized road, now *actually made or in progress.*

There are in Ohio seventy-five counties. *

Upon the Ohio River lie	14
and, of these, seven have through their interior either a canal, railroad, or Macadamized road.	
Upon the Lake, lie	7
and, of these, three have through their interior a railroad or canal.	
Canals, now made or making, pass through .	32
Railroads, now in progress, pass through . .	6
Macadamized roads, made or in progress, pass through	5
Of the seventy-five, remain unimproved by canal, railroad, or McAdam road, though most have turnpike roads, ...	11
	75

And nowhere, among those yet mentioned, have we included ten canal, and forty-one railroad companies, which have as yet done nothing; though, in some of the largest, suffi-

* Not including a new county erected last winter, called Erie.

cient stock is taken to enable them to begin operations as soon as the money market is easier.

Nor should we omit to mention, that by a law of 1836-7, when one half of the stock of a turnpike-road, or two thirds of that of a canal, or railroad, is taken by individuals, and the object is approved of by those who have charge of the public works of the State, the governor is authorized to subscribe in the name of the State for the balance. Under this law, in January last, nine turnpike-roads, three railroads, and two canals had been approved of by the Board of Public Works; and, in February, the State had become interested with individuals and companies to the amount of $1,054,311·10.

The third of these improvements, which have produced, and will produce, the most permanent influence on Ohio, is the system of common schools.

The Ordinance of 1787 provided, that, "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be for ever encouraged." In the previous Ordinance of 1785, regulating the sale of lands in the West, Section No. 16 of every township was reserved "for the maintenance of public schools within the said township." And the Constitution of Ohio, using the words of the Ordinance of 1787, says, that "schools and the means of instruction shall for ever be encouraged by legislative provision." In accordance with the feelings shown in these several clauses, the governors of Ohio always mentioned the subject of education with great respect in their messages, but nothing was done to make it general. It was supposed, that people would not willingly be taxed to educate the children of their poor neighbours; not so much because they failed to perceive the necessity that exists for all to be educated, in order that the commonwealth may be safe and prosperous; but because a vast number, that lived in Ohio, still doubted whether Ohio would be their ultimate abiding-place. They came to the West to make money rather than to find a home, and did not care to help educate those whose want of education they might never feel.

Such was the state of things until about the year 1816, at which time several persons in Cincinnati, who knew the benefits of a free-school system, united, and commenced a correspondence with different portions of the State. Their

ideas being warmly responded to, by the dwellers in the Ohio Company's purchase, and the Western Reserve more particularly, committees of correspondence were appointed in the different sections, and various means were resorted to, to call the attention of the public to the subject; among the most efficient of which was the publication of an *Education Almanac* at Cincinnati. This work was edited by Nathan Guilford, a lawyer of that place, who had from the first taken a deep interest in the matter. For seven or eight years this gentleman and his associates labored silently and ceaselessly to diffuse their sentiments, before any attempt was made to bring the subject into the legislature. At length, in 1824, it having been ascertained, that a strong feeling existed in favor of a common-school system through the eastern and northeastern parts of the State, and it being also known that the western men, who were then bringing forward their canal schemes, wished to secure the assistance of their less immediately benefited fellow-citizens, it was thought to be a favorable time to bring the free-school proposition forward; the understanding being, that, as neither the friends of canals, nor those of schools, were strong enough by themselves to carry their project, each should assist the other. This understanding, which was rather implied than expressed, has led some to say, that the free-school system was attained by "log-rolling"; which saying, though true in one sense, is not to be understood in the sense that refers to individual solicitation and promise. On this occasion Cincinnati sent to the Senate Mr. Guilford, whose avowed and main object in thus entering public life was to help on the accomplishment of his favorite project, and to that he devoted himself during the session. Many thought his toil useless; some of the leading men said, the measure was unconstitutional, unwise, and against popular feeling entirely; but they proved false prophets, as it was carried by a very large vote, and became a popular measure.

The Reverend Manasseh Cutler, one of the leading directors of the Ohio Company, stood by the side of the chief projector of the school-law at the bar of the House of Representatives when the final vote was taken upon it; and, as the Speaker announced the result, the old man raised his hands and uttered the words of Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for

mine eyes have seen thy salvation!" It was a touching and true tribute.

Mr. Guilford, having brought about the particular good which he had in view, became a private citizen again, setting to the common political aspirants of the country an example well worthy their consideration. He still lives, and praise would here be misplaced; but no one can doubt, looking only to the object he effected, that his name will ever be remembered with those of the great benefactors of Ohio and the West.

During the thirteen years, that have passed since free schools were first established, some changes have been made in the laws respecting them, one of the most important of which was the appointment, eighteen months since, of a Superintendent, whose business it is to collect all the information possible respecting the state of the public schools, of the school funds, and of the effects of the system, which he is to make public annually, in the form of a Report to the legislature; and, to assist in the diffusion of his knowledge, he is, by the school law of the past winter, to publish a journal every second month, devoted to education. The Superintendent made his first Report last January, which Report was very favorable, inasmuch as it represents the people throughout the State to be very anxious to have such measures taken, as shall render the means of general education more accessible than they have yet been made. The Report contains sixty-five pages, and exhibits at length the evils of the present arrangement, with suggestions for the future; which suggestions, having been embodied in an act, were, in the main, adopted with great unanimity by the legislature, much of whose time and attention last winter was given to the subject of education. The great evils have been a want of funds, and an injudicious division of those that the State possessed. The idea now brought forward is, to have, yearly, two hundred thousand dollars, at least, distributed through the State, according to the number of youth in each township, on such principles as will secure to each township an equal additional sum, to be raised by the townships respectively; by which plan every child in the State would have about eighty cents yearly. For the present state of the school funds, we refer our readers to the statistical abstract, at the close of this article.

Another legislative step, which showed the feeling that exists on the subject of education, was the commission given to Professor Stowe, two years since, to examine the public schools of Europe, whither he was going to purchase a library for Lane Seminary. His Report was made to the legislature during the last winter, and is a very interesting one; clear, condensed, and practical. This feeling has shown itself also by education conventions, and in the yearly meeting of teachers, which takes place at Cincinnati.

Nor have High Schools and Colleges been disregarded by Ohio, though it is the general feeling that they, as the Superintendent says, "will, as a natural consequence, grow out of good common schools." In the Ohio Company's purchase two townships were given by Congress for a university, and its place of location was called Athens. The present income from the lands owned by this institution is four thousand dollars. There are four professorships, and, during 1835 – 6, this College had from ninety-five to one hundred students; during the present year there are but fifty-three.

There is another college at Marietta, established in 1832, which is doing very well.

In the Miami neighbourhood are, — the Miami University, at Oxford, Butler county, chartered in 1809, endowed with one township of excellent land, and now containing about one hundred and sixty students; — the Cincinnati College, at Cincinnati, incorporated in 1819, but, for many years previous to 1835, entirely quiescent; now, however, in full operation again, having, in March last, an Academical Department with one hundred and eighty-two scholars, most of them youths in the primary and preparatory classes; a law class of eighteen; and a medical class of one hundred and twenty-five; with eighteen teachers; — the Woodward College and High School, at Cincinnati, well endowed, and having about one hundred and fifty students; — and the Lane Seminary, about two miles from Cincinnati, which is now a purely theological seminary, of the Presbyterian sect. This institution, in March last, contained forty-two students, and five teachers; it also possesses a library of ten thousand volumes, which is, for its size, one of the most complete in the United States.

In the Western Reserve, we have the Western Reserve College, at Hudson, Portage county, with one hundred and

seven scholars, two years since; the Willoughby University, in Cuyahoga county, incorporated in 1834, and but partially organized; and the Oberlin Institute, in Lorraine county, incorporated in 1834, and containing, in 1836, three hundred and ten students, ninety-two of whom were girls.

Besides these, are Kenyon College, at Gambia, Knox county, an Episcopal Seminary, with one hundred thousand dollars' worth of property, and educating more than two hundred students; Franklin College, in Harrison county, chartered in 1825, from which, in 1837, graduated nine young men; and two Medical colleges, one at Worthington, Franklin county, and the other at Cincinnati, the latter being a State institution.*

We may also mention, in this connexion, the State Institution for the Deaf and Dumb; the ninth Annual Report of which, in 1837, shows that one hundred and twenty-seven persons have received instruction therein;—that for the Blind, opened a year since, and containing eleven pupils, under the temporary arrangement which exists until the building, now erecting, is finished;—and the Lunatic Asylum, which, it is thought, will be in operation during the coming autumn; the building (of two hundred and ninety-five feet front, and capable of containing one hundred and twenty patients, each having a room, beside officers, and those patients that require strict confinement,) being nearly completed.

We have thus, in a hasty and incomplete, but we trust, not wholly useless manner, presented an outline of the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial advantages of the State of Ohio; together with the prospect she has for affording to all her children an ample intellectual education. We will now only point to some of the more prominent influences, that will bear upon the individual spiritual well-being of her citizens;—that object for which government, civilization, and knowledge, all exist; and leave our readers to prophesy, each for himself, her future destiny.

The necessity for industry on the part of the people of Ohio, to which we have already referred, we regard as an important element toward determining the spiritual character of that people. To this we now add,—the climate, that permits labor, and, during most of the year, makes it grateful; the absence of slavery, which prevents the un-

* For most of these facts we are indebted to the *Ohio Gazetteer*, of 1837.

natural prejudice against bodily labor, which that institution produces; the division of the soil among its tillers; their freehold tenure; the mixed character of the people, in respect to religious faith, social views, political and sectional prejudices, — which mixture tends to make men less bigoted, and more catholic in their spirit; the ease with which every community is approached by those from other portions, which forbids local habits and prejudices; political freedom; a continual striving for social equality, which is, in substance, an antagonism to a reverence for mere wealth and professional knowledge, unsupported by ability and worth; and a general disposition not to reject religion, but to refuse to receive any form of religious faith on the mere word of a teacher. These, with almost universal comfort in physical matters, and very general wealth; and, also, universal information; and every form of Christianity; are, we believe, the influences that Ohio contains within herself for the future developement of her children. Whether they may be expected, considered with reference to the external influences that will also bear upon her, to produce something like a Christian State, socially, politically, and religiously, all may judge as well as we. But if they do not, if, on the contrary, they lead to worldliness, and anarchy, and irreligion, — are we therefore to despair? Because this people is not fitted for freedom, is freedom, therefore, not fitted for man? We reject all such views. Through freedom alone can man become what he should be; and, though America may but prove, what other lands have proved, each in its time, that he is still unfitted to escape wholly from pupilage, we look forward with not only hope, but faith, to the day when society shall be, not a mass of warring parties, but a Christian brotherhood; and we do this because, in the past, we see man ever advancing to this point.

In conclusion we give the following statistical abstract.

POPULATION OF OHIO.

By the census of 1830, it was 937,903, of which number 9,568 were free blacks. Now estimated at more than a million and a half, by the best judges.

LANDS.

Ohio contains about twenty-five million acres.
In 1831, the United States still owned five million acres;
" 1837, they owned not more than three million.

In 1834, seventeen million acres were returned for taxation, at an average value (excluding town lots) of a little less than three dollars;

" 1837, the returns from sixty-one counties (those from fourteen not being reported) gave about fourteen millions and a half of acres.

The value of the whole real estate of Ohio (fifteen million acres and town lots) in 1836, was estimated at $ 67,800,000

The Committee on Finance (March, 1838,) think it should have been 200,000,000

Or, if the estimate be on twenty-two million acres, 235,000,000

STATE REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.

Receipts during the year ending Nov. 15th,						1836,	205,922·44
"	"	"	"	"	"	1837,	301,543·28
Expenses	"	"	"	"	"	1836,	208,276·17
"	"	"	"	"	"	1837,	274,071·40

Of the Receipts for 1837,

Taxes on assessed property, (lands and houses, town lots, merchants' capital, pleasure carriages, horses, and cattle,)	214,209·15
Tax on banks, insurance companies, and bridge companies, ...	48,378·07
Tax on lawyers and physicians, . . .	1910·59
Tax on pedlers, ...	1086·08
Former appropriations repaid, about . .	3000·00

Of the Expenses for 1837.

The legislature cost, ...	49,988·55
Stationery, ...	10,688·09
Printing, ...	17,692·44
State officers and judges, ...	23,070·53

Large sums were expended on the public asylums, &c.

The rate of taxation varies in the different counties. In Hamilton county, in 1837, it was about eighteen mills on the dollar; three and a quarter for State and canal purposes, and nearly six and a half for county purposes. In Trumbull county, it was between twelve and thirteen mills. The Finance Committee estimate, on the present assessment of property, an average, through the State, of from eleven and a half to fourteen mills.

For expenses of State government,	2 mills.
" canals, ...	2 "
" schools, ...	$2\frac{1}{2}$ "
" roads, ...	2 "
" sundries, ...	3 "
Towns and cities, . . .	$2\frac{1}{2}$ "

This is on an assessment, which makes the whole property of Ohio but $91,250,000. The Committee think a true estimate would make it $291,000,000. So that taxes are only nominally high, on the true valuation; one mill and a half being enough for all purposes.

STATE DEBTS.—JANUARY 1st, 1838.

Borrowed at 5 per cent.	$550,000
" 6 " "	*4,670,000
" from School Funds, at 6 per cent. .	1,067,005
Other debts, amounting to nearly . . .	149,000

It is estimated that the cost of the public works, now in hand, will, with the above and the State subscription to private works, cause the State debt, in three or four years, to be $13,500,000.

CANALS.

Ohio Canal; net tolls to October 31st, 1837,	$282,407·28
Expended in repairs and new work, to December 1st, 1837, ...	155,751·55
Miami Canal; net tolls to October 31st, 1837,	54,307·12
Expenses, including large purchases of land, to obtain water power, ...	85,635·96
Expenditures during 1837, on other State works,	436,298·55
In 1835, Canal interest and expenses came to .	309,891·47
Their whole revenue, deducting repairs,	155,777·59
" 1836, Expenses were	294,463·30
Revenue was but	138,930·33
" 1837, Expenses were	409,540·54
Revenue	280,782·53
For 1838, the estimated expenses are . .	435,656·00
" " " revenue is . .	373,686·00

The above statements refer to all the State works, except the Wabash and Erie, and the Dayton and Maumee Canals; the interest upon the cost of which may be paid, it is thought, without taxes, in consequence of the public lands given by the United States toward their construction.

As yet, the net revenue from tolls on the canals, has not been more than three per cent. on the cost; and, while new works are making, that for some time yield little, this deficiency will continue.

On the Ohio and Miami Canals, the receipts are rapidly approaching the interest on their cost; in 1838, allowing less

* This is from the *Report* of the Finance Committee; the Auditor's *Special Report*, February 8th, makes it $1,200,000 more.

than the annual increase for some years past, we may expect the tolls to be, net, ... $360,000
Repairs and superintendence, ... 80,000

Net revenue, 4½ per cent. 280,000
Interest on their cost, (say, $6,000,000,) . . 355,000

To be made up by taxes, &c. $75,000

The following table shows the increase of the exportation of some of the staples, by the Ohio Canal, northward, through Cleveland; and also of the tolls.

	1833.	1834.	1836.	1837.
Wheat, bushels,	386,760	333,868	464,756	548,697
Corn, "	74,913	2,653	392,281	280,374
Coal, mineral,	49,131	95,634	84,924	184,646
Flour, barrels,	98,302	105,326	167,539	207,593
Pork, "	22,758	33,884	13,496	43,513
Lard, pounds,	498,724	825,648	636,409	1,555,536

	Tolls received at Cleveland.	Tolls received on whole line of the Ohio Canal.	Tolls received on both Canals.
In 1833,	$51,835·74	$136,092·70	$186,563·33
" 1834,	62,730·35	159,977·23	210,018·22
" 1836,	60,583·36	206,864·91	257,975·43
" 1837,	80,051·26	292,836·10	355,769·50

N. B. This account of tolls is of each year to December 1st; and therefore differs, somewhat, from the returns to November 1st, previously given. The great rise from 1836 to 1837 is, in part, owing to an increase in the rate of tolls.

Schools.

Number of School Districts in Ohio, more than . . 8,000
" Children between four and twenty-one years, more than 500 000
" Children at school, nearly . . . 228,000
" Public Schools, 4,336 }
" Private " 2,175 } . . . 6,511
" Teachers, male and female, about . 8,000
Amount paid teachers yearly, public and private, $465,738
Number of School-houses, ... 4,378

School Funds.

School lands sold, and proceeds funded, and, excepting $6,800, paying 6 per cent. . $1,153,239·56
Proceeds of lands sold and not paid in, . . 400,000·00
Lands unsold, but generally paying rent, . . 880,000·00

Interest on funded proceeds, and receipts from unsold lands,	$88,786·34
Taxes for school purposes,	140,000·00
Interest on surplus revenue,	100,363·00
Subscription, &c.	109,788·00
To be paid for tuition to public schools, 1837–8,	$438,937·34

N. B. The school lands include, beside the section given for education by the Ordinance of 1785, lands given in lieu thereof in the Virginia Reservation, in the Connecticut Reservation, and in the United States Military District; and also the Salt Lands. In addition to the above revenue, the legislature, during the past winter, gave to the School Fund the tax on banks, &c.; and the whole revenue for 1838–9, will be more than $500,000.

PENITENTIARY.

Receipts from labor of convicts, for the year ending November 30th, 1837,	$42,920·96
Expenses of every kind during that year,	34,768·44
Net profit,	8,152·52
To which should be added, labor of convicts on the Penitentiary itself,	4,405·45
	$12,557·97

Number of prisoners December 1st, 1836,	314	
Received during the year 1837,	145	459
Discharged (26), pardoned (24), died, &c.		67
December 1st, 1837,		392

In 1835, were received 150 new prisoners; in 1836, 112; in 1837, 145. Of the 145 convicted during the last year, 18 were guilty of burglary; 18 of counterfeiting; 47 of grand larceny; 20 of horse stealing. From New York, were 32 of them; 23 from Pennsylvania; 21 from Ohio; 11 from Virginia; and 15 from the New England States.

ART. II. — *The Poetical Works of* JOHN MILTON. A new Edition. 2 vols. 8vo. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Co. 1836.

THE discovery of the lost work of Milton, the treatise "Of the Christian Doctrine," in 1823, drew a sudden attention to his name. For a short time the literary journals were filled with disquisitions on his genius; new editions of his works, and new compilations of his life, were published.

But the new-found book having, in itself, less attraction than any other work of Milton, the curiosity of the public as quickly subsided, and left the poet to the enjoyment of his permanent fame, or to such increase or abatement of it only, as is incidental to a sublime genius, quite independent of the momentary challenge of universal attention to his claims.

But, if the new and temporary renown of the poet is silent again, it is nevertheless true, that he has gained, in this age, some increase of permanent praise. The fame of a great man is not rigid and stony like his bust. It changes with time. It needs time to give it due perspective. It was very easy to remark an altered tone in the criticism when Milton re-appeared as an author, fifteen years ago, from any that had been bestowed on the same subject before. It implied merit indisputable and illustrious; yet so near to the modern mind as to be still alive and life-giving. The aspect of Milton, to this generation, will be part of the history of the nineteenth century. There is no name in literature between his age and ours, that rises into any approach to his own. And as a man's fame, of course, characterizes those who give it, as much as him who receives it, the new criticism indicated a change in the public taste, and a change which the poet himself might claim to have wrought.

The reputation of Milton had already undergone one or two revolutions long anterior to its recent aspects. In his lifetime, he was little, or not at all, known as a poet, but obtained great respect from his contemporaries as an accomplished scholar, and a formidable controvertist. His poem fell unregarded among his countrymen. His prose writings, especially the "Defence of the English People," seem to have been read with avidity. These tracts are remarkable compositions. They are earnest, spiritual, rich with allusion, sparkling with innumerable ornaments; but, as writings designed to gain a practical point, they fail. They are not effective, like similar productions of Swift and Burke; or, like what became, also, controversial tracts, several masterly speeches in the history of the American Congress. Milton seldom deigns a glance at the obstacles, that are to be overcome before that which he proposes can be done. There is no attempt to conciliate, — no mediate, no preparatory course suggested, — but, peremptory and impassioned, he demands, on the instant, an ideal justice. Therein they are discriminat-

ed from modern writings, in which a regard to the actual is all but universal.

Their rhetorical excellence must also suffer some deduction. They have no perfectness. These writings are wonderful for the truth, the learning, the subtilty and pomp of the language; but the whole is sacrificed to the particular. Eager to do fit justice to each thought, he does not subordinate it so as to project the main argument. He writes whilst he is heated; the piece shows all the rambles and resources of indignation; but he has never *integrated* the parts of the argument in his mind. The reader is fatigued with admiration, but is not yet master of the subject.

Two of his pieces may be excepted from this description, one for its faults, the other for its excellence. The "Defence of the People of England," on which his contemporary fame was founded, is, when divested of its pure Latinity, the worst of his works. Only its general aim, and a few elevated passages, can save it. We could be well content, if the flames to which it was condemned at Paris, at Toulouse, and at London, had utterly consumed it. The lover of his genius will always regret, that he should not have taken counsel of his own lofty heart at this, as at other times, and have written from the deep convictions of love and right, which are the foundations of civil liberty. There is little poetry, or prophecy, in this mean and ribald scolding. To insult Salmasius, not to acquit England, is the main design. What under heaven had Madame de Saumaise, or the manner of living of Saumaise, or Salmasius, or his blunders of grammar, or his niceties of diction, to do with the solemn question, whether Charles Stuart had been rightly slain? Though it evinces learning and critical skill, yet, as an historical argument, it cannot be valued with similar disquisitions of Robertson and Hallam, and even less celebrated scholars. But, when he comes to speak of the reason of the thing, then he always recovers himself. The voice of the mob is silent, and Milton speaks. And the peroration, in which he implores his countrymen to refute this adversary by their great deeds, is in a just spirit. The other piece, is his "Areopagitica," the discourse, addressed to the Parliament, in favor of removing the censorship of the press; the most splendid of his prose works. It is, as Luther said of one of Melancthon's writings, "alive, hath hands and feet,—and not

like Erasmus's sentences, which were made, not grown." The weight of the thought is equalled by the vivacity of the expression, and it cheers as well as teaches. This tract is far the best known, and the most read of all, and is still a magazine of reasons for the freedom of the press. It is valuable in history as an argument addressed to a government to produce a practical end, and plainly presupposes a very peculiar state of society.

But deeply as that peculiar state of society, in which and for which Milton wrote, has engraved itself in the remembrance of the world, it shares the destiny which overtakes every thing local and personal in nature; and the accidental facts, on which a battle of principles was fought, have already passed, or are fast passing, into oblivion. We have lost all interest in Milton as the redoubted disputant of a sect; but by his own innate worth this man has steadily risen in the world's reverence, and occupies a more imposing place in the mind of men at this hour than ever before.

It is the aspect, which he presents to this generation, that alone concerns us. Milton, the controvertist, has lost his popularity long ago; and if we skip the pages of "Paradise Lost" where "God the Father argues like a school divine," so did the next age to his own. But we are persuaded, he kindles a love and emulation in us, which he did not in foregoing generations. We think we have seen and heard criticism upon the poems, which the bard himself would have more valued than the recorded praise of Dryden, Addison, and Johnson, because it came nearer to the mark; was finer and closer appreciation; the praise of intimate knowledge and delight; and, of course, more welcome to the poet than the general and vague acknowledgment of his genius by those able, but unsympathizing critics. We think we have heard the recitation of his verses by genius, which found in them that which itself would say; recitation which told, in the diamond sharpness of every articulation, that now first was such perception and enjoyment possible; the perception and enjoyment of all his varied rhythm, and his perfect fusion of the classic and the English styles. This is a poet's right; for every masterpiece of art goes on for some ages reconciling the world unto itself, and despotically fashioning the public ear. The opposition to it, always greatest at first, continually decreases and at last ends; and a new race grows

up in the taste and spirit of the work, with the utmost advantage for seeing intimately its power and beauty.

But it would be great injustice to Milton to consider him as enjoying merely a critical reputation. It is the prerogative of this great man to stand at this hour foremost of all men in literary history, and so (shall we not say?) of all men, in the power *to inspire*. Virtue goes out of him into others. Leaving out of view the pretensions of our contemporaries (always an incalculable influence), we think no man can be named, whose mind still acts on the cultivated intellect of England and America with an energy comparable to that of Milton. As a poet, Shakspeare undoubtedly transcends, and far surpasses him in his popularity with foreign nations; but Shakspeare is a voice merely; who and what he was that sang, that sings, we know not. Milton stands erect, commanding, still visible as a man among men, and reads the laws of the moral sentiment to the newborn race. There is something pleasing in the affection with which we can regard a man who died a hundred and sixty years ago in the other hemisphere, who, in respect to personal relations, is to us as the wind, yet by an influence purely spiritual makes us jealous for his fame as for that of a near friend. He is identified in the mind with all select and holy images, with the supreme interests of the human race. If hereby we attain any more precision, we proceed to say, that we think no man in these later ages, and few men ever, possessed so great a conception of the manly character. Better than any other he has discharged the office of every great man, namely, to raise the idea of Man in the minds of his contemporaries and of posterity, — to draw after nature a life of man, exhibiting such a composition of grace, of strength, and of virtue, as poet had not described nor hero lived. Human nature in these ages is indebted to him for its best portrait. Many philosophers in England, France, and Germany, have formally dedicated their study to this problem; and we think it impossible to recall one in those countries, who communicates the same vibration of hope, of self-reverence, of piety, of delight in beauty, which the name of Milton awakens. Lord Bacon, who has written much and with prodigious ability on this science, shrinks and falters before the absolute and uncourtly Puritan. Bacon's Essays are the portrait of an ambitious and profound calculator, — a great man of the vulgar

sort. Of the upper world of man's being they speak few and faint words. The man of Locke is virtuous without enthusiasm, and intelligent without poetry. Addison, Pope, Hume, and Johnson, students, with very unlike temper and success, of the same subject, cannot, taken together, make any pretension to the amount, or the quality, of Milton's inspirations. The man of Lord Chesterfield is unworthy to touch his garment's hem. Franklin's man is a frugal, inoffensive, thrifty citizen, but savours of nothing heroic. The genius of France has not, even in her best days, yet culminated in any one head, — not in Rousseau, not in Pascal, not in Fenelon, — into such perception of all the attributes of humanity, as to entitle it to any rivalry in these lists. In Germany, the greatest writers are still too recent to institute a comparison; and yet we are tempted to say, that art and not life seems to be the end of their effort. But the idea of a purer existence than any he saw around him, to be realized in the life and conversation of men, inspired every act and every writing of John Milton. He defined the object of education to be, "to fit a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war." He declared, that "he who would aspire to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem; that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honorablest things, not presuming to sing high praises of heroic men or famous cities, unless he have in himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy." Nor is there in literature a more noble outline of a wise external education, than that which he drew up, at the age of thirty-six, in his Letter to Samuel Hartlib. The muscles, the nerves, and the flesh, with which this skeleton is to be filled up and covered, exist in his works and must be sought there.

For the delineation of this heroic image of man, Milton enjoyed singular advantages. Perfections of body and of mind are attributed to him by his biographers, that, if the anecdotes had come down from a greater distance of time, or had not been in part furnished or corroborated by political enemies, would lead us to suspect the portraits were ideal, like the Cyrus of Xenophon, the Telemachus of Fenelon, or the popular traditions of Alfred the Great.

Handsome to a proverb, he was called the lady of his college. Aubrey says, "This harmonical and ingenuous soul dwelt in a beautiful and well proportioned body." His manners and his carriage did him no injustice. Wood, his political opponent, relates, that "his deportment was affable, his gait erect and manly, bespeaking courage and undauntedness." Aubrey adds a sharp trait, that "he pronounced the letter R very hard, a certain sign of a satirical genius." He had the senses of a Greek. His eye was quick, and he was accounted an excellent master of his rapier. His ear for music was so acute, that he was not only enthusiastic in his love, but a skilful performer himself; and his voice, we are told, was delicately sweet and harmonious. He insists that music shall make a part of a generous education.

With these keen perceptions, he naturally received a love of nature, and a rare susceptibility to impressions from external beauty. In the midst of London, he seems, like the creatures of the field and the forest, to have been tuned in concord with the order of the world; for, he believed, his poetic vein only flowed from the autumnal to the vernal equinox; and, in his essay on Education, he doubts whether, in the fine days of spring, any study can be accomplished by young men. "In those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature, not to go out and see her riches and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth." His sensibility to impressions from beauty needs no proof from his history; it shines through every page. The form and the voice of Leonora Baroni seem to have captivated him in Rome, and to her he addressed his Italian sonnets and Latin epigrams.

To these endowments it must be added, that his address and his conversation were worthy of his fame. His house was resorted to by men of wit, and foreigners came to England, we are told, "to see the Lord Protector and Mr. Milton." In a letter to one of his foreign correspondents, Emeric Bigot, and in reply apparently to some compliment on his powers of conversation, he writes; "Many have been celebrated for their compositions, whose common conversation and intercourse have betrayed no marks of sublimity or genius. But, as far as possible, I aim to show myself equal in thought and speech to what I have written, if I have written any thing well."

These endowments received the benefit of a careful and happy discipline. His father's care, seconded by his own endeavour, introduced him to a profound skill in all the treasures of the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Italian tongues; and, to enlarge and enliven his elegant learning, he was sent into Italy, where he beheld the remains of ancient art, and the rival works of Raphael, Michael Angelo, and Correggio; where, also, he received social and academical honors from the learned and the great. In Paris, he became acquainted with Grotius; in Florence or Rome, with Galileo; and probably no traveller ever entered that country of history with better right to its hospitality, none upon whom its influences could have fallen more congenially.

Among the advantages of his foreign travel, Milton certainly did not count it the least, that it contributed to forge and polish that great weapon of which he acquired such extraordinary mastery, — his power of language. His lore of foreign tongues added daily to his consummate skill in the use of his own. No individual writer has been an equal benefactor of the English tongue by showing its capabilities. Very early in life he became conscious that he had more to say to his fellow-men than they had fit words to embody. At nineteen years, in a college exercise, he addresses his native language, saying to it, that it would be his choice to leave trifles for a grave argument, —

> "Such as may make thee search thy coffers round,
> Before thou clothe my fancy in fit sound;
> Such where the deep transported mind may soar
> Above the wheeling poles, and at Heaven's door
> Look in, and see each blissful deity,
> How he before the thunderous throne doth lie."

Michael Angelo calls "him alone an artist, whose hands can execute what his mind has conceived." The world, no doubt, contains very many of that class of men whom Wordsworth denominates "*silent poets*," whose minds teem with images which they want words to clothe. But Milton's mind seems to have no thought or emotion which refused to be recorded. His mastery of his native tongue was more than to use it as well as any other; he cast it into new forms. He uttered in it things unheard before. Not imitating, but rivalling Shakspeare, he scattered, in tones of prolonged and delicate melody, his pastoral and romantic

fancies ; then, soaring into unattempted strains, he made it capable of an unknown majesty, and bent it to express every trait of beauty, every shade of thought ; and searched the kennel and jakes as well as the palaces of sound for the harsh discords of his polemic wrath. We may even apply to his performance on the instrument of language, his own description of music ;

"— notes, with many a winding bout
Of linked sweetness long drawn out,
With wanton heed and giddy cunning,
The melting voice through mazes running,
Untwisting all the chains that tie
The hidden soul of harmony."

But, whilst Milton was conscious of possessing this intellectual voice, penetrating through ages, and propelling its melodious undulations forward through the coming world, he knew also, that this mastery of language was a secondary power, and he respected the mysterious source whence it had its spring ; namely, clear conceptions, and a devoted heart. "For me," he said, in his "Apology for Smectymnuus," "although I cannot say, that I am utterly untrained in those rules which best rhetoricians have given, or unacquainted with those examples which the prime authors of eloquence have written in any learned tongue, yet true eloquence I find to be none but the serious and hearty love of truth ; and that whose mind soever is fully possessed with a fervent desire to know good things, and with the dearest charity to infuse the knowledge of them into others, when such a man would speak, his words, by what I can express, like so many nimble and airy servitors, trip about him at command, and in well-ordered files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their own places."

But, as basis or fountain of his rare physical and intellectual accomplishments, the man Milton was just and devout. He is rightly dear to mankind, because in him, — among so many perverse and partial men of genius, — in him humanity rights itself ; the old eternal goodness finds a home in his breast, and for once shows itself beautiful. His gifts are subordinated to his moral sentiments. And his virtues are so graceful, that they seem rather talents than labors. Among so many contrivances as the world has seen to make holiness ugly, in Milton, at least, it was so pure a flame,

that the foremost impression his character makes, is that of elegance. The victories of the conscience in him are gained by the commanding charm, which all the severe and restrictive virtues have for him. His virtues remind us of what Plutarch said of Timoleon's victories, that they resembled Homer's verses, they ran so easy and natural. His habits of living were austere. He was abstemious in diet, chaste, an early riser, and industrious. He tells us, in a Latin poem, that the lyrist may indulge in wine and in a freer life; but that he, who would write an epic to the nations, must eat beans and drink water. Yet in his severity is no grimace or effort. He serves from love, not from fear. He is innocent and exact, because his taste was so pure and delicate. He acknowledges to his friend Diodati, at the age of twenty-one, that he is enamoured, if ever any was, of moral perfection. "For, whatever the Deity may have bestowed upon me in other respects, he has certainly inspired me, if any ever were inspired, with a passion for the good and fair. Nor did Ceres, according to the fable, ever seek her daughter Proserpine with such unceasing solicitude, as I have sought this τοῦ καλοῦ ἰδέαν, this perfect model of the beautiful in all forms and appearances of things."

When he was charged with loose habits of living, he declares, that "a certain niceness of nature, an honest haughtiness and self-esteem either of what I was or what I might be, and a modesty, kept me still above those low descents of mind, beneath which he must deject and plunge himself, that can agree" to such degradation.

"His mind gave him," he said, "that every free and gentle spirit, without that oath of chastity, ought to be born a knight; nor needed to expect the gilt spur, or the laying of a sword upon his shoulder, to stir him up, by his counsel and his arm, to secure and protect" attempted innocence.

He states these things, he says, "to show, that, though Christianity had been but slightly taught him, yet a certain reservedness of natural disposition and moral discipline, learned out of the noblest philosophy, was enough to keep him in disdain of far less incontinences than these," that had been charged on him. In like spirit, he replies to the suspicious calumny respecting his morning haunts. "Those morning haunts are where they should be, at home; not sleeping, or concocting the surfeits of an irregular feast, but

up and stirring, in winter, often ere the sound of any bell awake men to labor or devotion ; in summer, as oft with the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to read good authors, or cause them to be read, till the attention be weary, or memory have its perfect fraught ; then with useful and generous labors preserving the body's health and hardiness, to render lightsome, clear, and not lumpish obedience to the mind, to the cause of religion, and our country's liberty, when it shall require firm hearts in sound bodies to stand and cover their stations. These are the morning practices." This native honor never forsook him. It is the spirit of "Comus," the loftiest song in the praise of chastity, that is in any language. It always sparkles in his eyes. It breathed itself over his decent form. It refined his amusements, which consisted in gardening, in exercise with the sword, and in playing on the organ. It engaged his interest in chivalry, in courtesy, in whatsoever savoured of generosity and nobleness. This magnanimity shines in all his life. He accepts a high impulse at every risk, and deliberately undertakes the defence of the English people, when advised by his physicians that he does it at the cost of sight. There is a forbearance even in his polemics. He opens the war and strikes the first blow. When he had cut down his opponents, he left the details of death and plunder to meaner partisans. He said, "he had learned the prudence of the Roman soldier, not to stand breaking of legs, when the breath was quite out of the body."

To this antique heroism, Milton added the genius of the Christian sanctity. Few men could be cited who have so well understood what is peculiar in the Christian ethics, and the precise aid it has brought to men, in being an emphatic affirmation of the omnipotence of spiritual laws, and, by way of marking the contrast to vulgar opinions, laying its chief stress on humility. The indifferency of a wise mind to what is called high and low, and the fact that true greatness is a perfect humility, are revelations of Christianity which Milton well understood. They give an inexhaustible truth to all his compositions. His firm grasp of this truth is his weapon against the prelates. He celebrates in the martyrs, "the unresistible might of weakness." He told the bishops, "that, instead of showing the reason of their lowly condition from divine example and command, they seek to prove their high

preëminence from human consent and authority." He advises, that, in country places, rather than to trudge many miles to a church, public worship be maintained nearer home, as in a house or barn. "For, notwithstanding the gaudy superstition of some still devoted ignorantly to temples, we may be well assured, that he who disdained not to be born in a manger, disdains not to be preached in a barn." And the following passage, in the "Reason of Church Government," indicates his own perception of the doctrine of humility. "Albeit, I must confess to be half in doubt whether I should bring it forth or no, it being so contrary to the eye of the world, that I shall endanger either not to be regarded, or not to be understood. For, who is there, almost, that measures wisdom by simplicity, strength by suffering, dignity by lowliness?" Obeying this sentiment, Milton deserved the apostrophe of Wordsworth;

> "Pure as the naked heavens, majestic, free,
> So didst thou travel on life's common way
> In cheerful godliness; and yet thy heart
> The lowliest duties on itself did lay."

He laid on himself the lowliest duties. Johnson petulantly taunts Milton with "great promise and small performance," in returning from Italy because his country was in danger, and then opening a private school. Milton, wiser, felt no absurdity in this conduct. He returned into his revolutionized country, and assumed an honest and useful task, by which he might serve the state daily, whilst he launched from time to time his formidable bolts against the enemies of liberty. He felt the heats of that "love" which "esteems no office mean." He compiled a logic for boys; he wrote a grammar; and devoted much of his time to the preparing of a Latin dictionary. But the religious sentiment warmed his writings and conduct with the highest affection of faith. The memorable covenant, which in his youth, in the second book of the "Reason of Church Government," he makes with God and his reader, expressed the faith of his old age. For the first time since many ages, the invocations of the Eternal Spirit in the commencement of his books, are not poetic forms, but are thoughts, and so are still read with delight. His views of choice of profession, and choice in marriage, equally expect a divine leading.

Thus chosen, by the felicity of his nature and of his breed-

ing, for the clear perception of all that is graceful and all that is great in man, Milton was not less happy in his times. His birth fell upon the agitated years, when the discontents of the English Puritans were fast drawing to a head against the tyranny of the Stuarts. No period has surpassed that in the general activity of mind. It is said, that no opinion, no civil, religious, moral dogma can be produced, that was not broached in the fertile brain of that age. Questions that involve all social and personal rights were hasting to be decided by the sword, and were searched by eyes to which the love of freedom, civil and religious, lent new illumination. Milton, gentle, learned, delicately bred in all the elegancy of art and learning, was set down in England in the stern, almost fanatic, society of the Puritans. The part he took, the zeal of his fellowship, make us acquainted with the greatness of his spirit, as in tranquil times we could not have known it. Susceptible as Burke to the attractions of historical prescription, of royalty, of chivalry, of an ancient church illustrated by old martyrdoms and installed in cathedrals, — he threw himself, the flower of elegancy, on the side of the reeking conventicle, the side of humanity, but unlearned and unadorned. His muse was brave and humane, as well as sweet. He felt the dear love of native land and native language. The humanity, which warms his pages, begins as it should at home. He preferred his own English, so manlike he was, to the Latin, which contained all the treasures of his memory. "My mother bore me," he said, "a speaker of what God made mine own, and not a translator." He told the Parliament, that "the imprimaturs of Lambeth House had been writ in Latin; for that our English, the language of men ever famous and foremost in the achievements of liberty, will not easily find servile letters enow to spell such a dictatory presumption." At one time, he meditated writing a poem on the settlement of Britain; and a history of England was one of the three main tasks which he proposed to himself. He proceeded in it no further than to the Conquest. He studied with care the character of his countrymen, and once in the "History," and once again in the "Reason of Church Government," he has recorded his judgment of the English genius.

Thus drawn into the great controversies of the times, in them he is never lost in a party. His private opinions and

private conscience always distinguish him. That which drew him to the party was his love of liberty, ideal liberty; this therefore he could not sacrifice to any party. Toland tells us, "As he looked upon true and absolute freedom to be the greatest happiness of this life, whether to societies or single persons, so he thought constraint of any sort to be the utmost misery; for which reason he used to tell those about him the entire satisfaction of his mind, that he had constantly employed his strength and faculties in the defence of liberty, and in direct opposition to slavery." Truly he was an apostle of freedom; of freedom in the house, in the state, in the church; freedom of speech, freedom of the press, yet in his own mind discriminated from savage license, because that which he desired was the liberty of the wise man, containing itself in the limits of virtue. He pushed, as far as any in that democratic age, his ideas of *civil* liberty. He proposed to establish a republic, of which the federal power was weak and loosely defined, and the substantial power should remain with primary assemblies. He maintained, that a nation may try, judge, and slay their king, if he be a tyrant. He pushed as far his views of *ecclesiastical* liberty. He taught the doctrine of unlimited toleration. One of his tracts is writ to prove that no power on earth can compel in matters of religion. He maintained the doctrine of *literary* liberty, denouncing the censorship of the press, and insisting that a book shall come into the world as freely as a man, so only it bear the name of author or printer, and be responsible for itself like a man. He maintained the doctrine of *domestic* liberty, or the liberty of divorce, on the ground that unfit disposition of mind was a better reason for the act of divorce, than infirmity of body, which was good ground in law. The tracts he wrote on these topics are, for the most part, as fresh and pertinent to-day, as they were then. The events which produced them, the practical issues to which they tend, are mere occasions for this philanthropist to blow his trumpet for human rights. They are all varied applications of one principle, the liberty of the wise man. He sought absolute truth, not accommodating truth. His opinions on all subjects are formed for man as he ought to be, for a nation of Miltons. He would be divorced, when he finds in his consort unfit disposition; knowing that he should not abuse that liberty, because with his whole heart

he abhors licentiousness and loves chastity. He defends the slaying of the king; because a king is a king no longer than he governs by the laws; "it would be right to kill Philip of Spain making an inroad into England, and what right the king of Spain hath to govern us at all, the same hath the king Charles to govern tyranically." He would remove hirelings out of the church, and support preachers by voluntary contributions; requiring, that such only should preach, as have faith enough to accept so self-denying and precarious a mode of life, scorning to take thought for the aspects of prudence and expediency. The most devout man of his time, he frequented no church; probably from a disgust at the fierce spirit of the pulpits. And so, throughout all his actions and opinions, is he a consistent spiritualist, or believer in the omnipotence of spiritual laws. He wished that his writings should be communicated only to those who desired to see them. He thought nothing honest was low. He thought he could be famous only in proportion as he enjoyed the approbation of the good. He admonished his friend "not to admire military prowess, or things in which force is of most avail. For it would not be matter of rational wonder, if the wethers of our country should be born with horns, that could batter down cities and towns. Learn to estimate great characters, not by the amount of animal strength, but by the habitual justice and temperance of their conduct."

Was there not a fitness in the undertaking of such a person, to write a poem on the subject of Adam, the first man? By his sympathy with all nature; by the proportion of his powers; by great knowledge, and by religion, he would reascend to the height from which our nature is supposed to have descended. From a just knowledge of what man should be, he described what he was. He beholds him as he walked in Eden:

> "His fair large front and eye sublime declared
> Absolute rule; and hyacinthine locks
> Round from his parted forelock manly hung
> Clustering, but not beneath his shoulders broad."

And the soul of this divine creature is excellent as his form. The tone of his thought and passion is as healthful, as even, and as vigorous, as befits the new and perfect model of a race of gods.

The perception we have attributed to Milton, of a purer ideal of humanity, modifies his poetic genius. The man is paramount to the poet. His fancy is never transcendant, extravagant; but, as Bacon's imagination was said to be "the noblest that ever contented itself to minister to the understanding," so Milton's ministers to character. Milton's sublimest song, bursting into heaven with its peals of melodious thunder, is the voice of Milton still. Indeed, throughout his poems, one may see under a thin veil, the opinions, the feelings, even the incidents of the poet's life, still reappearing. The sonnets are all occasional poems. "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" are but a finer autobiography of his youthful fancies at Harefield. The "Comus" is but a transcript, in charming numbers, of that philosophy of chastity, which, in the "Apology for Smectymnuus," and in the "Reason of Church Government," he declares to be his defence and religion. The "Samson Agonistes" is too broad an expression of his private griefs, to be mistaken, and is a version of the "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce." The most affecting passages in "Paradise Lost," are personal allusions; and, when we are fairly in Eden, Adam and Milton are often difficult to be separated. Again, in "Paradise Regained," we have the most distinct marks of the progress of the poet's mind, in the revision and enlargement of his religious opinions. This may be thought to abridge his praise as a poet. It is true of Homer and Shakspeare, that they do not appear in their poems; that those prodigious geniuses did cast themselves so totally into their song, that their individuality vanishes, and the poet towers to the sky, whilst the man quite disappears. The fact is memorable. Shall we say, that, in our admiration and joy in these wonderful poems, we have even a feeling of regret, that the men knew not what they did; that they were too passive in their great service; were channels through which streams of thought flowed from a higher source, which they did not appropriate, did not blend with their own being. Like prophets, they seem but imperfectly aware of the import of their own utterances. We hesitate to say such things, and say them only to the unpleasing dualism, when the man and the poet show like a double consciousness. Perhaps we speak to no fact, but to mere fables of an idle mendicant, Homer; and of a Shakspeare, content with a mean and jocular way of life. Be it how it

may, the genius and office of Milton were different, namely, to ascend by the aids of his learning and his religion, — by an equal perception, that is, of the past and the future, — to a higher insight and more lively delineation of the heroic life of man. This was his poem; whereof all his indignant pamphlets, and all his soaring verses, are only single cantos or detached stanzas. It was plainly needful that his poetry should be a version of his own life, in order to give weight and solemnity to his thoughts; by which they might penetrate and possess the imagination and the will of mankind. The creations of Shakspeare are cast into the world of thought, to no farther end than to delight. Their intrinsic beauty is their excuse for being. Milton, fired "with dearest charity to infuse the knowledge of good things into others," tasked his giant imagination, and exhausted the stores of his intellect, for an end beyond, namely, to teach. His own conviction it is, which gives such authority to his strain. Its reality is its force. If out of the heart it came, to the heart it must go. What schools and epochs of common rhymers would it need to make a counterbalance to the severe oracles of his muse.

> "In them is plainest taught and easiest learnt,
> What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so."

The lover of Milton reads one sense in his prose and in his metrical compositions; and sometimes the muse soars highest in the former, because the thought is more sincere. Of his prose in general, not the style alone, but the argument also, is poetic; according to Lord Bacon's definition of poetry, following that of Aristotle, "Poetry, not finding the actual world exactly conformed to its idea of good and fair, seeks to accommodate the shows of things to the desires of the mind, and to create an ideal world better than the world of experience." Such certainly is the explanation of Milton's tracts. Such is the apology to be entered for the plea for freedom of divorce; an essay, which, from the first until now, has brought a degree of obloquy on his name. It was a sally of the extravagant spirit of the time, overjoyed, as in the French revolution, with the sudden victories it had gained, and eager to carry on the standard of truth to new heights. It is to be regarded as a poem on one of the griefs of man's condition, namely, unfit marriage. And as many poems have been written upon unfit society, commending

solitude, yet have not been proceeded against, though their end was hostile to the state; so should this receive that charity, which an angelic soul, suffering more keenly than others from the unavoidable evils of human life, is entitled to.

We have offered no apology for expanding to such length our commentary on the character of John Milton; who, in old age, in solitude, in neglect, and blind, wrote the Paradise Lost; a man whom labor or danger never deterred from whatever efforts a love of the supreme interests of man prompted. For are we not the better; are not all men fortified by the remembrance of the bravery, the purity, the temperance, the toil, the independence, and the angelic devotion of this man, who, in a revolutionary age, taking counsel only of himself, endeavoured, in his writings and in his life, to carry out the life of man to new heights of spiritual grace and dignity, without any abatement of its strength?

ART. III. — *Principles of Political Economy. Part the First. Of the Laws of the Production and Distribution of Wealth.* By HENRY C. CAREY, Author of an "Essay on the Rate of Wages." Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, and Blanchard. 1837. 8vo. pp. xvi. 342.

WHAT is political economy? It is now a late day to put this question, respecting a department of practice, in which men have been studying and acting from the formation of the primeval political community downwards; and a department of scientific speculation, on which a very considerable library of books has been written within the past century. And yet the question is not without its doubts and difficulties, as we readily find by opening the recent works, which differ widely in their definitions. In short, they are not agreed in what constitutes this science. We will therefore begin with a definition of our own, that may serve us in our remarks, if it has no other use.

Political economy, then, we understand to be the science, that treats of the general causes, instruments, principles, and phenomena of the production, the accumulation, the ex-

change, and the consumption of marketable things; that is, things which bear a price, and are customarily bought, sold, exchanged, and transferred, or delivered. These are the subjects treated of in books of political economy; and the problem proposed is one of great intricacy, as well as of great importance, namely, to explain why it is, that one nation has a greater proportional amount of marketable, that is, valuable, things than another; or, in other words, is richer; and how it happens that one is growing richer, and another becoming poorer. For we would fain persuade ourselves, that we can, by the help of this science, observe the operations of the social throng, as we may those of a swarm of bees in a glass hive, and trace the connexion of the labors of each with the condition of all; and thus resolve the doubts that hang over the subject of national weal, and not only deduce the present condition of each community from its true causes, but clearly point out the courses that may lead to growth or decay. But the attempt to study the science with these views is at first disheartening; for we no sooner open a book upon the subject, than we find ourselves involved in disputes about its extent and appropriate topics; and then, as we proceed, we find ourselves perplexed with discussions concerning the meaning of words, or the investigations of metaphysical questions, sterile in results; and the great moving causes of national abundance and want still remain in obscurity. Perhaps the subject is too vast and complicated to be embraced by the human mind, and must remain in its rudiments to the end of time, a field for dogmatism and specious, inconsequential theories to the superficial, and for perplexity to the scientific; a cloudy element, in which objects do not appear in distinct outlines and true magnitudes, which is too thick and viscid to move in, and in which any attempt at progress proves to be only a stationary struggle. If we are ever to make any advance, the first step seems to be, a more successful classification and division of subjects, by which the looseness and obscurity of language in this department of philosophy may be, in some degree, remedied. We will glance at the leading divisions of the subject; mention some very important branches of the science, which seem to have been neglected; and point out what appear to us to be errors in the ordinary mode of treating it.

Every writer on economy is bound to give his readers an explanation of the word *value*; and, having explained it, to

adhere rigidly to his explanation throughout his work, excepting in cases where he gives notice of his deviation from it, by some qualifying epithet or explanatory clause. This seems to be a very plain method of proceeding, and scarcely to need enforcement by reasons; and yet we shall find, that a departure from it is one great cause why the study of this science is so little satisfactory. The same writer will sometimes use this word as synonymous with *utility*, sometimes with *cost*, and sometimes with *price*; and it does in fact coincide with each of them in some respects, but it differs from each in others; and the use of it in its different senses, and the careless substitution of the others for it, and for each other, as synonymous, (for their signification is also quite diverse,) raise a mist in the writer's own mind most probably, and certainly in the reader's; and then follow criticisms and verbal hair-splitting. And thus the science of political economy dwindles into a miserable logomachy; and the reader, instead of making progress in the principles on which a nation is to be made great, and rich, and happy, finds himself involved in grammatical subtilties and verbal disquisitions, as if the matter in hand were what Johnson calls the harmless drudgery of making a dictionary, and not the analysis of the great moving causes whereby millions are brought into a state of well-being or ill-being. But, to return to our definition of *value*; its proper meaning, in a treatise on political economy, we understand to be, the exchangeable efficacy of a thing; that is, its efficacy in procuring other things by exchange in the market. This signification is plain, and the ordinary one in commerce; and, if it had been scrupulously adhered to, except when a departure from it was distinctly intimated, as by saying value *in money*, value *in wheat*, value *in labor*, or using some other additional epithet or phrase, political economy would ere this have been much better entitled to the rank of a science.

The next subject, or rather a part of the same, is an investigation of the causes of value, and of its enhancement and reduction, that is, its laws. And here we have a wide field for philosophical, speculative investigation, which must not be passed by, and which has interest, and may yield instruction, as long as it remains unexhausted; but our authors are wont to labor and dig in it long after it has become exhausted and yields no fruits. Here too we are presented with

a theory, perhaps two or three, but certainly one, to wit, — that value depends on labor, and that its degree is determined by the quantity and quality of labor; so that, if the author painfully labors his chapter, it follows demonstratively that it is proportionably valuable, and so, if he of the antagonist theory labors no less painfully his demolition of this same structure, his chapter of the ruins is equally valuable. This second does not, however, confine himself to demolition; he says, that value is compounded of rent and labor, as Smith asserts; or, as Say contends, the combined production of man coöperating with the agency of nature. Mr. Carey holds, again, that productive land itself is only consolidated labor, being, like all other value, a condensed extract from human mind and muscles; and therefore that rent is only the wages of the labor of some former year, or some former generation, and that effective fertility and habitability are created by industry, and may be analyzed into that primordial and all-forming element. And here the author, having achieved his chapter of construction and demolition of theories on this subject, not without much oracular truism, grave triviality, and no-meaningness, after the manner of Malthus, or metaphysics of the Rialto, after that of Ricardo, usually stops, by way of gratulation of himself, and congratulation with his reader, on the retrospect of his curious and admirable diorama of all the workshops and fields of this world, not forgetting to point out the ruins of that other very respectable author's theory.

Mr. Carey usually gives his reader a bird's-eye retrospect, from his balloon at the end of each stage, of the where and whither of the zigzags and dark passages of the route gone over from the starting-point, where was the man upon a solitary island plucking fruit, down to his present stopping-place. Thereupon the said reader, if he have a happy aptitude to astonishment, sees divers of the "laws of nature," as Mr. Carey calls his doctrines, as visible and distinct as the weights and wheels of the town clock in the church tower. He sees, deep down among the *arcana mundi*, not only that labor creates value, but that it alone creates value and measures it, the two being always in the same precise proportion. He begins to apply his new knowledge practically, and finds it work admirably. He finds out thereby, that men by working build houses, and grow corn, and dig iron ore, and make it into iron, and again this iron into steel; and that even his

goosequill, to write with, is only attainable by the labor of plucking it, at least, if not that of feeding the goose besides; and that, if he works at a given rate, he will bring more to pass in one hundred days than he can in fifty, — a very useful piece of practical knowledge. And here he stops, perhaps, if he is a reader of easy faith, and prompt to be satisfied with knowledge. But, if he is one of the *nil admirari* school, who looks into things without being wonder-struck with specious appearances, and is given to mathematical tests and practical applications, he readily finds, that any two equally good laborers do not, in the same fifty days, produce the same marketable value; nor the same laborer in any two successive periods of that length; and is apt to conclude, that, though this theory of value may be a bright constellation in the heaven of invention of a transcendental political economist, it is, after all, of no great actual utility in navigation; for its stars dance about in such a maze, and their light is so refracted and warped and criss-crossed by the media through which it comes to him in his sublunary world of affairs, that he cannot, by taking the most careful observation, find out where his ship is, or what land it is like to make.

And why, in this stage of the author's inquiry, all this profound diving below the bottom into the mud? or soaring with theoretical sublimity, out of sight, among the clouds? We have no quarry in the air, or pearl oyster in the depths, to consolidate our labor in by making it ours; but we are as yet merely making our preparations at our leisure, choosing our tackle and adjusting our furniture, which is ready supplied to hand. The whole business of the economist is so far merely making an extract from the dictionary, and noting the obvious results of the comparison of any two prices current.

Value, then, being defined to be exchangeableness, how does it happen that a thing is exchangeable? How, but because it is transferable, and somebody, incited by necessity, fancy, or whim, wants it? And he will pay us for it in proportion to the vehemence of his desire, unless he can get it of some one else at a certain rate, or produce it for himself at less sacrifice, by the time he wants it; either of which, if he can do, he is sure not to give any more for it than he can otherwise purchase or can produce it for, unless he is such an outrageous theoretical economist, that he will give us twice as much, merely because it has cost us twice as much labor or sacri-

fice of one kind or another, and he considers the value to consist in the cost. Now this is all so very plain, that no one would think of uttering such truisms, unless he had the apology, that it was merely preliminary, a sort of premises to sequents that may be worth expressing; and, therefore, like axioms in geometry, the obviousness of which is their essential recommendation. Now these intuitive aphorisms are economical sublimities to small minds; and, by the frigid enthusiasm of such, have been puffed out into so great an opaque magnitude, with a hazy *penumbra* of theories, and verbal, dialectic, and grammatical subtilties, as to overshadow and quite eclipse this delectable science of political economy, insomuch that its "gladsome light" is more dismal, than that of jurisprudence as beheld in Coke's Institutes.

Value having been thus defined, and the reason given why people exchange what they have for what they want, if they can find it; and upon what terms, and to what extent they will go; and all this in few words, and without gratulation or congratulation, as if the riddle of the Sphinx had been solved; the inquirer then comes to the examination of the phenomena of the markets; the phases, the waxings and wanings of the price current, from its bright rotundity at the full,—in the brilliant sunshine of prosperity, and heyday of sanguineness and speculation,—to the opposite extreme of obscuration of its entire disk, darkened by the shadow of its own immense bulk, at the gloomy time of glut, plethora, and dead stagnation, typified by zero in the price current. Here, then, the more serious business begins of developing scientific doctrines, bearing more immediately upon legislation and affairs, but yet not very intimately, the subjects being still of a somewhat introductory character, and the doctrines following mostly as corollaries from, or being illustrations of, the explanations already given of the causes of the origin of value or exchangeableness, and the general limits of the operation of those causes. Thus we have said, that value originates in the desire that others have to obtain the exchangeable article, and is limited by the intensity of that desire; for a man will not so vehemently want a toothpick, or walking-stick, as to give a good farm in exchange, though he cannot obtain it on any better terms. But when we come to more pressing wants, the value will be without any other limit than the means to buy; as we see in times of scarcity, when hungry

Esau sells his right of primogeniture for a supper, which he will have at any rate ; the only question being, at what most favorable rate it can be had, and, if Jacob be the only vendor in the market, his terms must be complied with, whatever they may be. But, if Jacob is only one of a throng of competitors offering the same article, the tables are turned, and Esau does not bargain until he has ascertained the lowest terms upon which either will part with his pottage, rather than take the chance of its spoiling on his hands. Thus any perishable articles, such as many edible ones are, fluctuate more suddenly, and to wider extremes, than those which are less perishable ; the vendors of the latter, if they cannot make satisfactory terms, being willing to take the chance of keeping them on hand, a month or a year longer ; and this the more readily, if confidence is strong, and credit easy, and enterprise rife, and each man in the community has the command, to a greater or less degree, of the money, goods, capital, in short, of the others. For, though indebtedness reciprocally accumulates and augments all around, and a network of obligations, to and from, involves the whole community, and the circumstances of each one are implicated in the success and honesty, and misfortunes and frauds, of some twenty or a hundred, or five hundred others, still each is easy and sanguine, and confident that he can disengage himself from the meshes if he chooses ; since, as demand is quick and steady, he can at any time, at a small sacrifice at least in his sales, dispose of his stock, collect his debts, and wind up his affairs with a fortune, or at least a competence. And, having this resort at the worst, he is disposed to hold on for the best, and stand out for a high profit, until, by and by, a crash happens here and another there, and the network begins to tremble, and he begins to pull upon the strings, the ends of which he holds in his own hands ; and they break, one after another ; and he begins at the same time to feel himself drawn, more and more strongly, by those in the hands of others ; and he attempts to loose them, but the knots will not yield, for they are fastened by a lock that is governed only by a golden key, which is not to be found ; and he puts his goods and lands into the auctioneer's crucible, for the wherewithal to fashion another, the same proceeding being resorted to by B, C, D, &c., to the end of the alphabet. The press to sell reduces

prices, that is, value in money; not *value* in other commodities, perhaps, (or even in labor, for that sinks in price, with or soon after the fall of its products,) since they may all fall in proportion. This is a variation of the general mass of vendible things, of which the price current, or money price, having risen to a certain point, then descends, the market having its cycles of five or seven years perpetually recurring; and the causes of the variation are so multiform and occult, and so intertwined with the pursuits and enterprises and resources of people at a great distance from each other, and occupying different quarters of the globe; and the markets are so influenced by the wars and legislation and progress of the arts and industry of the home country and foreign countries, and so acted upon by financial operations; that the vicissitudes and fluxes and refluxes of the price current, in the progress of this everlasting series of revolutions, are more perplexing and inscrutable than the motions of the celestial bodies; for these can be computed, demonstrated, and predicted; whereas, the most that science or old experience can do in regard to these commercial phenomena, is, to prognosticate as sailors do of the weather.

This great current and sort of Gulf Stream of the markets is irregularly disturbed by eddies and cross-currents and counter-currents in the market value of particular articles, owing to local and temporary causes of greater or less extent and duration; as a scarcity or abundance, occasioned by the increase or diminution of the demand and consumption of the particular article throughout the commercial world; or the extension of the demand to new regions; or the increase or diminution of the production, in consequence of the fruitfulness or unfruitfulness of the seasons, in some particular thing; or the interruption of the communication for its distribution to particular places; or the diversion of labor to or from some species of production; or the improvements and inventions that facilitate one or another branch of industry. And it so happens, that, while the general market value is rising, that of particular species of articles will be falling in money value; which is a diminution, in this case, of their actual value, that is, their effective exchangeableness. Mere changes in fashions and habits have often a great agency in these local, temporary, and particular fluctuations of the price current.

Such are the general causes, which give rise to and influ-

ence value and its changes, the consideration and right understanding of which are quite essential in the subsequent inquiries in this science. It is not, however, a part of the subject, which seems to present any great difficulty of analysis. The principal task of the writer is, a perspicuous statement and skilful presentation of all the topics in a connected view, assigning a just proportional importance to them. It is, in general, merely the exhibition of what will be obvious to the intelligent reader on a mere statement, without proof or argument. But the misfortune is, that the teacher of economy brings into this part of his treatise some theory of value in utility, value in exchange, value in labor or wheat, real value as distinguished from that of the market, the substitution of cost for value, or, what is most disastrous, he enters the South American mines without Ariadne's clue, and there loses himself and his followers.

In connexion with value is considered money value or price, which we have touched upon already, in speaking of the general fluxes and refluxes of the markets of the whole commercial world. And here an inquiry is started, which has puzzled writers and readers much, and as yet profited them little, namely, why, independently of temporary fluctuations, the general standard money prices of labor and its products should differ so much in successive distant periods, and also contemporaneously in different places. Why is it, that in Poland a man works a day with his team for a shilling, and without his team for fourpence, while in England he is paid two shillings, and in the United States four shillings, and in Egypt a penny? and why, in England, in 1495, was he paid three-pence halfpenny, and in 1832 two shillings? This has hitherto been an inquiry rather curious, than satisfactory or useful. Some of the economists have, as usual, cut the knot by a theory, which supposes, that the aggregate amount of circulating medium will always bear a given ratio to the aggregate sales, or money value of vendible commodities; and so, plenty of circulating medium makes the high prices, and scarcity the low prices, and thus the whole thing is as plain as two and two for four; and then we have a good deal of statistics of the gold and silver mines. But no materials can be dug up from the mines, of which to construct this hypothesis, which is dubious and misty, unprovable and unprofitable; and all the inferences and arguments deduced

from it rest upon the unsubstantial basis of mere gratuitous supposition.

Mr. Carey has a chapter on *value*, and after it one on Malthus, M'Culloch, Senior, and others, on *value;* then, in the end of his book, a critical dissertation upon the same subject, in which, among other matter, the question is gravely discussed,* whether Mr. Mill is right in his position, that, "if the wine which is put in the cellar is increased in value one tenth by being kept a year, one tenth more of labor may be correctly considered as having been expended upon it." Mr. Carey says, No. Such are the weighty problems solved by the economical calculus. In the chapter directly upon value, Mr. Carey, as we have seen, maintains, that labor is the sole cause of value, and considers himself as having established twelve conclusions in precisely that number of pages; and among the rest, that the value of an article cannot exceed that of "the labor required to reproduce it," a proposition not precisely true of the value of hay or corn in the spring time after a scarce year. The true proposition seems to be, that, if one can get a thing produced or made, by the time he wants it, for a shilling, he will not give two shillings for it; but, if he cannot so procure it in time, if he wants it very much he will give the two shillings, if necessary. We cannot say, that Mr. Carey gives a very lucid view of value and its phenomena.

The market having been perambulated, and the notions of value, price, and their phenomena having been settled, we come in sight of the long array of the agents and instruments and materials of production, men, beasts, lands, ploughs, ships, machines, stock, capital. Most of these are themselves vendibles; and, of the others, the use, services, or products are the subjects of agreements and appreciation. The two greatest, man and land, are each in some places vendible and in others not so, men being bought and sold in slave countries, and lands not being vendible in Egypt and some Asiatic countries, the government being the universal proprietor. Rent and wages are two leading subjects in this part of the inquiry, in regard to both of which the economists supply us with abundance of theories.

And first, of land, the value of which Mr. Carey considers to be created by labor; for he estimates that felling the forests, making the highways, bridges, fences, hedges, &c.,

* Page 277. † Page 19.

amount to more than the land is worth; and that all communities make their land, as much as did the people of Malta who imported their soil from abroad. This is a part of the author's general theory, that labor is the cause of, and constitutes and measures, all value, — a theory as sterile as most others in this theory-ridden science; for what matters it, practically, except to a settler on new lands, whether the value of a piece of the Campagna originated in the labor of making the Appian Way, or in the creation of land itself by the Creator? Here the land is an instrument of production, of a certain value in the land market, and yielding a certain rent, and paying a certain tax. Whether its value has been dug up from the earth, or rained down from the sky, provided it is there, seems to us, we confess, to be of small import; it certainly cannot be made to bear very directly in the elucidation of the national condition, if true. For if true, it is too occult and remote a truth to be of practical application, except in the case of a first settler, and hardly in that case; since, by this very theory, the great city of Granada "aided in giving value to all the land" in Spain; and the making of the Erie Canal, and construction of wharves and a breakwater at Buffalo, give an original value, or an additional value, to the lands in Michigan and Illinois. And so do many circumstances give value to distant territory; the force and applicability of all which are not available in estimating the price of a given piece of wild land, which the purchaser computes, as the purchasers of other lands, by an estimate of the expense of labor, and amount of crops and of taxes; and we do not see any evidence of their being more liable to mistake in their computation than purchasers of other lands. The French population of Canada have acted on Mr. Carey's theory of concentration, and stuck to their original settlements on the banks of the rivers; but the result does not corroborate his theory. It may be said, that this is imputable to other circumstances, such as the character of the people, climate, government, arts, commerce, &c. Let one attempt to make an estimate of what would have been the arts, commerce, character of the population, &c., of the United States, had the inhabitants eschewed the forests. If he could make a satisfactory estimate of this description, that would be something whereon to stand in the argument; but, as this could not be done, and it would only be all conjecture, in

support of a proposition that is mere theory, we cannot but think that this region is a part of the territory of the science of political economy, which ranks too low in the scale of fertility to yield rent.

This theory is arrayed against that of "Malthus, M'Culloch, Senior, and others," who celebrate the mysteries of soil number one, two, &c., instituted by Mr. Malthus in honor of Sleep,—but, "in that sleep, what dreams may come, puzzles the will," as to going on, as it tends to night-mare; for who, of mortal men, can read the soil series, any more than the geometrical and arithmetical population and food series of Mr. Malthus, *bonâ fide*, patiently, and with an honest and unflinching resolution to be edified and made strong in faith, and not thereby incur night-mare? If, therefore, one theory can be used to batter down the other, and finally both be blown up together, and converted into ruins, and rubbish, and interesting monuments, it is a consummation devoutly to be wished, by this hasty and impatient generation, which has not the leisure and fortitude to go through with wide spaces of diagrams, and long lines of arithmetic, and heap ponderous matters of fact, pile upon pile,—Pelion upon Ossa,—sky-high, to arrive at a sublime demonstration of the reasons of rent, which appears plainer at the outset, and without any metaphysics, than after making a mystery, and trying to solve or dissolve it. Improvements in transportation, in machinery, in agriculture, and all the useful arts and species of industry, and the effect of those improvements upon the national well-being, the condition of the laborers, and the value of given masses of capital, are interesting and useful inquiries; and these Mr. Carey touches upon, though not distinctly, so as to give the reader his whole view at one time upon one point. But all this, instead of being furthered by any theory about soil, of fertility number one, two, &c., or about land being labor, is only thereby embarrassed. It is time, in short, that plain common sense, expressed in plain common language, should be brought into that part of political economy, which is as obvious, at least, to any common farmer or mechanic, as to the most transcendental Scotch economist; indeed, much more obvious.

Mr. Carey mixes the subject of wages of common labor with this inquiry as to the origin and laws of the value of land, this subject having been connected with the said theory of

Mr. Malthus touching the scale of fertility. And here Mr. Carey combats, with success, the notion supported by Malthus, *et hoc genus omne*, that, "as population increases, there arises a necessity for extending cultivation over land yielding a diminished return, attended with a constant diminution in the wages of labor and the profits of capital." Mr. Carey, as usual, does not take hold of this theory and dispose of it in its place or out of its place, at once, but scatters it here and there in his volume. His theory is in favor of concentration, "and dispersion is," he says, "the evil to be guarded against." This is, however, as much a theory as the other, and so Mr. Carey denominates it, and Ireland, at least, is an example against it. This might be expected; for it is a tremendous leap from Mr. Malthus's theory of a universal excess of population, clean across the circumference of political economy, to this opposite one of Mr. Carey, that there cannot be such an excess in any country. What is the utility of framing theories, which are true and false according to the circumstances? Concentration is best when it is favored by the laws, habits of the population, improved arts, and a general developement of physical and intellectual faculties and resources; otherwise it may be an evil. It does generally happen, that the greatest concentration of population takes place under the circumstances, which render this very augmentation a benefit, coöperating with a thousand other concurring causes to carry a nation forward. And thence, as might be expected, the statistical annals show, that usually in the same country, and with the same people, the condition of the laboring and other classes is the best, at the time when they most rapidly increase, and approach to the acme of numbers. So that Mr. Carey easily confutes Malthus out of the statistical records of Mr. Eden, and so far his argument is consolatory and cheering; but, being under the spell, and subject to the destiny, of this political economy, he must needs go directly into the opposite theory himself. The doctrine of perfectibility, that blazed out, with other meteors, at the time of the French revolution, insisted, that there was no limit to the possible, and practicable, and probable progress of society and the arts; and this is a much more grateful doctrine than the contrary one, that little or no progress has been made, or is possible; that we are, at the best, only capable of change, and a revolution about a circle. But, without professing perfectibility, every

one may say, that, as far as industry, arts, laws, and improvement of facilities and resources can keep pace with the augmentation of numbers, such augmentation is desirable, and we may well believe that they may be carried further than they yet have been. Whether the distance before us, therefore, is limited or infinite, the practical result is the same for the present; and, as long as we can see before us room for advancement, the practical inquiry for the legislator and philanthropist is, What circumstances promote the increase of population, and what are favorable and salutary causes of such increase; and to what extent, or upon what conditions, is such augmentation desirable?

Mr. Malthus answers, that it is so to the extent of the means of subsistence. And this is a very true, and at the same time not a very bold answer; for we already supposed, that the population could not subsist without food. The most material question is, What general causes will augment the provisions? Mr. Malthus has no reply but to subdue the ungrateful number ten, which he represents to be little better than starvation. He is the very Heraclitus of political economy. Mr. Carey adopts the more cheerful, and at present prevailing view, that, when we are reduced to hoe corn upon number ten, we work to better purpose, and are better fed and clad, than at Mr. Malthus's blessed number one, or any intermediate number.

Having disposed of lands, houses, rents, and all the phenomena of rude and high cultivation, roads, canals, and other avenues to a market, as affecting the economical condition of the community, we next, in convenient order of distribution, come to other species of capital, for land is one species. And we do not see the occasion of all the difficulty in defining *capital;* for what does it mean but those transferable, deliverable things, which bear a market price? A slave is capital, as he is transferable and deliverable; but the capacity of a freeman to earn wages, though as good as capital, since it affords income, is not capital; for, though he can agree to use this faculty for another, this is an *agreement*, but not the transfer or delivery of a thing. Wages are somewhat in the nature of rent and interest, being, like those, income. And here again we have a theory; some of the economists maintaining, that accumulation is advantageous, to an indefinite, or, if you please, an infinite

extent. But, as this doctrine cannot be practically applied or tested, it is, like most of the theories in this science, a hinderance, rather than a help, to knowledge. It will be apparent, at first sight, that a large amount of the capital of some countries such as jewelry, pictures, and statues, does not bear directly on industry and production. Still they may, in case of need, be sent abroad, as the jewelry of the South American countries at the commencement of their revolution, to buy ships and other things necessary in war or industry. The species of capital, — what it consists in, — is quite a material consideration in the investigation of the national condition. Are the buildings, for instance, frail, and liable to be blown down in storms, or durable? Are the machines, and instruments of industry of all descriptions, clumsy or well constructed? Interesting investigations lie under these inquiries, which the economists have neglected. Again, not only the quantity and kinds of capital, but its distribution, whether in large masses or small subdivisions, has a material bearing upon the national condition. It has been remarked, by Mr. Webster, on some occasion, that the new law of descent of property in France, substituting an equal division in place of the old law of primogeniture, was sufficient of itself to work out a revolution in the entire social and economical condition and mutual relations of the inhabitants.

Connected with this subject is another of no less interest, namely; Whether the capital, the pursuits, and condition of a country are such, that its industry and productive capabilities are liable to sudden reverses. It is a well-known principle in regard to the laws, that their steadiness, and the uniformity and integrity of their administration, are essential to the well-being of a people, and the steadiness of the national industry and productiveness is no less essential. Now most of these questions, and many others, no less decisive of the general condition, make no figure in books of political economy, and hardly appear there at all, but give place to the fine-spun theories and verbal distinctions, of which we have spoken.

But the most elevated part of this science, and the most neglected, is that relating to the character and habits of the population of a country, and its political and social institutions, and literature, considered in all their phases, as bearing upon their economical condition. Everybody, economist or not, must perceive, that these are the living, animating

principles, that generally determine the destiny of a people in matters of productiveness and wealth; and yet they have hitherto scarcely made their appearance in works of political economy. These topics do not come at all within the thirty-seven "laws of nature" which Mr. Carey deems himself to have established in this, his First Part; and we do not see any particular provision for their introduction on "a future occasion," in the hints given by him of the subjects of his subsequent part or parts. There are not wanting signs, from various quarters, that the higher subjects of the science will, ere long, find a place in the works that treat of it. But shall we, it has sometimes been asked, have discussions on ethics, the fine arts, and government, in a work on political economy? Undoubtedly we shall. We have discussions now on agriculture, capital, trade, navigation, and banking; not precisely such as agriculturists, traders, navigators, and bankers would give on their respective pursuits, but such as show, or are intended to show, the general circumstances in these several subjects, by which the national growth in wealth is checked and promoted.

It is plain, that the productive faculties are no less affected by the religion, the morals, the social distinctions, the political, and the juridical administration; why not then consider them? not analytically and elaborately, as in works devoted especially to them, but in those aspects in which they have an economical influence.

We have long chapters on what Smith denominates *division of labor*, by which he means separation or distribution of employments; and this thing is exaggerated into an immense magnitude, as if it were the quiet, occult power, that bears civilized society forward to its stupendous achievements in industry. These extravagant notions are going out of date; but the exaggeration upon this topic, as upon many others, which properly belong to the science, serves but to distort it, and to convert a truth into a practical error; for it is as important a mistake to assign to a given cause fifty times its true effects, as to attribute a part of those effects to a cause with which they have no connexion. It overlays the subject with a dead weight, and gratuitously; since nothing is to be done in the matter by legislation or otherwise, however the fact may be; for this distribution can be carried only to the extent of the limits assigned by density of population, facility

of communication, accumulation of capital in masses, and the formation of extensive systems of production. The practicability of the distribution is incident to certain combinations of circumstances, and will be governed by those; and those combinations grow out of other causes, which the economist should seek out, and explain, and show the distinction and multiplication of pursuits as being attendant upon them.

This subject of division of labor would thus shrink into its proper dimensions, and give place for other topics, hitherto slightly mentioned, or wholly omitted. For example, the inventive faculty is far more active in one nation than another, and yet we find it mentioned by the economists only very superficially, and by many of them not at all. The mere prejudices, and habits of thinking, of a people, as to useful pursuits, have a more decisive influence upon productive capabilities, than all the causes mentioned by most of the economists put together. Witness the old prejudices of the French in regard to the degradation of the mercantile profession, and the analogous prejudices of the people of Hindostan in regard to certain trades. A cause that operates so strongly ought to occupy the attention of the expounders of national prosperity and decline; yet we scarcely meet with it in their works. They discourse of the division of labor, the geometrical series, and what not, in preference.

The legislation of a country has an irresistible influence upon the productive energies; and what do we find in the works of the economical doctors respecting it? Why, we find those of one side saying, *Laissez nous faire*, "Let us alone, — pass no law whatever, with the express purpose of furthering production, whether by bounties and rewards, taxes, or otherwise;" and those on the other, saying, that you must fill the statute-book with laws and regulations of this description; and those of each side are equally sweeping, dogmatical, and absolute in their assertions and denials. These occupy the two extremes of the scale, one the boiling point of prohibition, the other the zero of free trade. Can any reflecting man imagine, that science consists in these extravagances? Is it not evident to every man, that a vast proportion of the legislation and administration of the laws, and the police regulations, have a prodigious effect, direct and indirect, upon productive activity, though no professed

regard is had to it? Is it not admitted, also, that this bearing is always especially considered in selecting the subjects and mode of taxation, though the object be merely to raise revenue? This supposes, that something can be known and understood of the effects of laws in this respect; and this is, in reality, assuming, that the subject may be reduced to scientific analysis and deduction, and that many questions can be settled and put to rest, and many rules clearly established. Upon this subject we shall find the British economists most meagre and unsatisfactory. Only the newest and greenest legislators think of looking into their works for principles. The invocation of their authority excites the smile of men experienced in affairs.

Education is the nursery of national greatness and littleness, in wealth, as well as in other things. It is touched upon by Smith, in treating of regular apprenticeships; but nowhere presented in its full proportions, by him or any other writer on economy.

Such are the general topics belonging to this subject, and such the deficiencies, as it seems to us, in the writers upon it. But we do not despair of seeing it raised from its degradation, and made more worthy to rank as a science.

ART. IV.—1. *A Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language, containing the Accentuation; the Grammatical Inflections; the Irregular Words referred to their Themes; the Parallel Terms from the other Gothic Languages; the Meaning of the Anglo-Saxon in English and Latin; and copious English and Latin Indexes, serving as a Dictionary of English and Anglo-Saxon, as well as of Latin and Anglo-Saxon. With a Preface on the Germanic Tongues; a Map of Languages, and the Essentials of Anglo-Saxon Grammar.* By the Rev. J. BOSWORTH. London: 1837. 8vo. pp. 868.

2. *King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Boëthius, "De Consolatione Philosophiæ"; with an English Translation, and Notes.* By J. S. CARDALE. London: 1829. 8vo. pp. 425.

3. *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica. A Selection, in Prose and Verse, from Anglo-Saxon Authors of various Ages, with a Glossary. Designed chiefly as a First Book for Students.* By BENJAMIN THORPE. London: 1834. 8vo. pp. 268.
4. *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry.* By JOHN JOSIAS CONYBEARE. London: 1826. 8vo. pp. 286.
5. *The Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf, the Traveller's Song, and the Battle of Finnesburgh, edited, together with a Glossary of the more Difficult Words, and an Historical Preface,* by JOHN M. KEMBLE, Esq., M. A. London: 1833. 12mo. pp. 260.

WE read in history, that it was the beauty of an ancient manuscript, which tempted King Alfred, when a boy at his mother's knee, to learn the letters of the Saxon tongue. A volume, which that monarch minstrel wrote in after years, now lies before us, so beautifully printed, that it might tempt any one to learn not only the letters of the Saxon language, but the language also. The monarch himself is looking from the ornamented initial letter of the first chapter. He is crowned and care-worn; having a beard, and long, flowing locks, and a face of majesty. He seems to have just uttered those remarkable words, with which his Preface closes; "And now he prays, and for God's name implores, every one of those whom it lists to read this book, that he would pray for him, and not blame him, if he more rightly understand it than he could; for every man must, according to the measure of his understanding, and according to his leisure, speak that which he speaks, and do that which he does."

We would fain hope, that the beauty of this and other Anglo-Saxon books may lead many to the study of that excellent language. Through such gate-ways will they pass, it is true, into no gay palace of song; but among the dark chambers and mouldering walls of an old national literature, all weather-stained and in ruins. They will find, however, venerable names recorded on those walls; and inscriptions, worth the trouble of decyphering. To point out the most curious and important of these, is our present purpose; and according to the measure of our understanding, and according to our leisure, we speak that which we speak.

If any of our readers are predestined to study the Anglo-Saxon tongue, they may thank their stars that they have been

born thus late in the world. They will find their appointed task much easier now, than it would have been some three centuries ago, when Ælfric's *Homily on the Paschal Lamb*, was, for the first time, "imprinted at London, by John Day, dwelling over Aldersgate, beneath St. Martyns"; or even two centuries ago, when the same book was reprinted "by John Haviland, for Henrie Seile, dwelling in Paul's Churchyard, at the signe of the Tyger's head." Since those days the publication of Anglo-Saxon books has been constantly increasing; and, without any disparagement to Junius, Hickes, Somner, Lye, Wilkins, and other early Saxonists, we can truly say, that more has been done by Bosworth, Cardale, Kemble, Thorpe, and others within the present century, nay, within the last fifteen years, to excite an interest in the Anglo-Saxon language and literature, and to facilitate their study, than had been before accomplished in all the many years which have elapsed since the days of John Day. We are far, however, from maintaining, that this would or could have been the case without the previous labors, the incessant toil, — yes, we may well say, incessant toil, when we look at their huge folios! — of those most diligent and worthy scholars.* Long may the good they have done live after them; their errors only be interred with their bones. We bear in grateful memory their labors for the restoration of the Saxon speech; the study of which is profitable for doctrine and for reproof to those, who, having travelled in France and Italy, "lisp, and wear strange suits, and disable all the benefits of their native tongue."

At the head of this article, we have placed the titles of those works, which we deem most necessary for a student of the Anglo-Saxon. The publication of Dr. Bosworth's *Dictionary* is likely to form an era in this study. In all dictionaries hitherto, Latin has been used to interpret Anglo-Saxon; these works being intended for continental scholars also, and not for English alone. Doubtless, too, there was a little scholastic pride at the bottom of this. But, at length, we have the long-desired labor, well accomplished, — an Anglo-Saxon and English Dictionary; a book which, we venture to say, will do more to advance the study of the Anglo-Saxon language, and, consequently, the full and per-

* For a chronological list of the chief works printed in Anglo-Saxon with a notice of Grammars and Dictionaries, see Bosworth's *Dictionary*, Preface, p. xviii.

fect understanding of our own, than any work which has yet appeared. A most laborious task! A volume, upon which we lay our hands with great respect; for it contains more than seven years of a scholar's life, dissolved, sublimated, over a slow fire, into words; or, as Baro Ubigerus, that servant of God in the kingdom of nature, would say, "driven nine or ten times through the combustible fire into the elementary air." The title-page of the work, which we have copied out fully, sufficiently explains the plan followed by the author, in this noble contribution to the history of his native tongue. The long Preface gives a sketch of all the Teutonic and Scandinavian languages, with abundant illustrations. It is full of very valuable learning; and shows great diligence, and patient, long research. The "Essentials of Anglo-Saxon Grammar," and the abstract of Rask and Grimm, afford the student all the knowledge of forms and inflections, which he will need at the outset. For more thorough study of grammar, he may be referred to a former work of Dr. Bosworth, and to Thorpe's translation of Rask.*

Much praise is due, likewise, to the other Anglo-Saxon scholars, whose works we have cited above. We shall have occasion to refer to them frequently, in the course of this article; and always, with just praise. Our object, however, is not to review their books, properly speaking; but to make the best use of them we can, in drawing up a sketch of Anglo-Saxon literature. The best service we can render these scholars is, to show the Anglo-Saxon student on this side of the Atlantic, how much he stands in need of their works.

The Anglo-Saxon language was the language of our Saxon forefathers in England, though they never gave it that name. They called it English. Thus King Alfred speaks of translating "from book-latin into English" (*of bec Ledene on Englisc*;) Abbot Ælfric was requested by Æthelward "to translate the book of Genesis from Latin into English" (*anwendan of Ledene on Englisc tha boc Genesis*); and Bishop Leofric, speaking of the manuscript he gave to the Exeter Cathedral, calls it, "a great English book" (*mycel Englisc boc.*) In other words, it is the old Saxon, a Gothic tongue, as spoken and developed in England. That it was spoken and written

* *The Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, with copious Notes, &c.; and a Grammatical Praxis. By the Rev. J. Bosworth. London. 1823. 8vo.
A Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue, with a Praxis. By Erasmus Rask. Translated from the Danish, by B. Thorpe. Copenhagen. 1830. 8vo.

uniformly throughout the land, is not to be imagined, when we know that Jutes and Angles were in the country as well as Saxons. But that it was essentially the same language everywhere is not to be doubted, when we compare pure West Saxon texts with Northumbrian Glosses and Books of Durham. In Hickes's *Dano-Saxon Period* we have no faith whatever, nor do we think any scholar has, at the present day. The Saxon kings reigned six hundred years; the Danish dynasty, twenty only. And we have not imagination enough to believe, that either the Danish boors, who were earthlings (*yrthlingas*) in the country, or the Danish soldiers, who, as history tells us, were dandies at the court of King Canute, could, in the brief space of twenty years, have so overlaid or interlarded the pure Anglo-Saxon with their provincialisms, as to give it a new character, and thus form a new *period* in its history, as was afterwards done by the Normans.

The truth is, the Dano-Saxon is a dialect of the language, not a period which was passed through in its history. We can lean upon old manuscripts and argue the point for hours together; but not at present. It will be sufficient to say, that, down to the time of the Norman Conquest, the language existed in the form of two principal dialects; namely, the Anglo-Saxon in the South; and the Dano-Saxon, or Northumbrian, in the North. After the Norman Conquest, the language assumed a new form, which has been called, properly enough, Norman-Saxon and Semi-Saxon.

This form of the language, ever flowing and filtering through the roots of national feeling, custom, and prejudice, prevailed about two hundred years; that is, from the middle of the eleventh to the middle of the thirteenth century; when the people woke up one morning and found themselves speaking English, as the word English is now understood. We may as well speak thus lightly, as more seriously. It is impossible to fix the landmarks of a language with any great precision; but only floating beacons, here and there. Perhaps, however, it may be well, while upon this subject, to say more than we have yet said. We therefore subjoin, in a note, a very lucid and brief account of the language; perhaps the clearest and briefest that can be given. It is by Mr. Cardale. *

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* "Note on the Saxon Dialects.

"Hickes, in c. 19. of the Anglo-Saxon Grammar in his *Thesaurus*, states, that there are three dialects of the Saxon language, distinguishable from

It is oftentimes curious to consider the far-off beginnings of great events, and to study the aspect of the cloud no bigger than one's hand. The British peasant looked seaward from his harvest-field, and saw, with wondering eyes, the piratical schooner of a Saxon Viking, making for the mouth of the Thames. A few years, — only a few years, — afterward, while the same peasant, driven from his homestead north or west, still lives to tell the story to his grandchildren, another race lords it over the land, speaking a different language and living under different laws. This important event in his history is more important in the world's history. Thus began the reign of the Saxons in England; and the downfall of one nation, and the rise of another, seem to us at this distance only the catastrophe of a stage-play.

The Saxons came into England about the middle of the fifth century. They were pagans; they were a wild and warlike people; brave, rejoicing in sea-storms, and beautiful in person, with blue eyes and long, flowing hair. Their warriors wore their shields suspended from their necks by

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the pure and regular language of which he has already treated, namely, that found in the authors who flourished in the southern and western parts of Britain. These dialects he arranges, according to certain periods of history, as follows; 1. The *Britanno-Saxon*, which, he says, was spoken by our ancestors, from their original invasion of Britain till the entrance of the Danes, being about 337 years. — 2. The *Dano-Saxon*, which, he says, was used from the entrance of the Danes till the Norman invasion, being 274 years, and more especially in the northern parts of England and the south of Scotland. — 3. The *Normanno-Dano-Saxon*, spoken from the invasion by the Normans till the time of Hen. II., which towards the end of that time, he says, might be termed *Semi-Saxon*. — Writers of considerable eminence appear to have considered this arrangement of the dialects as a complete history of the language, without adverting to the circumstance of Hickes's distinguishing them all from 'the pure and regular language,' which is the primary subject of his work. From this partial view, a notion has become current, that the Dano-Saxon dialect, previously to or during the reigns of the Canutes, became the general language of this country, and that our present language was formed by gradual alterations superinduced upon the Dano-Saxon. This being taken for granted, it has appeared easy to decide upon the antiquity of some of the existing remains. Poems written in Dano-Saxon have been of course ascribed to 'the Dano-Saxon period'; and Beowulf, and the poems of Cædmon, have been deprived of that high antiquity which a perusal of the writings themselves inclines us to attribute to them, and referred to a comparatively modern era.

"With all due respect for the learning of the author of the *Thesaurus*, it may be said, that he has introduced an unnecessary degree of complexity on the subject of the dialects. His first dialect, the Britanno-Saxon, may be fairly laid out of the question. The only indisputable specimen of it, according to his account, is what he calls, 'a fragment of the true Cædmon,' preserved in Alfred's version of Bede, — a poem which has nothing

chains. Their horsemen were armed with iron sledge-hammers. Their priests rode upon mares, and carried into the battle-field an image of the god Irminsula; in figure like an armed man; his helmet crested with a cock; in his right hand a banner, emblazoned with a red rose; a bear, carved upon his breast; and, hanging from his shoulders, a shield, on which was a lion in a field of flowers.

Not two centuries elapsed before this whole people was converted to Christianity. Ælfric, in his homily on the birthday of St. Gregory, informs us, that this conversion was accomplished by the holy wishes of that good man, and the holy works of St. Augustine and other monks. St. Gregory beholding one day certain slaves set for sale in the market-place of Rome, who were "men of fair countenance and nobly-haired," and learning that they were heathens, and called Angles, heaved a long sigh, and said; "Well-away! that men of so fair a hue should be subjected to the swarthy devil! Rightly are they called Angles, for they have angels' beauty; and therefore it is fit that they in heaven should be

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in language or style to distinguish it from the admitted productions of Alfred. Dismissing the supposed Britanno-Saxon, as unworthy of consideration, the principal remains of the Saxon language may be arranged in two classes, viz. those which are written in *pure Anglo-Saxon*, and those which are written in *Dano-Saxon*. These, in fact, were the two great dialects of the language. The former was used (as Hickes observes) in the southern and western parts of England; and the latter in the northern parts of England and the south of Scotland. It is entirely a gratuitous supposition, to imagine, that either of these dialects commenced at a much later period than the other. Each was probably as old as the beginning of the heptarchy. We know, that, among the various nations which composed it, the Saxons became predominant in the southern and western parts, and the Angles in the northern. As these nations were distinct in their original seats on the continent, so they arrived at different times, and brought with them different dialects. This variety of speech continued till the Norman conquest, and even afterwards. It is not affirmed that the dialects were absolutely invariable. Each would be more or less changed by time, and by intercourse with foreigners. The mutual connexion, also, which subsisted between the different nations of the heptarchy would necessarily lead to some intermixture. But we may with safety assert, that the two great dialects of the Saxon language continued substantially distinct as long as the language itself was in use, — that the Dano-Saxon, in short, never superseded the Anglo-Saxon. In a formal dissertation on this subject, citations might be made from the Saxon laws from Ethelbert to Canute, from the Saxon Chronicle, from charters, and from works confessedly written after the Norman conquest, to show, that, whatever changes took place in the dialect of the southern and western parts of Britain, it never lost its distinctive character, or became what can with any propriety be termed Dano-Saxon. After the Norman conquest, both the dialects were gradually corrupted, till they terminated in modern English. During this period of the

companions of angels." As soon, therefore, as he undertook the popehood (*papanhad underfeng*), the monks were sent to their beloved work. In the *Witena Gemot*, or Assembly of the Wise, convened by King Edwin of Northumbria, to consider the propriety of receiving the Christian faith, a Saxon Ealdorman arose, and spake these noble words; "Thus seemeth to me, O king, this present life of man upon earth, compared with the time which is unknown to us; even as if you were sitting at a feast, amid your Ealdormen and Thegns in winter time. And the fire is lighted, and the hall warmed, and it rains, and snows, and storms without. Then cometh a sparrow, and flieth about the hall. It cometh in at one door, and goeth out at another. While it is within, it is not touched by the winter's storm; but that is only for a moment, only for the least space. Out of the winter it cometh, to return again into the winter eftsoon. So also this life of man endureth for a little space. What goeth before it and what followeth after, we know not. Wherefore, if this new lore bring aught more certain and

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declension of the Saxon language, nothing was permanent; and whether we call the mixed and changeable language 'Normanno-Dano-Saxon,' or 'Semi-Saxon,' or leave it without any particular appellation, is not very important. — An additional proof that the two great dialects were not consecutive, but contemporary, might be drawn from early writings in *English*, and even from such as were composed long after the establishment of the Normans. We find traces of the pure Anglo-Saxon dialect in Robert of Gloucester, who wrote in the time of Edward the First, and whose works are now understood almost without the aid of a glossary; whereas the language of Robert Langland, who wrote nearly a century later, is more closely connected with the Dano-Saxon, and so different from modern English as to be sometimes almost unintelligible. — Though these differences have been gradually wearing away, our provincial glossaries afford evidence, that, even at the present day, they are not entirely obliterated.

"Alfred's language is esteemed pure Anglo-Saxon; yet we find in his poetical compositions some words, which, according to Hickes, belong to the Dano-Saxon dialect. This may be readily accounted for. It is extremely probable that the works of the poets who flourished in the north of England and the adjoining parts of Scotland, and who composed their poems in Dano-Saxon, were circulated, if not in writing, at least by itinerant reciters, in all the nations of the heptarchy; that they were imitated by the southern poets; and that some particular words and phrases were at length considered as a sort of poetical language, and indispensable to that species of composition. Some words which occur in the poems of Alfred, as well as in Beowulf, Cædmon, &c., are seldom or never met with in prose. Of Alfred's early attention to poetical recitations we have a remarkable testimony in Asser; '*Saxonica poemata die noctuque solers auditor relatu aliorum sæpissime audiens, docibilis memoriter retinebat.*' Wise's *Asser*, p. 16."

more advantageous, then is it worthy, that we should follow it." This brave man spake well; and how like an American Indian! *

Thus the Anglo-Saxons became Christians. For the good of their souls they built monasteries and went on pilgrimages to Rome. The whole country, to use Malmesbury's phrase, was "glorious and refulgent with relics." The priests sang psalms night and day; and so great was the piety of St. Cuthbert, that, according to Bede, he forgot to take off his shoes for months together, — sometimes the whole year round; — from which Mr. Turner infers, that he had no stockings. † They also copied the Evangelists, and illustrated them with illuminations; in one of which St. John is represented in a pea-green dress with red stripes. They also drank ale out of buffalo horns and wooden-knobbed goblets. A Mercian king gave to the Monastery of Croyland his great drinking-horn, that the elder monks might drink therefrom at festivals, and "in their benedictions remember sometimes the soul of the donor, Witlaf." They drank his health, with that of Christ, the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, and other saints. Malmesbury says, that excessive drinking was the common vice of all ranks of people. We know that King Hardicanute died in a revel; and King Edmund in a drunken brawl at Puckle church, being, with all his court, much overtaken by liquor, at the festival of St. Augustine. Thus did mankind go reeling through the Dark Ages; quarrelling, drinking, hunting, hawking, singing psalms, wearing breeches,‡ grinding in mills, eating hot bread, rocked in cradles, buried in coffins, — weak, suf-

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* How much, too, like our Indian names are some of the Anglo-Saxon names, when translated. For example; Æthelwulf, *The noble wolf;* Eadwulf, *The prosperous wolf;* Ealdwulf, *The old wolf;* Hundberht, *The illustrious hound;* Ælfheag, *Tall as an elf;* Dunstan, *The mountain stone;* Heaburg, *The high tower.*

† *History of the Anglo-Saxons,* Vol. II. p. 61.
Over the door of this pious Cuthbert's cell should have been inscribed these two lines, from the *Poem of the Phœnix,* in the Exeter Manuscript;

"Hær se halga stenc
Wunath geond wyn lond."

‡ In an old Anglo-Saxon dialogue, which we shall notice hereafter, a shoemaker says, that he makes "slippers, shoes, and leather breeches," (*swyftleras, sceos, and lether-hose.*)

fering, sublime. Well might King Alfred exclaim, "Maker of all creatures ! help now thy miserable mankind."

Having already spoken somewhat of the language of this people, and as much of the people themselves as is necessary for our present uses, we now pass willingly to their literature. But a national literature is a subject, which we always approach with reverence. It is difficult to comprehend fully the mind of a nation ; even when that nation still lives, and we can visit it, and its present history, and the lives of men we know, help us to a comment on the written text. But here the dead alone speak. Voices, half understood ; fragments of song, ending abruptly, as if the poet had sung no farther, but died with these last words upon his lips ; homilies, preached to congregations that have been asleep for many centuries ; lives of saints, who went to their reward, long before the world began to scoff at sainthood ; and wonderful legends, once believed by men, and now, in this age of wise children, hardly credible enough for a nurse's tale ; nothing entire, nothing wholly understood, and no farther comment or illustration, than may be drawn from an isolated fact, found in an old chronicle, or perchance a rude illumination in an old manuscript ! Such is the literature we have now to consider. Such fragments, and mutilated remains, has the human mind left of itself, coming down through the times of old, step by step, and every step a century. Old men and venerable accompany us through the Past ; and, pausing at the threshold of the Present, they put into our hands, at parting, such written records of themselves, as they have. We should receive these things with reverence. We should respect old age.

> "This leaf, is it not blown about by the wind ?
> Woe to it for its fate !
> Alas ! it is old."

What an Anglo-Saxon glee-man was, we know from such commentaries as are mentioned above. King Edgar forbade the monks to be ale-poets (*eala scopas*) ; and one of his accusations against the clergy of his day was, that they entertained glee-men in the monasteries, where they had dicing, dancing, and singing, till midnight. The illumination of an old manuscript shows how a glee-man looked. It is a frontispiece to the Psalms of David. The great psalmist sits upon his throne, with a harp in his hand, and his masters of sacred

song around him. Below stands the glee-man; throwing three balls and three knives alternately into the air, and catching them as they fall, like a modern juggler.* But all the Anglo-Saxon poets were not glee-men. All the harpers were not *hoppesteres*, or dancers. The *sceop*, the creator, the poet, rose, at times, to higher things. He sang the deeds of heroes; victorious odes; death-songs; epic poems; or, sitting in cloisters, and afar from these things, put holy writ into Saxon chimes. Of such, our Lusty Juventus would not have said,

> "Who knoweth where is e'er a minstrel?
> By the masse, I would fayne go daunce a fit."

Let us now leave these out-posts and advances, and approach our theme at once. Indeed, we have delayed thus long only that we might approach it from the right point of view;—having first looked down upon it from the vantage ground, which the history, character, and customs of the nation present. We shall first speak of Anglo-Saxon poetry; afterwards, of Anglo-Saxon prose.

The first thing, which strikes the reader of Anglo-Saxon poetry, is the structure of the verse; the short exclamatory lines, whose rhythm depends on alliteration in the emphatic syllables, and to which the general omission of the particles gives great energy and vivacity. Though alliteration predominates in all Anglo-Saxon poetry, rhyme is not wholly wanting. It had line-rhymes and final rhymes; which being added to the alliteration, and brought so near together in the short, emphatic lines, produce a singular effect upon the ear. They ring like blows of hammers on an anvil. For example;

"*F*lah mah *f*liteth,	The strong dart flitteth,
*F*lan man hwiteth,	The spear man whetteth,

* "The honest illuminators, having no ideas of foreign or ancient manners, saw not the absurdity of making the Jewish monarch a president over a company of Saxon glee-men. They had heard, no doubt, that those persons, whose names they found recorded in the book of Psalms, were poets and musicians, and, therefore, naturally concluded, that they were glee-men; because they knew no others, who performed in that double capacity but the glee-men. They knew, also, that these facetious artists were greatly venerated by persons of the highest rank, and their company requested by kings and princes, who richly rewarded them for the exercise of their talents, and, for this reason, conceived that they were proper companions for the royal psalmist." — Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, Book iii. ch. 3.

*B*urg sorg *b*iteth,	Care the city biteth,
*B*ald ald thwiteth,	Age the bold quelleth,
*Wr*æc-fæc *wr*ithath,	Vengeance prevaileth,
*Wr*ath ath smiteth."	Wrath a city assaileth.*

Other peculiarities of Anglo-Saxon poetry, which cannot escape the reader's attention, are its frequent inversions, its bold transitions, and abundant metaphors. These are the things, which render Anglo-Saxon poetry so much more difficult than Anglo-Saxon prose. But upon these points we need not enlarge. It is enough to have thus alluded to them. The references in the note will show where they are fully discussed. We do not wish to go over a ground so often trodden, but come gladly to a consideration of the poetry itself. †

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* See Conybeare's *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry.* In the Introduction, the subject of Anglo-Saxon metre is fully discussed. The same subject is treated of in the grammars of Bosworth and Rask. To these we refer our readers; and likewise, to Vol. XXXIII. of this *Review*, p. 338.

Alliteration was used in English poetry as late as the fifteenth century. William Dunbar wrote in 1455. Here is a short passage from his poem of *The Two Married Women and the Widow.* See Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, Vol. I. p. 210; and Conybeare, *Introduction*, p. lxxii.

" While that the day did updawn
and dew danked flowris,
The morrow mild was and meek,
the mavis did sing,
And all removed the mist
and the mead smelled;
Silver showris down shook
as the sheen cristal,
And birds shouted in the shaw
with their shrill notis;
The golden glittering gleam
so gladden'd their heartis,
They made a glorious glee
among the green boughis.
The soft south of the swyre,
and sound of the streamis,
The sweet savour of the sward
and singing of fowlis,
Might comfort any creature
of the kin of Adam,
And kindle again his courage
though it were cold slokned.

† We add here a short passage in which many of these peculiarities are found. It is from an Ode on the death of King Edgar.

" And tha wearth eac adreafed,	And there was also driven
deormod hæleth;	the beloved hero,

One of the oldest and most important remains of Anglo-Saxon literature is the epic poem of Beowulf. Its age is unknown; but it comes from a very distant and hoar antiquity; somewhere between the seventh and tenth centuries. It is like a piece of ancient armour; rusty and battered, and yet strong. From within comes a voice sepulchral, as if the ancient armour spoke, telling a simple, straight-forward narrative; with here and there the boastful speech of a rough, old Dane, reminding one of those made by the heroes of Homer. The style, likewise, is simple, — perhaps we should say, austere. The bold metaphors, which characterize nearly all the Anglo-Saxon poems we have read, are for the most part wanting in this. The author seems mainly bent upon telling us, how his Sea-Goth slew the Grendel and the Fire-drake. He is too much in earnest to multiply epithets and gorgeous figures. At times he is tedious; at times obscure; and he, who undertakes to read the original, will find it no child's-play; particularly if he undertakes, at the same time, the Latin version of Grim. Johnson Thorkelin.*

The poem begins with a description of King Hrothgar the Scylding, in his great hall of Heort, which reëchoed with the sound of harp and song. But not far off, in the fens and marshes of Jutland, dwelt a grim and monstrous giant, called Grendel, a descendant of Cain. This trouble-

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Oslac, of earde,	Oslac, from the land,
ofer ytha gewealc,	over the weltering of waves,
ofer ganotes bæth,	over the sea-bird's bath,
gamol-feax hæleth,	the flaxen-haired hero,
wis and word snotor,	wise and word-prudent,
ofer wætera gethring,	over the throng of waters,
ofer hwæles æthel,	over the whale's country,
hama bereafod."	of home bereaved.

* This Danish scholar published an edition of Beowulf in 1815, with the following title; *De Danorum Rebus Gestis Secul. III. et IV. Poëma Danicum Dialecto Anglo-Saxonicâ. Ex Bibliothecâ Cottoniana Musæi Britannici. Havniæ. MDCCCXV.* He made an antiquarian tour in England, in 1786, and took a copy of the MS., which, with a translation and commentary, he had ready for publication in 1807; but the whole unfortunately perished in the bombardment of Copenhagen by the English. Nothing daunted, the laborious, worthy Dane began his work anew, and the result is the quarto bearing his name. We regret to say, that the work is very incorrect, both in the original text and in the translation. Mr. Kemble says of it, that not "five lines can be found in succession, in which some gross fault, either in the transcript or the translation, does not betray the editor's utter ignorance of the Anglo-Saxon language." — *Beowulf.* Preface, p. xxx.

some individual was in the habit of occasionally visiting the Scylding's palace by night, to see, as the author rather quaintly says, "how the doughty Danes found themselves after their beer-carouse."* On his first visit he destroyed some thirty inmates, all asleep, with beer in their brains; and ever afterwards kept the whole land in fear of death. At length the fame of these evil deeds reached the ears of Beowulf, the Thane of Higelac, a famous Viking in those days, who had slain sea-monsters, and wore a wild-boar for his crest. Straightway he sailed with fifteen followers for the court of Heort; unarmed, in the great mead-hall, and at midnight, fought the Grendel, tore off one of his arms, and hung it up on the palace wall as a curiosity; the fiend's fingers being armed with long nails, which the author calls the hand-spurs of the heathen hero, (*hæthenes hond-sporu hilde-rinces.*) Retreating to his cave, the grim ghost (*grima gast*) departed this life; whereat there was great carousing at Heort. But at night came the Grendel's mother, and carried away one of the beer-drunken heroes of the ale-wassail, (*beore druncne ofer eol-wæge.*) Beowulf, with a great escort, pursued her to the fen-lands of the Grendel; plunged, all armed, into a dark-rolling and dreary river, that flowed from the monster's cavern; slew worms and dragons manifold; was dragged to the bottom by the old-wife; and seizing a magic sword, which lay among the treasures of that realm of wonders, with one fell blow, let her heathen soul out of its bone-house, (*ban-hus.*) Having thus freed the land from the giants, Beowulf, laden with gifts and treasures, departed homeward, as if nothing special had happened; and, after the death of King Higelac, ascended the throne of the Scylfings. Here the poem should end, and, we doubt not, did originally end. But, as it has come down to us, eleven more cantos follow, containing a new series of adventures. Beowulf has grown old. He has reigned fifty years; and now, in his gray old age, is troubled by the devastations of a monstrous Fire-drake, so that his metropolis is beleaguered, and he can no longer fly his hawks and merles in the open country. He resolves, at length, to fight with this Fire-drake; and, with the help

* "Hú hit Hring-Dene
æfter beor-thege
ge-búnn hæfdon."
Canto ii. v. 232.

of his attendant, Wiglaf, overcomes him. The land is made rich by the treasures found in the dragon's cave: but Beowulf dies of his wounds.

Thus departs Beowulf, the Sea-Goth; of the world-kings the mildest to men, the strongest of hand, the most clement to his people, the most desirous of glory. And thus closes the oldest epic in any modern language; written in forty-three cantos and some six thousand lines. The outline, here given, is filled up with abundant episodes and warlike details. We have ale-revels, and giving of bracelets, and presents of mares, and songs of bards. The battles with the Grendel and the Fire-drake are minutely described; as likewise are the dwellings and rich treasure-houses of these monsters. The fire-stream flows with lurid light; the dragon breathes out flame and pestilential breath; the gigantic sword, forged by the Jutes of old, dissolves and thaws like an icicle in the hero's grasp; and the swart raven tells the eagle how he fared with the fell wolf at the death-feast. Such is, in brief, the machinery of the poem.

We subjoin the third canto entire, as a specimen of the work. The whole passage has a high epic character. Beowulf sets sail for Jutland. We can almost smell the brine, and hear the sea-breeze blow, and see the mainland stretch out its jutting promontories, those sea-noses (*sæ-næssas*), as the poet calls them, into the blue waters of the solemn main.

Thus then much care-worn
the son of Healfden
sorrowed evermore,
nor might the prudent hero
his woes avert.
The war was too hard,
too loath and longsome,
that on the people came,
dire wrath and grim,
of night-woes the worst.
This from home heard
Higelac's Thane,
good among the Goths,
Grendel's deeds.
He was of mankind
in might the strongest,
at that day
of this life,
noble and stalwart.
He bade him a sea-ship,
a goodly one, prepare.
Quoth he, the war-king,
over the swan's road,
seek he would
the mighty monarch,
since he wanted men.
For him that journey
his prudent fellows,
straight made ready,
those that loved him.
They excited their souls,
the omen they beheld.
Had the good-man
of the Gothic people
champions chosen,
of those that keenest

he might find,
some fifteen men.
The sea-wood sought he.
The warrior showed,
sea-crafty man!
the land-marks,
and first went forth.
The ship was on the waves,
boat under the cliffs.
The barons ready
to the prow mounted,
the streams they whirled,
the sea against the sands.
The chieftains bore
on the naked breast,*
bright ornaments,
war-gear, Goth-like.
The men shoved off,
men on their willing way,
the bounden wood.
Then went over the sea-waves
hurried by the wind,
the ship with foamy neck,
most like a sea-fowl,
till about one hour
of the second day,
the curved prow
had passed onward
so that the sailors
the land saw,
the shore-cliffs shining,
mountains steep,
and broad sea-noses.
Then was the sea-sailing
of the Earl † at an end.
Then up speedily
the Weather people
on the land went,
the sea-bark moored,
their mail-sarks shook,
their war-weeds.
God thanked they,
that to them the sea-journey
easy had been.
Then from the wall beheld
the warden of the Scyldings,
he who the sea-cliffs
had in his keeping,
bear o'er the balks
the bright shields,
the war-weapons speedily.
Him the doubt disturbed
in his mind's thought,
what these men might be.
Went then to the shore
on his steed riding
the Thane of Hrothgar.
Before the host he shook
his warden's-staff in hand,
in measured words demanded;
"What men are ye
war-gear wearing,
host in harness,
who thus the brown keel
over the water-street
leading come
hither over the sea?
I these boundaries
as shore-warden hold;
that in the Land of the Danes
nothing loathsome,
with a ship-crew
scathe us might....
Ne'er saw I mightier
Earl upon earth
than is your own,
hero in harness.
Not seldom this warrior

* Thorkelin and Conybeare render this line, *In sinum navis vacuum.* We venture on a new reading, mindful of ancient costume, and how

"A painted vest prince Vortigern had on,
Which from a naked Pict his grandsire won."

† We do not give this as a translation of the unknown word *Eóletes*, but to supply the blank. As this word has not been found elsewhere, may it not possibly be an error of transcription for *Eorles?*

is in weapons distinguished ; never his beauty belies him, his peerless countenance ! Now would I fain your origin know e'er ye forth as false spies into the Land of the Danes farther fare. Now ye dwellers afar-off ! ye sailors of the sea ! listen to my one-fold thought. Quickest is best to make known whence your coming may be.

We fear, that many of our readers will see very little poetry in all this ; for which we shall be very sorry. Perhaps what follows may please them more ; and seem more poetical. Meanwhile we would inform them, that a new and very beautiful edition of *Beowulf* has been lately published by John M. Kemble, of Trinity College, Cambridge, * who, in his preface, exhorts the reader "to judge this poem, not by the measure of our times and creeds, but those of the times which it describes ; as a rude, but very faithful picture of an age, wanting indeed in scientific knowledge, in mechanical expertness, even in refinement ; but brave, generous, and right-principled ; assuring him of what I well know, that these echoes from the deserted temples of the past, if listened to in a sober and understanding spirit, bring with them matter both strengthening and purifying the heart."*

The next work, to which we would call the attention of our readers is very remarkable, both in a philological and in a poetical point of view ; being written in a more ambitious style than *Beowulf*. It is Cædmon's *Paraphrase of Portions of Holy Writ*. Cædmon was a monk in the Minster of Whitby. He died in the year 680. The only account we have of his life and writings is that given by the Venerable Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History*. The following translation of the passage is from Mr. Thorpe's Preface, where the original Latin and King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version are also given.

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* The title is placed at the head of this Artlcle.

† Grundtvig, a modern Danish poet, has paraphrased the Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf*, and produced a brilliant heroic poem in ten cantos, of various metre. It was published at Copenhagen, under the title ; *Bjowulf's Drape, Et Gotisk Helte-Digt fra forrige, Aar-Tusinde af Angel-Saxisk paa Danske Riim*, ved Nik. Fred. Sev. Grundtvig. Kjœbenhavn. 1820.

"In this Abbess's* Minster † was a certain brother extraordinarily magnified and honored with a divine gift; for he was wont to make fitting songs which conduced to religion and piety; so that whatever he learned through clerks of the holy writings, that he, after a little space, would usually adorn with the greatest sweetness and feeling, and bring forth in the English tongue; and by his songs the minds of many men were often inflamed with contempt for the world, and with desire of heavenly life. And, moreover, many others after him, in the English nation, sought to make pious songs; but yet none could do like to him, for he had not been taught from men, nor through men, to learn the poetic art; but he was divinely aided, and through God's grace received the art of song. And he therefore never might make aught of leasing or of idle poems, but just those only which conduced to religion, and which it became his pious tongue to sing. The man was placed in worldly life until the time that he was of mature age, and had never learned any poem; and he therefore often in convivial society, ‡ when, for the sake of mirth, it was resolved that they all in turn should sing to the harp, when he saw the harp approaching him, then for shame he would rise from the assembly and go home to his house.

"When he so on a certain time did, that he left the house of the convivial meeting, and was gone out to the stall of the cattle, the care of which that night had been committed to him, — when he there, at proper time, placed his limbs on the bed and slept, then stood some man by him, in a dream, and hailed and greeted him, and named him by his name, [saying,] 'Cædmon, sing me something.' Then he answered and said, 'I cannot sing any thing, and therefore I went out from this convivial meeting, and retired hither, because I could not.' Again he who was speaking with him said, 'Yet thou must sing to me.' Said he, 'What shall I sing?' Said he, 'Sing me the origin of things.' When he received this answer, then he began forthwith to sing, in praise of God the Creator, the verses and the words which he had never heard, the order of which is this;

'Now must we praise glorious Father of men!
the Guardian of heaven's king- as of every wonder he,
the Creator's might, [dom, Lord eternal,
and his mind's thought; formed the beginning.

"* Hilda." "† Whitby."

"‡ Literally *Beership*, see *Leges Inæ apud Wilkins*, p. 16; and *Tacit. Germ.* 22, 23."

He first framed
for the children of earth
the heaven as a roof;
holy Creator!
then mid-earth,
the Guardian of mankind,
the eternal Lord,
afterwards produced;
the earth for men,
Lord Almighty!'

"Then he arose from sleep, and had fast in mind all that he sleeping had sung, and to those words forthwith joined many words of song worthy of God in the same measure.

"Then came he in the morning to the town-reeve, who was his superior, and said to him what gift he had received; and he forthwith led him to the abbess, and told, and made that known to her. Then she bade all the most learned men and the learners to assemble, and in their presence bade him tell the dream, and sing the poem; that, by the judgment of them all, it might be determined why or whence that was come. Then it seemed to them all, so as it was, that to him, from the Lord himself, a heavenly gift had been given. Then they expounded to him and said some holy history, and words of godly lore; then bade him, if he could, to sing some of them, and turn them into the melody of song. When he had undertaken the thing, then went he home to his house, and came again in the morning, and sang and gave to them, adorned with the best poetry, what had been bidden him. Then began the abbess to make much of and love the grace of God in the man; and she then exhorted and instructed him to forsake worldly life and take to monkhood; and he that well approved. And she received him into the minster with his goods, and associated him with the congregation of those servants of God, and caused him to be taught the series of the Holy History and Gospel; and he all that he could learn by hearing meditated with himself, and, as a clean animal, ruminating, turned into the sweetest verse; and his song and his verse were so winsome to hear, that his teachers themselves wrote and learned from his mouth. He first sang of earth's creation, and of the origin of mankind, and all the history of Genesis, which is the first book of Moses, and then of the departure of the people of Israel from the Egyptians' land, and of the entrance of the land of promise, and of many other histories of the canonical books of Holy Writ; and of Christ's incarnation, and of his passion, and of his ascension into heaven; and of the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the doctrine of the Apostles; and also of the terror of the doom to come, and the fear of hell-torment, and the sweetness of the heavenly kingdom, he made many poems; and, in like manner, many others of the divine bene-

fits and judgments he made ; in all which he earnestly took care to draw men from the love of sins and wicked deeds, and to excite to a love and desire of good deeds ; for he was a very pious man, and to regular disciplines humbly subjected ; and against those who in other wise would act, he was inflamed with the heat of great zeal ; and he therefore with a fair end his life closed and ended.

" For when the time approached of his decease and departure, then was he for fourteen days ere that oppressed and troubled with bodily infirmity ; yet so moderately, that, during all that time, he could both speak and walk. There was in the neighbourhood a house for infirm men, in which it was their custom to bring the infirm, and those who were on the point of departure, and there attend to them together. Then bade he his servant, on the eve of the night that he was going from the world, to prepare him a place in that house, that he might rest ; whereupon the servant wondered why he this bade, for it seemed to him that his departure was not so near ; yet he did as he said and commanded. And when he there went to bed, and in joyful mood was speaking some things, and joking together with those who were therein previously, then it was over midnight that he asked, whether they had the eucharist within. They answered, ' What need is to thee of the eucharist ? thy departure is not so near, now thou thus cheerfully, and thus gladly, art speaking to us.' Again he said, ' Bring me nevertheless the eucharist.' When he had it in his hands, he asked, whether they had all a placid mind and kind, and without any ill-will towards him. Then they all answered, and said, that they knew of no ill-will towards him, but they all were very kindly disposed ; and they besought him in turn that he would be kindly disposed to them all. Then he answered and said, ' My beloved brethren, I am very kindly disposed to you and all God's men.' And he thus was strengthening himself with the heavenly viaticum, and preparing himself an entrance into another life. Again he asked, ' How near it was to the hour that the brethren must rise and teach the people of God, and sing their nocturns ? ' They answered, ' It is not far to that.' He said, ' It is well, let us await the hour.' And then he prayed, and signed himself with Christ's cross, and reclined his head on the bolster, and slept for a little space ; and so with stillness ended his life. And thus it was, that as he with pure and calm mind and tranquil devotion had served God, that he, in like manner, left the world with as calm a death, and went to his presence ; and the tongue that had composed so many holy words in the Creator's praise, he, then, in like manner, its last words

closed in his praise, crossing himself, and committing his soul into his hands. Thus it is seen that he was conscious of his own departure, from what we have now heard say."—pp. xix – xxix.

Thus lived and died the Monk of Whitby. By some he is called the Father of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, because his name stands first in the history of Saxon song-craft; by others, the Milton of our Forefathers; because he sang of Lucifer and the Loss of Paradise. The resemblance goes no farther than this; he is a Milton in his theme only.

The poem is divided into two books. The first is nearly complete, and contains a paraphrase of parts of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha. The second is so mutilated as to be only a series of unconnected fragments. It contains scenes from the New Testament, and is chiefly occupied with Christ's descent into the lower regions; a favorite theme in old times, and well known in the history of miracle-plays, as the "Harrowing of Hell." The author is a pious, prayerful monk; "an awful, reverend, and religious man." He has all the simplicity of a child. He calls his Creator the Blithe-heart King; the patriarchs, Earls; and their children, Noblemen. Abraham is a wise-heedy man, a guardian of bracelets, a mighty earl; and his wife Sarah, a woman of elfin-beauty. The sons of Reuben are called Sea-Pirates. A laugher is a laughter-smith (*hleahtor-smith*); the Ethiopians, a people brown with the hot coals of heaven, (*brune leode hatum heofon-colum.*)

Striking poetic epithets and passages are not, however, wanting. They are sprinkled here and there throughout the narrative. The sky is called the roof of nations, the roof adorned with stars. After the overthrow of Pharaoh and his folk, he says, the blue air was with corruption tainted, and *the bursting ocean whooped a bloody storm.* Nebuchadnezzar is described as *a naked, unwilling wanderer, a wondrous wretch and weedless.* Horrid ghosts, swart and sinful,

> "Wide through windy halls
> Wail woful."

And, in the sack of Sodom, we are told, how many a fearful, pale-faced damsel *must trembling go into a stranger's embrace;* and how fell the defenders of brides and bracelets, *sick with wounds.* Indeed, whenever the author has a battle to describe, and hosts of arm-bearing and war-faring men

draw from their sheaths the ring-hilted sword of edges doughty (*hring-mæled sweord ecgum dihtig*), he enters into the matter with so much spirit, that one almost imagines he sees, looking from under that monkish cowl, the visage of no parish priest, but of a grim war-wolf, as the brave were called, in the days when Cædmon wrote.

We will not, however, confine ourselves to such criticism as this, but extract here, as a specimen of Cædmon's power, a part of the Flight of the Israelites, which is one of the best portions of the work.

"Loud was the shout of the host,
the heavenly beacon rose
each evening.
Another stupendous wonder! —
After the sun's
setting course, they beheld
over the people,
a flame to shine,
a burning pillar;
pale stood
over the archers
the clear beams,
the bucklers shone.
The shades prevailed;
yet the falling nightly shadows
might not near
shroud the gloom.
The heavenly candle burnt,
the new night-ward
must by compulsion
rest over the hosts,
lest them horror of the waste,
the hoar heath
with its raging storms,
should overwhelm,
their souls fail.
"Had their harbinger
fiery locks,
pale beams;
a cry of dread resounded
in the martial host,
at the hot flame,
that it in the waste
would burn up the host,
unless they zealously
Moses obeyed.
"Shone the bright host,
the shields gleamed;
the bucklered warriors saw
in a straight course
the sign over the bands,
till that the sea-barrier,
at the land's end,
the people's force withstood,
suddenly, on their onward way.
"A camp arose; —
they cast them weary down;
approached with sustenance
the bold sewers; *
they their strength repaired,
spread themselves about,
after the trumpet sang,
the sailors in the tents.
"Then was the fourth station,
the shielded warriors' rest,
by the Red Sea."
— pp. 184 – 186.
"Then of his men the mind
became despondent,
after that they saw,
from the south ways,
the host of Pharaoh
coming forth,

"* Literally, *meat-thanes*."

moving over the holt,
the band glittering.
They prepared their arms,
the war advanced,
bucklers glittered,
trumpets sang,
standards rattled,
they trod the nation's frontier.
Around them screamed
the fowls of war,
greedy of battle,
dewy-feathered,
over the bodies of the host,
(*the dark chooser of the slain;*) *
the wolves sung
their horrid evensong,
in hopes of food,
the reckless beasts,
threatening death to the valiant ; *
on the foes' track flew
the army-fowl. *
" The march-wards cried
at midnight ;
flew the spirit of death ; *
the people were hemmed in.
" At length of that host
the proud thanes
met mid the paths, *
in bendings of the boundaries ;
to them there the banner-king
marched with the standard,
the prince of men
rode the marches with his band ;
the warlike guardian of the people
clasped his grim helm,
the king, his visor.
The banners glittered
in hopes of battle ;
slaughter shook the proud.
He bade his warlike band
bear them boldly,
the firm body.
The enemy saw
with hostile eyes
the coming of the natives :
about him moved
fearless warriors.
The hoar army wolves
the battle hailed,
thirsty for the brunt of war."
— pp. 187 – 189.

Cædmon's *Paraphrase* was first published by Francis Junius, in Amsterdam. † The text of Mr. Thorpe's edition is founded on a careful collation of that of Junius with the Bodleian Manuscript. It has been printed with great beauty, under the superintendence of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Fac-simile engravings of the illuminations in the old manuscript accompany the work. ‡

We must not pass from this subject without mentioning,

* Conjectural reading.

† *Cædmonis Monachi Paraphrasis poetica Genesios ac præcipuarum Sacræ Paginæ Historiarum, abhinc annos MLXX Anglo-Saxonice conscripta, et nunc primum edita* a Francisco Junio. F. F. Amstelodami: 1655.

‡ *Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Parts of the Holy Scriptures, in Anglo-Saxon ; with an English Translation, Notes, and a Verbal Index,* by Benjamin Thorpe, F. S. A. London. 1832. 8vo.

that the authenticity of these remains has been called in question, or, perhaps we should say, denied by Hickes and others. They suppose the work to belong to as late a period as the tenth century, on account of its similarity in style and dialect to other poems of that age. Besides, the fragment of the ancient Cædmon, given by Bede, describing the Creation, does not correspond exactly with the passage on the same subject in the Junian or Pseudo Cædmon; and, moreover, Hickes says he has detected so many Dano-Saxon words and phrases in it, that he "cannot but think it was written by some Northymbrian (in the Saxon sense of the word), after the Danes had corrupted their language." * Mr. Thorpe replies very conclusively to all this; that the language of the poem is as pure Anglo-Saxon as that of Alfred himself; that the Danisms exist only in the "imagination of the learned author of the *Thesaurus*"; and that, if they were really to be found in the work under consideration, it would prove no more, than that the manuscript was a copy made by a Northumbrian scribe, at a period when the language had become corrupted. As to the passage in Bede, the original of Cædmon was not given; only a Latin translation by Bede, which Alfred, in his version of the Venerable historian, has re-translated into Anglo-Saxon. Hence the difference between these lines and the opening lines of the poem. We confess our own opinion coincides with that of Mr. Thorpe. In its themes the poem corresponds exactly with that which Bede informs us Cædmon wrote; and its claim to authenticity can hardly be destroyed by such objections as have been brought against it. †

Such are the two great narrative poems of the Anglo-Saxon tongue. Of a third, a short fragment remains. It is a mutilated thing; a mere *torso*. Judith of the Apocrypha is

* *Letter to Bishop Nicholson*, in Thorpe's Preface, p. ix.

† The creation of the world, seems to have been a favorite theme with Anglo-Saxon poets. In the poem of *Beowulf* the bards at the court of Hrothgar are described as singing this high theme.

"Thær wæs hearpan sweg
swutol sang scópes
sægde se the cúthe
frum-sceaft fira
feorran reccan
cwæth thæt se æl-mihtiga
eorthan worhte," etc.

Canto I. v. 178.

the heroine. The part preserved describes the death of Holophernes in a fine, brilliant style, delighting the hearts of all Anglo-Saxon scholars. The original will be found in Mr. Thorpe's *Analecta ;* and translations of some passages in Turner's *History*. But a more important fragment, in our opinion, is that on the *Death of Byrhtnoth*, at the battle of Maldon. This, likewise, is in Thorpe ; and a prose translation is given by Conybeare in his *Illustrations*. It savors of rust and of antiquity. It smells of mortality ; like *Old Hildebrand* in German. What a fine passage is this, spoken by an aged vassal over the dead body of the hero, in the thickest of the fight !

"Byrhtwold spoke ; he was an aged vassal ; he raised his shield ; he brandished his ashen spear ; he full boldly exhorted the warriors. 'Our spirit shall be the hardier, our heart shall be the keener, our soul shall be the greater, the more our forces diminish. Here lieth our chief all mangled ; the brave one in the dust ; ever may he lament his shame that thinketh to fly from this play of weapons ! Old am I in life, yet will I not stir hence ; but I think to lie by the side of my lord, by that much loved man !'"

Shorter than either of these fragments is a third on the *Fight of Finsborough*. Its chief value seems to be, that it relates to the same action, which formed the theme of one of Hrothgar's bards in *Beowulf*.* Mr. Conybeare has given it a place in his work. In addition to these narrative poems and fragments, two others, founded on Lives of Saints, are mentioned, though they have never been published. They are the *Life and Passion of St. Juliana :* and the *Visions of the Hermit Guthlac*. The very names pique our curiosity exceedingly. We are sure that in those Visions of the Hermit Guthlac lies hidden much strange lore.

There is another narrative poem, which we must mention here on account of its subject, though of a much later date than the foregoing. It is the *Chronicle of King Lear and his Daughters*, in Norman-Saxon ; not rhymed throughout, but with rhymes too often recurring to be accidental. As a poem, it has no merit, but shows that the story of Lear is very old ; for, in speaking of the old King's death and burial, it refers to a previous account, "as the book telleth," (*ase*

* See Canto XVI.

the bock telleth.) Cordelia is married to Aganippus, king of France; and after his death reigns over England, though Maglaudus, king of Scotland, declares, that it is a "muckle shame, that a *queen* should be *king* over the land." *

Besides these long, elaborate poems, the Anglo-Saxons had their odes and ballads. Thus, when King Canute was sailing by the abbey of Ely, he heard the voices of the monks, chanting their vesper hymn. Whereupon he sang, in the best Anglo-Saxon he was master of, the following rhyme;

> "Merry sang the monks in Ely,
> As King Canute was steering by.
> Row, ye knights, near the land,
> And hear we these monks' song." †

The best, and properly speaking perhaps, the only Anglo-Saxon odes we have, are those preserved in the *Saxon Chronicle*, in recording the events they celebrate. They are five in number. Æthelstan's Victory at Brunanburh, A. D. 938; the Victories of Edmund Ætheling, A. D. 942; the Coronation of King Edgar, A. D. 973; the Death of King Edgar, A. D. 975; and the Death of King Edward, A. D. 1065. The Battle of Brunanburh is already pretty well known by the numerous English versions, and attempts thereat, which have been given of it. Warton, Turner, and Ingram, have each translated it. Mr. Henshall, likewise, in Ellis's *Specimens of English Poets*, presented to the world an attempt at a translation; — and, perhaps, the most unsuccessful attempt ever made in any language. Last of all, Mr. Price, in his edition of *Warton's History of English Poetry*, has given what is generally considered the most accurate version, although the text is nearly hidden by a vast scaffolding of illustrations, and almost every line propped up by a double column of notes. We consider this ode, as one of the most characteristic specimens of Anglo-Saxon poetry. What a striking picture is that of the lad with flaxen hair, mangled

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* "For hit was swithe mochel same,
and eke hit was mochel grame,
that a cwene solde
be king in thisse land."

† "Merie sungen the muneches binnen Ely,
Tha Cnut ching reuther by;
Roweth, cnihtes, noer the land,
And here we thes muneches sang."

with wounds; and of the seven earls of Anlaf, and the five young kings, lying on the battle-field, lulled asleep by the sword! Indeed, the whole ode is striking, bold, graphic. The furious onslaught; the cleaving of the wall of shields; the hewing down of banners; the din of the fight; the hard hand-play; the retreat of the Northmen, in nailed ships, over the stormy sea; and the deserted dead, on the battle-ground, left to the swart raven, the war-hawk, and the wolf; — all these images appeal strongly to the imagination. The bard has nobly described this victory of the illustrious war-smiths (*wlance wig-smithas*), the most signal victory since the coming of the Saxons into England; so say the books of the old wise men. We will copy this ode entire. For the others we refer our readers to Mr. Ingram's edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

"Æthelstan the king,
lord of earls,
bracelet-giver of barons,
and his brother eke,
Eadmund the prince,
very illustrious chieftain,
combated in battle,
with edges of swords,
near Brunanburh.
They clove the board-wall,
hewed the high lindens,
with relics of hammers (i. e. swords),
the children of Edward.
Such was to them (their native nobility,
from their ancestors,
that they in battle oft,
against every foe [loathed one],
the land preserved,
hoard and homes,
the enemy crushed.
The Scottish people,
and the mariners,
fated fell.
The field ———,
with warriors' blood,
since the sun up,
on morrow-tide,
mighty planet,
glided over grounds,
bright candle of God,
of the eternal Lord;
till the noble creature,
sank to her seat [settle].
There lay many a warrior,
strewed by darts,
northern man,
shot over the shield.
So Scottish eke,
weary of war —.
The West-Saxons forth,
the continuous day,
in battalions,
laid on the foot-steps,
to the loathed race.
They hewed the fugitives,
hindwards exceedingly,
with swords mill-sharp.
The Mercians refused not,
of the hard hand-play,
to none of the men,
of those who with Anlaf,
over the ocean,
in the ship's bosom,
sought our land,

fated to the fight.
Five lay,
on the battle-stead,
young kings,
soothed with swords.
So seven eke,
earls of Anlaf's;
numberless of the army,
of sailors and Scots.
There was chased away,
the leader of the Northmen,
compelled by need,
to the ship's prow,
with a little band.
The ship drove afloat,
the king departed out,
on the fallow flood,
preserved his life.
So there also the sapient one,
by flight came,
on his country north,
Constantine,
hoary warrior.
He needed not to boast,
of the commerce of swords.
Here was his kindred troop,
of friends destroyed [felled,]
on the folk-stead,
slain in battle;
and his son he left,
on the slaughter-place,
mangled with wounds,
young in the fight.
He needed not to boast,
bairn blended-haired,
of the bill-clashing,
old deceiver;
nor Anlaf any more,
with the relics of their armies,
needed not to laugh,
that they of warlike works,
better men were,
on the battle-stead,
at the conflict of banners,
the meeting of spears,
the assembly of men,
the interchange of weapons,
of that which they on the slaughter-field,
with Edward's,
children played.
The Northmen departed,
in their nailed ships,
gory relic of the darts,
on — — —
over deep water,
Dublin to seek,
Ireland again,
with a shamed mind.
So too the brothers,
both together,
king and prince,
sought their country,
land of the West Saxons,
of the war exulting.
They left behind them,
the corse to enjoy,
the sallowy ———
the swarth raven,
the horned nibbed one;
and the dusky ———,
eagle white behind [after],
of the corse to enjoy,
greedy war-hawk;
and that gray beast [deer],
the wolf on the wold.
Nor was there a greater slaughter,
on this island,
ever yet,
of folk felled,
before this,
by the sword's edges,
of that say to us in books,
old historians,
since eastward hither,
Angles and Saxons,
up came,

over the broad seas,
Britain sought,
splendid war-smiths,
overcame the Welsh,
earls exceeding bold [keen],
obtained the earth."

Warton, I., pp. lxxxvii – ci.

And here we would make due and honorable mention of the *Poetic Calendar*, and of King Alfred's *Version of the Metres of Boëthius;* both of which have been lately published, with an English translation and notes, by the Reverend Samuel Fox;* a gentleman whom we know not, but whom we honor for this phrase in one of his prefaces; "When, however, we consider the difficulties which men, like Junius, Rawlinson, and Hickes, had to contend with, the errors, which they committed, ought to be forgotten in grateful admiration of what they actually accomplished." The *Poetic Calendar* is a chronicle of great events in the lives of saints, martyrs, and apostles, referred to the days on which they took place. At the end is a very remarkable ode, which we cannot choose but copy here. Mr. Fox's translation we have never seen. We give Mr. Turner's;† though, had we made one for ourselves, we should have rendered some lines differently.

"The King shall hold the Kingdom;
castles shall be seen afar,
the work of the minds of giants,
that are on this earth;
the wonderful work of wallstones.
"The wind is the swiftest in the sky;
thunder is the loudest of noises;
great is the majesty of Christ;
fortune is the strongest;
winter is the coldest;
spring has most hoar-frost;
he is the longest cold;
summer sun is most beautiful;
the air is then hottest;
fierce harvest is the happiest;

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* *Menologium, or the Poetical Calendar of the Anglo-Saxons. With an English Translation and Notes*, by the Rev. Samuel Fox. 1830. 8vo.
King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of the Metres of Boëthius. With an English Translation and Notes. London: 1835. 8vo.

† *History of the Anglo-Saxons*. Book XII. ch. 1. Ed. 1807. The original may be found in Hickes, *Thesaurus*. Vol. I. p. 203.

it bringeth to men
the tribute-fruits,
that to them God sendeth.
Truth is most deceiving ;
treasures are most precious,
gold, to every man ;
and age is the wisest,
sagacious from ancient days,
from having before endured much.
Woe is a wonderful burthen ;
clouds roam about ;
the young Etheling
good companions shall
animate to war,
and to the giving of bracelets.

" Strength in the earl,
the sword with the helm
shall abide battle.
The hawk in the sea-cliff
shall live wild ;
the wolf in the grove ;
the eagle in the meadow ;
the boar in the wood,
powerful with the strength of his tusk.

" The good man in his country
will do justice.
With the dart in the hand,
the spear adorned with gold,
the gem in the ring
will stand pendent and curved.
The stream in the waves
will make a great flood.
The mast in the keel
will groan with the sail yards.
The sword will be in the bosom,
the lordly iron ;
the dragon will rest on his hillock,
crafty, proud with his ornaments ;
the fish will in the water
produce a progeny.

" The king will in the hall
distribute bracelets.
The bear will be on the heath
old and terrible.
The water will from the hill

bring down the grey earth.
The army will be together
strong with the bravest.
Fidelity in the earl ;
wisdom in man !
The woods will on the ground
blow with fruit ;
the mountains in the earth
will stand green.
" God will be in heaven
the judge of deeds.
The door will be to the hall
the mouth of the roomy mansion.
The round will be on the shield,
the fast fortress of the fingers.
" Fowl aloft
will sport in the air ;
salmon in the whirlpool
will roll with the skate ;
the shower in the heavens,
mingled with wind,
will come on the world.
The thief will go out
in dark weather.
The Thyrs* will remain in the fen,
alone in the land.
A maiden with secret arts,
a woman, her friend will seek,
if she cannot
in public grow up
so that men may buy her with bracelets.
The salt ocean will rage ;
the clouds of the supreme Ruler,
and the water floods
about every land,
will flow in expansive streams.
" Cattle in the earth
will multiply and be reared.
Stars will in the heavens
shine brightly,
as their Creator commanded them.
" God against evil ;
youth against age ;

" * A Thyrs was among the Northerns a giant, or wild mountain savage, a sort of evil-being, somewhat supernatural."

life against death,
light against darkness,
army against army,
enemy against enemies,
hate against hate,
shall everywhere contend;
sin will steal on.
" Always will the prudent strive
about this world's labor
to hang the thief;
and compensate the more honest,
for the crime committed
against mankind.
" The Creator alone knows
whither the soul
shall afterwards roam,
and all the spirits
that depart in God.
After their death-day
they will abide their judgment
in their father's bosom.
Their future condition
is hidden and secret.
God alone knows it,
the preserving father!
None again return
hither to our houses,
that any truth
may reveal to man,
about the nature of the Creator,
or the people's habitations of glory
which he himself inhabits."

From Alfred's poetic Version of the *Metres of Boëthius*, we have not room to quote. From his prose translation of the Roman Philosopher's *Consolations*, we shall make some extracts hereafter.

In addition to these narratives and odes and didactic Poems, there is a vast number of minor poems on various subjects, some of which have been published, though for the most part they still lie asleep in manuscripts; — hymns, allegories, doxologies, proverbs, enigmas, paraphrases of the Lord's Prayer, poems on Death and the Day of Judgment, and the like. A great quantity of them is contained in the

celebrated Exeter Manuscript; a folio given by Bishop Leofric to the Cathedral of Exeter in the eleventh century, and called by the donor, a "*mycel Enisc boc be gehwylcum thingum on leothwisan geworht*," *gla* great English book about every thing, composed in verse. A minute account of the contents of this manuscript is given by Conybeare in his *Illustrations*, with numerous extracts. Among these is the beginning of a very singular and striking poem, entitled, *The Soul's Complaint against the Body*. The departed spirit is represented as returning, ghastly and shrieking, to find the body it had left.

"Cleopath thonne swa cearful
caldan reorde,
spriceth grimlice
gæst to than duste;
'Drugu thu dreorga!
to hwon dreahtest thu me!
Eorthan fylnes
eal forweornast,
lames gelicnes.
Lyt thu gethotest to won
thinne sawle-sith
sith-than wurd
sith-than heo of lichoman
læded wære.'"

"Crieth then, so care-worn
with cold utterance,
and speaketh grimly,
the ghost to the dust;
'Dry dust! thou dreary one!
how little didst thou labor for me!
In the foulness of earth
thou all wearest away
like to the loam!
Little didst thou think
how thy soul's journey
would be thereafter,
when from the body
it should be led forth.'"*

But perhaps the most curious poem in the Exeter Manuscript is the Rhyming Poem, to which we have before alluded. It is published entire in the Introduction to Conybeare's *Illustrations*. We have room for one short extract only.

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* The conception of this poem reminds us of that most appalling "Ode to a Dead Body," by Andrea de Basso, a priest of Ferrara; beginning

"Rise from the loathsome and devouring tomb,
Give up thy body, woman without heart,
Now that its worldly part
Is over; and deaf, blind, and dumb
To worms thou givest food,
And, from thine altitude
Shaken by death's rude touch,
Makest the grave thy couch."

See Leigh Hunt's very free and spirited translation. — *Poetical Works*, p. 261.

"Swa nu world wendeth ;
Wyrde sendeth,
And hetes henteth ;
Hælethe scyndeth,
Wer cynge witeth,
Wæl gar sliteth,

Flah mah fliteth,
Flan man hwiteth,
Burg sorg biteth ;
Bald ald thwiteth,
Wræc-fæc writhath,

Wrath ath smiteth ;

Sin-grynd sidath,
Sæcre [sæaro] fearo glideth,
Grom torn græfeth,
Græft hafath,
Searo hwit solath
Sumur het colath,
Fold fela fealleth,
Feond-scire wealleth,

Eorth mægen ealdath,
Ellen colath.
Me thæt wyrd gewæf,
And gehwyrt forgeaf
Thæt ic grofe græf.

And thæt grimme græf
Flean flæsce ne mæg ;
Thon flah hred dæg,

Nid grapum nimeth
Thon seo neah becymeth ;
Seo me ethles onfonn,

And mec her heardes on conn."

"Thus now the world wendeth;
Fate sendeth [men to their doom],
And feuds pursue them ;
Chieftains oppress,
War-kings go forth,
The dart of slaughter pierceth,
The violent arrow flieth,*
The spear smiteth them,
Sorrow devoureth the city ;
The bold man in age decays,
The season of vengeance tormenteth him,
And enmity easily assaileth him ;
The abyss of sin increaseth,
Sudden treachery glideth in,
Grim rage grieveth,
Woe possesseth,
Every possession is deceitful,
Summer's heat groweth cool,
Many things fall to the ground,
The portion of strife aboundeth,
Earthly power groweth old,
Courage groweth cold.
This Fate wove for me,
And as decreed assigned it,
That I should grieve with this grief.
And the grim grave
Flesh may not flee ;
Soon as the rapid day hath flown,
Necessity seizeth in her grasp
When she cometh nigh ;
She that hath taken me from my country,
And here exerciseth me in hardship."

pp. xxiii, xxiv.

We shall offer our readers only one more poetical ex-

* The reader will perceive that our translation, on p. 100, differs a little from Mr. Conybeare's, as here given.

tract. It is of a much later date than the others we have given, being in Norman-Saxon. It is taken from a manuscript volume of "Homilies" in the Bodleian Library. The subject is the Grave. It is Death that speaks.

"For thee was a house built
Ere thou wert born,
For thee was a mould meant,
Ere thou of mother camest.
But it is not made ready,
Nor its depth measured,
Nor is it seen
How long it shall be,
Now I bring thee
Where thou shalt be.
Now I shall measure thee
And the mould afterwards.

"Thy house is not
Highly timbered,
It is unhigh and low,
When thou art therein,
The heel-ways are low,
The side-ways unhigh.
The roof is built
Thy breast full nigh,
So thou shalt in mould
Dwell full cold
Dimly and dark.

'Doorless is that house
And dark it is within;
There thou art fast detained,
And Death hath the key.
Loathsome is that earth-house,
And grim within to dwell.
There thou shalt dwell,
And worms shall divide thee.

"Thus thou art laid
And leavest thy friends;
Thou hast no friend,
Who will come to thee,
Who will ever see
How that house pleaseth thee;
Who will ever open
For thee the door

And descend after thee,
For soon thou art loathsome
And hateful to see." *

We now come to Anglo-Saxon Prose. At the very boundary of this portion of our subject, stand two great works, like landmarks. These are the *Saxon Laws*, promulgated by the various kings, that ruled the land; † and the *Saxon Chronicle*, ‡ in which all great historic events, from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the twelfth century, are recorded by contemporary writers, mainly, it would seem, the monks of Winchester, Peterborough, and Canterbury. § To review these works, valuable and important as they are, comes not within our plan. If it did, we fear our readers would write at the end, as Gervase of Canterbury did at the end of his first Chronicle, *Finito libro reddatur gratia Christo.* To historians, therefore, and lawgivers, we leave these works. And, setting these aside, doubtless the most important remains of Anglo-Saxon Prose are the writings of King Alfred the Great.

What a sublime old character was King Alfred! Alfred, the Truth-teller! Thus the ancient historian surnamed him, as others were surnamed the Unready, Ironside, Harefoot. The principal events of his life are known to all men; — the nine battles fought in the first year of his reign; his flight to the marshes and forests of Somersetshire; his poverty and suffering, wherein was fulfilled the prophecy of St. Neot, that he should "be bruised like the ears of wheat"; his life with the swineherd, whose wife bade him turn the cakes, that they might not be burnt, for she saw daily that he was a

* For the original text, see Conybeare's *Illustrations*, page 271, and Thorpe's *Analecta*, page 142.

† *Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ Ecclesiasticæ et Civiles; et Notas, versionem et glossarium adjecit David Wilkins.* London: 1721. Folio.

‡ *The Saxon Chronicle, with an English Translation, and Notes, Critical and Explanatory.* By the Rev. J. Ingram. London: 1823. 4to.

The style of this Chronicle rises at times far above that of most monkish historians. For instance, in recording the death of William the Conqueror, the writer says; "Sharp death, that passes by neither rich men nor poor, seized him also. Alas! how false and how uncertain is this world's weal! He that was before a rich king, and lord of many lands, had not then of all his land more than a space of seven feet! and he that was whilom enshrouded in gold and gems, lay there covered with mould." A. D. 1087.

§ See, on this subject, *Ancient History, English and French, exemplified in a Regular Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle, &c., wherein the principal Saxon Annalists are now (for the first time) identified.* London; 1830. 8vo.

great eater ;* his successful rally ; his victories, and his future glorious reign ; these things are known to all men. And not only these, which are events in his life, but also many more, which are traits in his character, and controlled events ; as, for example, that he was a wise and virtuous man ; a religious man ; a learned man for that age. Perhaps they know, even, how he measured time with his six horn lanterns ; and, moreover, was an author and wrote many books. But of these books how few persons have read even a single line ! And yet it is well worth one's while, if he wish to see all the calm dignity of that great man's character, and how in him the scholar and the man outshone the king. For example, do we not know him better, and honor him more, when we hear from his own lips, as it were, such sentiments as these ? "God has made all men equally noble in their original nature. True nobility is in the mind, not in the flesh. I wished to live honorably whilst I lived, and after my life, to leave to the men who were after me my memory in good works ! "

The chief writings of this Royal Author are his translations of Gregory's *Pastoralis*, or *Herdsman's Book ;* Boëthius's *Consolations of Philosophy*, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History ;* and the *History of Orosius ;* known in manuscripts by the mysterious title of *Hormesta.* Of these works the most remarkable is the Boëthius ; so much of his own mind has Alfred infused into it. Properly speaking, it is not so much a translation as a gloss or paraphrase ; for the Saxon king, upon his throne, had a soul, which was near akin to that of the last of the Roman philosophers in his prison. He had suffered, and could sympathize with suffering humanity. He adorned and carried out still farther the reflections of Boëthius. He begins his task, however, with an apology, saying, "Alfred, king, was translator of this book, and turned it from book-latin into English, as he most plainly and clearly could, amid the various and manifold worldly occupations, which often busied him in mind and body ;" and ends with a prayer, beseeching God, "by the sign of the holy cross, and by the virginity of the blessed Mary, and by the obedience of the blessed Michael, and by the love of all the saints

* "Wend thu thao hlafes, tha he ne forbeornen, fortham ic geseo deighamlice tha thu mycel ete eart." — Asser, *Life of Alfred.* ap. Turner.

and their merits," that his mind might be made steadfast to the divine will and his own soul's need. From this work we subjoin a few extracts.*

"Observe now the sun, and also the other heavenly bodies. When the swarthy clouds come before them, they cannot give their light. So, also, the south wind sometimes with a great storm troubles the sea, which before, in serene weather, was transparent as glass to behold. When it, then, is so mingled with the billows, it is very quickly unpleasant, though it before was pleasant to look upon. So, also, is the brook, though it be strong in its right course, when a great rock, rolling down from the high mountain, falls into it, and divides it, and hinders it from its right course. In like manner, does the darkness of thy trouble now withstand my enlightened precepts. But, if thou art desirous, with right faith, to know the true light; put away from thee the evil and vain joys, and also the vain sorrows and the evil fear of this world; that is, that thou lift not thyself up with arrogance, in thy health and in thy prosperity; nor, again, despair of good in any adversity. For the mind is ever bound with misery, if, of these two evils, either reigns."

p. 23.

"When Wisdom had sung this lay he was silent, and the Mind then answered, and thus said; O Reason, indeed thou knowest, that covetousness and the greatness of this earthly power never well pleased me, nor did I very much endeavour after this earthly authority. But I was nevertheless desirous of materials for the work which I was commanded to perform; to the end that I might honorably and fitly steer and exercise the power which was committed to me. Moreover thou knowest that no man can show any craft, or exercise or steer any power, without tools and materials. That is, of every craft, the materials, without which man cannot exercise the craft. This then is a king's materials and his tools to reign with; that he have his land well peopled. He must have prayermen, and soldiers, and workmen. Thou knowest, that without these tools no king can show his craft. This is also his materials, which he must have, besides the tools; provision for the three classes. This is then their provision; land to inhabit, and gifts, and weapons, and meat, and ale, and clothes, and whatsoever is necessary for the three classes. He cannot without these preserve the tools, nor without the tools work any of the things which he is commanded to perform. Therefore I was desirous of materials wherewith to exercise the

* The reader will find passages from the translations of Bede and Orosius, in Thorpe's *Analecta*. An edition of Alfred's *Orosius*, with an English translation by Daines Barrington, has been published. London: 1773. 8vo.

power, that my talents and power might not be forgotten and concealed. For every craft and every power is soon grown old and passed in silence, if it be without wisdom; for no man can fulfil any craft without wisdom. Because whatsoever is done through folly, no one can ever reckon for craft. — This is now especially to be said; that *I wished to live honorably whilst I lived, and after my life to leave to the men who were after me my memory in good works.*" — pp. 91, 93.

"When Wisdom had made this speech, he began again to sing, and thus said; Whosoever desires fully to possess power, ought to labor first, that he have power over his own mind, and be not indecently subject to his vices. Also let him put away from his mind unbecoming solicitudes, and desist from complaints of his misfortunes. Though he reign over all the middle-earth, from eastward to westward, from India which is the southeast end of this middle-earth, to the island which we call Thule, which is at the northwest end of this middle-earth, where there is neither night in summer nor day in winter; though he rule even all this, he has not the more power, if he has not power over his mind, and if he does not guard himself against the vices, which we have before spoken about.

"When Wisdom had sung this song, he began again to make a speech, and said; Worthless and very false is the glory of this world! Concerning this a certain poet formerly sung. When he contemned this present life, he said; O, glory of this world! wherefore do erring men call thee, with false voice, glory, when thou art none! — For man more frequently has great renown, and great glory, and great honor, through the opinion of the unwise people, than he has through his deserts. But tell me now, what is more unmeet than this; or why men may not rather be ashamed of themselves than rejoice, when they hear that any one belies them. Though men even rightly praise any one of the good, he ought not the sooner to rejoice immoderately at the people's words. But at this he ought to rejoice, that they speak truth of him. Though he rejoice at this, that they spread his name, it is not the sooner so extensively spread as he persuades himself; for they cannot spread it over all the earth, though they may in some land; for, though it be to one known, yet is it to another unknown. Though he in this land be celebrated, yet is he in another not celebrated. Therefore is the people's favor to be held by every man for nothing; since it comes not to every man according to his deserts, nor indeed remains always to any one. Consider, first, concerning noble birth. If any one

boast of it, how vain and how useless is the boast ; for every one knows that all men come from one father and from one mother. Or, again, concerning the people's favor, and concerning their applause. I know not why we rejoice at it. Though they whom the vulgar applaud, be illustrious, yet are they more illustrious and more rightly to be applauded who are dignified by virtues. For no man is really the greater or the more praiseworthy, for the excellence of another, or for his virtue, if he himself has it not. Art thou ever the fairer for another man's fairness ? A man is full little the better though he have a good father, if he himself is incapable of any thing. Therefore I advise that thou rejoice in other men's good and their nobility ; but so far only, that thou ascribe it not to thyself as thy own. Because every man's good, and his nobility, is more in the mind than in the flesh. This only, indeed, I know of good in nobility ; that it shames many a man if he is worse than his ancestors were, and he therefore endeavours with all his power to imitate the manners of some one of the best, and his virtues.

"When Wisdom had finished this speech, he began to sing concerning the same, and said ; Truly all men had like beginning, for they all came from one father and from one mother ; they are all moreover born alike. That is no wonder, because one God is father of all creatures ; for he made them all and governs them all. He gives light to the sun, and to the moon, and places all the stars. He has created men on the earth, joined together the soul and the body by his power, *and made all men equally noble in their original nature.* Why do ye, then, without cause, lift yourselves up above other men, on account of your birth ? when ye can find none unnoble, but all are equally noble, if ye are willing to remember the creation, and the Creator, and moreover the birth of every one of you. *But true nobility is in the mind, not in the flesh,* as we have before said. But every man, who is altogether subject to vices, forsakes his Maker, and his first origin, and his nobility, and thence becomes degraded till he is unnoble."

pp. 165 – 171.

Other remains of Anglo-Saxon prose exist in the Tale of *Apollonius of Tyre ;** the *Bible-translations* and *Colloquies* of Abbot Ælfric ; *Glosses of the Gospels*, at the close of one of which, the conscientious scribe has written, "Aldred,

* *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Story of Apollonius of Tyre, upon which is founded the Play of Pericles, &c. With a literal Translation.* By Benjamin Thorpe. London : 1824. 12mo.

an unworthy and most miserable priest, with the help of God and St. Cuthbert, overglossed it in English;" and, finally, various miscellaneous treatises, among which the most curious is a *Dialogue between Saturn and Solomon.* We cannot refrain from giving an extract from this very original and curious document, which bears upon it some of the darkest thumb-marks of the Middle Ages.*

"*Here is related, how Saturn and Solomon contended about their Wisdom.*

* * * * *

"Tell me, whence was Adam's name created?
I say unto thee, from four stars.
Tell me, what were they called?
I tell thee, Arthox, Dux, Arotholem, Minsymbie.
Tell me, from what matter was Adam, the first man, created?
I tell thee, from eight pounds weight.
Tell me, what were they?
I tell thee, the first was a pound of earth; of that was his flesh made. The second was a pound of fire; thence was his blood red and hot. The third was a pound of wind; thence was breath given him. The fourth was a pound of cloud; thence was given him the unsteadiness of his mind. The fifth was a pound of grease; thence was given him fat and sinews. The sixth was a pound of [*blostnena*]; thence was given him his own varieties. The seventh was a pound of dew; thence had he sweat. The eighth was a pound of salt; thence were his salt tears.
Tell me, of what age was Adam when he was created?
I tell thee, he was thirty winters old.
Tell me, how long was Adam made, in length?
I tell thee, he was six and ninety inches long.
Tell me, how many winters lived Adam in this world?
I tell thee, he lived nine hundred and thirty winters, in toil and misery; and afterwards he went to Hell, and there endured grim torments for five thousand two hundred and eight and twenty winters.

* * * * *

Tell me, what was the name of Noah's wife?
I tell thee, her name was Dalila.
And what was Ham's wife called?
She was called Iaítarecta.
And what was the name of Japhet's wife?

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* For the original, see Thorpe, *Analecta*, p. 95.

I tell thee, her name was Catafluvia ; and the other three were called Olla, Ollina, and Ollibana.

* * * * *

Tell me, what plant is best and holiest ?

I tell thee, that plant is the lily, because it betokens Christ.

Tell me, what bird is the holiest ?

I tell thee, the dove is the holiest, for it betokens the Holy Ghost.

Tell me, whence cometh lightning ?

I tell thee, it cometh from wind and from water.

Tell me, what water is the holiest ?

I tell thee, the river Jordan is the holiest, because Christ was baptized therein.

* * * * *

Tell me, what man first spake with a dog ?

I tell thee, Saint Peter.

Tell me, what man first ploughed the earth with a plough ?

I tell thee, it was Ham, the son of Noah.

Tell me, wherefore stones are barren ?

I tell thee, because Abel's blood fell upon a stone, when Cain his brother slew him with the jaw-bone of an ass.

* * * * *

Tell me, what made the sea salt ?

I tell thee, the ten commandments that Moses collected in the old Law, — the commandments of God. He threw the ten commandments into the sea, and he shed tears into the sea, and the sea became salt.

* * * * *

Tell me, what man first built a monastery ?

I tell thee, Elias, and Elisha the prophet, and, after baptism, Paul and Anthony, the first anchorites.

Tell me, what were the streams that watered Paradise ?

I tell thee, they were four. The first was called Pison ; the second Geon; the third Tigris; the fourth Euphrates; that is, milk, and honey, and ale, and wine.

Tell me, why is the sun red at evening ?

I tell thee, because he looks into Hell.

Tell me, why shineth he so red in the morning ?

I tell thee, because he doubteth whether he shall or shall not shine upon this earth, as he is commanded.

Tell me, what four waters feed this earth ?

I tell thee, they are snow, and rain, and hail, and dew.

Tell me, who first made letters ?

I tell thee, Mercury the Giant."

Hardly less curious and infinitely more valuable, is a *Colloquy* of Ælfric, composed for the purpose of teaching boys to speak Latin. The Saxon is an interlinear translation of the Latin, on the *Hamiltonian system !** In this *Colloquy* various laborers and handicraftsmen are introduced, — ploughmen, herdsmen, huntsmen, shoemakers, and others ; and each has his say, even to the blacksmith, who dwells in his smithy amid iron fire-sparks and the sound of beating sledge-hammers and blowing bellows, (*isenne fyrspearcan, and swegincga beatendra slecgea, and blawendra byliga.*) We translate the close of this *Colloquy*, to show our readers what a poor schoolboy had to suffer in the Middle Ages. They will hardly wonder, that Eregina Scot should have been put to death with penknives by his scholars.

"*Magister.* Well, boy, what hast thou been doing to-day?

"*Discipulus.* A great many things have I been doing. Last night, when I heard the knell, I got out of my bed and went into the church, and sang the matin-song with the friars; after that we sang the hymn of All Saints, and the morning songs of praise; after these Prime, and the seven psalms, with the Litanies and the first mass; then the nine o'clock service, and the mass for the day, and after this we sang the service of mid-day, and ate, and drank, and slept, and got up again, and sang Nones, and now are here before thee, ready to hear what thou hast to say to us.

"*M.* When will you sing Vespers or the Compline ?

"*D.* When it is time.

"*M.* Hast thou had a whipping to day ?

"*D.* I have not, because I have behaved very warily.

"*M.* And thy playmates ?

"*D.* Why dost thou ask me about them ? I dare not tell thee our secrets. Each one of them knows whether he has been whipped or not.

"*M.* What dost thou eat every day ?

"*D.* I still eat flesh-meat, because I am a child, living under the rod.

---

* Thus it begins ;

"We cildra biddath the, eala Lareow, thæt thu tæce us sprécan
D. Nos pueri rogamus te, Magister, ut doceas nos loqui
rihte, fortham úngelærede we syndon, and gewæmmodlice
Latialiter recte, quia idiotæ sumus, et corrupte
we sprécath.
loquimur."

See Thorpe's *Analecta*, where the whole Colloquy is given.

"*M.* What else dost thou eat ?

"*D.* Greens and eggs, fish and cheese, butter and beans, and all clean things, with much thankfulness.

"*M.* Exceedingly voracious art thou; for thou devourest every thing, that is set before thee.

"*D.* Not so *very* voracious either, for I dont eat all kinds of food at one meal.

"*M.* How then ?

"*D.* Sometimes I eat one kind and sometimes another, with soberness, as becomes a monk, and not with voracity; for I am not a glutton.

"*M.* And what dost thou drink ?

"*D.* Beer, when I can get it, and water when I cannot get beer.

"*M.* Dost thou not drink wine ?

"*D.* I am not rich enough to buy wine; and wine is not a drink for boys and ignorant people, but for old men and wise.

"*M.* Where dost thou sleep ?

"*D.* In the dormitory, with the friars.

"*M.* Who wakes thee for matins ?

"*D.* Sometimes I hear the knell and get up; sometimes my master wakes me sternly with a rod.

"*M.* O, ye good children, and winsome learners ! (*ge gode cildra, and wynsume leorneras.*) Your teacher admonishes you to follow godly lore, and to behave yourselves decently everywhere. Go obediently, when you hear the chapel bell, enter into the chapel, and bow suppliantly at the holy altars, and stand submissive, and sing with one accord, and pray for your sins, and then depart to the cloister or the school-room without levity."

We think this picture of a monk-ling at his catechism is capital. Poor boy ! who ate eggs and spinnage with much thankfulness, and sang penitential psalms at midnight with the friars ! How stoutly he repels the charge of being voracious over-much ! how cunningly insinuates, that he prefers beer to cold water ! And then the wise schoolmaster, how magisterially he says, "Well, boy, what hast thou been doing to-day ?" and "hast thou had a whipping to-day ?" and then slips in that joke, slyly and with due decorum ; "Exceedingly voracious art thou ; for thou devourest every thing that is set before thee !" and so dismisses the scare-crow monk, telling him to be a good boy, and keep his hands out of his pockets, and modestly look straight before him. We commend the picture to Cruikshank.

Here we close our sketch of Anglo-Saxon Literature, with the hope, that what we have written may "stir up riper wits than ours to the perfection of this rough-hewn work."

Since the first sheets of this article went to press, we have received, through the kindness of a friend, the second edition of Mr. Kemble's *Beowulf*, with his English Translation, Glossary, and Notes, forming a second volume. (London. 1837.) The translation is strong and faithful. "I was bound," he says, "to give word for word the original, in all its roughness. I might have made it smoother, but I purposely avoided doing so; because, had the Saxon poet thought as we think, and expressed his thoughts as we express our thoughts, I might have spared myself the trouble of editing and translating his poem."

Altogether, the work is one of great learning and labor, and places Mr. Kemble in the very highest rank of Saxon scholars. We recommend it to all readers of Saxon poetry in this country. They will find it of inestimable value to them in their studies.

ART. V. — *History of the Indian Tribes of North America, with Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of the Principal Chiefs. Embellished with One Hundred and Twenty Portraits, from the Indian Gallery in the Department of State at Washington.* By THOMAS L. McKENNEY, late of the Indian Department at Washington; and JAMES HALL, of Cincinnati. Vol. I. Philadelphia; published by Edward C. Biddle.

FOR many years it has been the custom of the Indians, residing within the territories of the United States, to send delegates to Washington for the purpose of making treaties respecting their lands, and transacting other affairs, in which they and the United States are mutually concerned. This custom has been encouraged by the government, as affording a favorable opportunity of communicating to the Indians just ideas of the condition, resources, and power of their civilized

neighbours, which, on account of their remote situation and ignorance of letters, they can learn only from actual observation. The expenses of these embassies have generally been borne by the government; and every facility has been rendered to the Indians, which could contribute to enlarge their knowledge and promote their comfort during their journeys through the country.

Among those, who have thus visited Washington and our principal cities within the last twenty years, have been the most renowned chiefs and warriors, and other personages of distinction, from nearly all the great tribes inhabiting the western and southern borders of the United States. Proud of their national manners, and disdaining to accommodate themselves to new and strange modes, farther than the necessity of circumstances required, they have generally appeared in their native costume, and adhered to the same habits of painting their faces and decorating their persons, which they practise at home; thus exhibiting not only the original features peculiar to their race, but all the outward characteristics of their savage state.

As early as 1824 the practice was begun, of taking portraits of the principal Indians, who came to the seat of government, and of depositing them with the War Department. The project was approved and aided by the Executive, and, under the active management of Colonel McKenney, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs, the number rapidly increased, till a very interesting gallery was formed. They were chiefly painted by Mr. King, an artist of high repute in this branch of his profession, who, by his long residence in Washington, and frequent opportunities of studying the subjects of his pencil, has been remarkably successful in transferring to his canvas the strong lineaments of the Indian countenance.

Having this rare and curious collection before him, Colonel McKenney conceived the plan of making it more valuable to the world by publishing a series of engraved portraits, exactly copied and colored from these paintings, and accompanied by biographical sketches and historical facts. This enterprise, the first of the kind that has been undertaken in this country, and indeed in any country on so comprehensive a scale, and with such a completeness of design, he has carried forward with a perseverance and success, that justly de-

mand the admiration and praise of every one, who knows the difficulty of such a task, and properly estimates its importance. The North American Indians are a strongly marked race of men, constituting a distinct class, and maintaining their identity as such, and their peculiarities in every vicissitude of existence, which neither circumstances nor time have conquered. Wasted by wars, consumed by want, driven by the iron arm of civilization from his native soil, and the places endeared to him by hallowed associations, the Indian is the same that he was when the white man first invaded his forests; unchanged and unchangeable in his nature, his habits, his physical constitution, and distinctive traits of intellect. If he has yielded too easily to the vices of his unwelcome neighbours, yet even these have not subdued his indomitable spirit, nor weakened his sense of dignity as a man, nor worn off the deep traces of his original character.

Colonel McKenney's design, therefore, of collecting and presenting to the world authentic memorials of this race, in a form to give them perpetuity, while the race itself is fast dwindling away, is as praiseworthy as it is arduous and difficult in the execution. And, fortunately, no person living is better qualified for this task, both from the opportunities he has had of personal observation and inquiry, and from the genuine enthusiasm with which he has overcome, and continues to overcome, the many obstacles that obstruct his progress. In his official capacity, besides his frequent intercourse with the chiefs and warriors, who have visited the seat of government from time to time, he has travelled much among the Indians, holding treaties at their council fires, discussing with them their political relations with the United States and with each other, and examining minutely into their social condition and manner of life; thus accumulating a rich store of facts, which he is enabled to use to the greatest advantage in illustrating this work.* With each portrait is connected a biographical sketch of the individual, whom it is intended to represent, drawn from original materials, and interspersed with anecdotes and narrations, many of which

* In the year 1826, Colonel McKenney made a tour to the Upper Lakes, of which he published an account, in a volume entitled, "Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes, of the Character and Customs of the Chippeway Indians, and of Incidents connected with the Treaty of Fond du Lac." A notice of this volume may be found in the North American Review, Vol. XXV. pp. 334 et seqq.

are spirited and strikingly graphic. Eight numbers, constituting the first volume, have already been published.

Some of the first numbers of the work, in addition to the biographical sketches, contain a historical account of the various tribes of Indians within the borders of the United States, and particularly of those situate to the eastward of the Mississippi River. This essay forms a rare and valuable contribution to Indian history. It describes the situation and extent of the territories, which the tribes respectively inhabit, their population, their affinities with each other, their forms of government, and their general and local customs, habits, and peculiarities. It is also valuable and curious, as affording an instructive comparison with what has been written by the early travellers, and showing how completely the Indians have preserved all their original features of character, modes of existence, and habits of thought and action.

Colonel McKenney has also an accomplished coadjutor in Judge Hall, of Cincinnati, who is associated with him in the literary part of the enterprise. Judge Hall's well known grace and liveliness of style, and his knowledge of events in the West, and of the Indian character as unfolded in the wars of recent times, besides the advantage he derives from his proximity to the scenes he describes, enable him to make contributions, which will adorn and give additional value to the work.

These biographies have an interest beyond the simple narratives. They give us general views of Indian life and Indian character, of no little importance. We see to what a point the aboriginal intellect has advanced, and what have been apparently the stern boundaries fixed by nature to its progress. The narrow circle of Indian ideas has remained essentially the same since their first intercourse with Europeans. The principle of advancement, which has been developed in the earliest periods of all nations, who have carried forward the arts of civilization, has never shown itself among the children of the American forests. There have been of course individual exceptions to this remark; but they are much fewer than we should at first sight imagine. There seems to be an inherent antipathy to the forms of civilized life among them. The progress which the Cherokees are supposed to have made recently cannot as yet be considered as a departure from the general course of Indian affairs. The

labors of missionaries, — of such men as Eliot and Brainerd, — have caused a temporary change, and to a limited extent, in the aspect of Indian life. But where are now the villages they formed, the churches they gathered, the schools they opened for the red men? And what permanent consequences have followed the toils and sufferings of the thousand other devoted men, who have spent lives and fortunes in the same holy cause? They have refused to blend themselves with their conquerors, as if there had been some natural repugnance between the white man's and the red man's blood. They have rejected the habits of civilized life, though, in some individual cases, they have proved themselves capable of adopting them. It seems as if they were born to be hunters, and hunters they were determined to die. The Christian religion has made a temporary progress among some of the tribes, but time has always removed the last traces of it from the savage mind; as if the traditions of the Great Spirit, and the hunting-grounds of the departed warriors, had their origin in the natural feelings of the savage heart, and could never be replaced by a purer and sublimer faith. All other people, who have been overrun by a foreign race, have submitted to the common law of conquest, and intermingled with the conquering tribe; but the Indian has maintained his surly independence, looking upon the allurements of civilization with scorn, the religion of the whites with abhorrence, and his own inevitable disasters with a mournful, but unbending, haughtiness.

Poets and novelists have given the rein to their imagination, in describing the poetical life, and picturesque eloquence, of the Indians. The representations they have given are utterly false. There is nothing pleasing to the imagination in the dirty and smoky cabin of the Indian chief; there is nothing romantic in his custom of sleeping away the days of leisure from the perils of war or the adventures of the chase; there is not a particle of chivalry in the contempt with which he regards his squaw, and the unmanly cruelty by which he binds upon her burdens grievous to be borne. His whole life is surrounded by the dismal accompaniments of poverty, sensuality, ignorance, and vice. In the arts, he has never learned to do more than supply his coarsest animal wants. His taste for ornaments cannot well be more despicable. He rings his nose, as farmers ring their pigs, to keep them out of mischief; he daubs his body over with hideous colors,

which give him the appearance of a devil; he puts horns upon his head, or sticks it all over with gaudy feathers; and then he is a finished specimen of the Indian fine gentleman. In his amusements, his taste is equally refined with his taste in dress. His war dances and funeral dances are mere contortions, exhibiting every form of ungraceful bodily action; and these are accompanied by a species of music consisting of a rude movement in time, and certain unmeaning howls, compared with which, the barking of wolves and the growling of bears are melody itself. His warfare is a compound of cruelty and cowardice. His point of honor is, to entrap his enemy unawares, and with no danger to himself; his glory, on returning to his native village, he places in exhibiting the greatest possible number of scalps, torn bleeding from the heads of his murdered victims. His treatment of a captive enemy, is horrible beyond description. His highest enjoyment consists in taunting him with insults and reproaches in the midst of the fiercest death-agonies, which his diabolical skill enables him to invent. His sagacity is bounded to the discovery of a trail or track; his wisdom consists in a few wise saws handed down from his ancestors, and treasured up by the old women of the village. When in council, he dresses these scanty ideas with a touch or two of forest rhetoric, and that is his eloquence, and his statesmanship. How can it be any thing more? To what circle of experience, to what treasuries of knowledge, can he resort for the enlargement of his mind and the cultivation of eloquence? What occasion has his simple life for any thing more copious in thought, and more polished in language? His religion is founded upon the simple conception of a Supreme Being, and that is always sublime; but what attributes belong to this conception of the Supreme Being, can easily be inferred from the Indian's customs and his conduct. How unworthy of a God, his notions of him are, it is unnecessary to illustrate for it is known to all. His views of another life are distinct enough, but utterly insufficient to produce any exalting tendency in his conduct and character in this. They are low, gross, sensual. They have scarcely a glimmering of the light of imagination to redeem them from the most deplorable darkness.

We have said, the circle of Indian knowledge is extremely narrow and confined, and the materials of his eloquence scanty. Still, he sometimes gives utterance to a brilliant thought, which would be applauded, coming from a cultivated

mind. Living in the midst of primeval forests, gazing upon the stars of heaven, witnessing the succession and touching phenomena of the passing seasons, his mind is sometimes filled with emotions of the beautiful and sublime, to which he gives utterance in bold and figurative language. A sentiment imbued with natural feeling, an image borrowed from external objects, a comparison snatched from the tree, the bird, the mountain, the waterfall, occasionally impart to his discourse the air of poetry, and fill the mind of the hearer with delight. But the Indian makes no sustained efforts. His thoughts come out in single flashes; his eloquence is concentrated in a single point. Logic, properly speaking, he has none. When he reasons, he reasons from analogy; his arguments are tropes; his conclusions are metaphors in disguise. The summit of his philosophy is, to bear tortures unmoved. When among the monuments of civilization, his motto is, or would be, *Nil admirari*. Gazing, with immense multitudes, upon the balloon that ascended from the Battery in New York, he merely said, the man was a fool for his pains. In short, he looks with stupid insensibility upon all the marvels of art to which civilization has given birth. Some Indians have been educated by the whites, not many; and what has been the consequence? In nearly all instances, they have gone back to their savage customs, and utterly renounced the strange civilization thrust upon them. Many Indian names are mentioned, to be sure, in the annals of reclaimed barbarism; but most, if not all, of them belong to the half-breeds, to whom, we fancy, the greater part of Indian civilization has been and will be confined. What might have been done, had our treatment of them been such, as to recommend civilization and Christianity to their good-will, it is now too late to say. We have gone on wrong principles from the beginning. We have bought the Indian lands for a song, and made treaties, which we have constantly broken. We have regarded them as independent nations, and yet have taken them under our pupilage. We suffer them to remain under solemn guaranties, within our State territories, a separate race, with habits, manners, principles, utterly averse from our own; and, when the teeming population of the borders overruns their territories, we insist upon buying out their lands and driving them away. The whole proceeding of treaty-making with Indian tribes, turns out to be a solemn farce. If a white man kill an Indian, do we surrender him, on being demanded,

to be dealt with according to Indian principles of justice? If an Indian kill a white man, do we not demand his surrender, and persevere until we obtain it? In point of fact, the amount of the whole matter is simply this. We regard the Indians as independent nations, just far enough to subserve our own interests. We are willing to treat with them for their lands, and hold them to their concessions; so far they are independent nations. But when we want more, we take another position; and, as they are not independent nations, and have no standing armies, and cannot enforce their rights and compel us to maintain our own stipulations, we proceed to wrong them, by force or fraud, into other treaties, with similar concessions, to be observed with a similar good faith. We get a few half-breeds on our side, we bribe a few recreant chiefs to make their mark on the parchment, and thus we have another treaty of concession to our avarice, solemnly guarantied by an independent Indian nation, with stipulations on our part, sanctioned by pledged national faith! What trouble we are in at the South! We are marching our troops down upon the poor Cherokees, and commissioning our veteran generals to force that independent nation to quit the homes of their childhood, and the graves of their fathers, for unknown lands far off in the West. And we are doing it, by way of carrying into effect a treaty extorted by the most infamous means; a treaty against which the Cherokee nation rise up almost in a mass, and will probably carry their resistance to bloodshed. But our regard to the faith of treaties is so delicate, that we persist in driving away, at the point of the bayonet, the plundered inheritors of the soil, careless of all the ties we break, all the lives we shorten, all the scenes of woe we cause.

In fact, we started wrong at the outset, and we have probably gone wrong too far to retrace our steps. We ought to have offered the Indians all the rights of citizenship, on condition of submitting to our laws, and supporting our institutions; and, if they refused, we might, with a clearer conscience, have let civilization take its course. The savage tribes, who held this continent by an uncertain occupancy, roaming over its vast regions as hunters, or in deadly warfare with each other, had no right, in the nature of things, to shut this half of the world against the introduction of civilized life. To say, that they had such a right, would involve the monstrous conclusion,

that this immense continent might be for ever closed, in obedience to principles sanctioned by the Providence of God, against intellectual culture and pure religion ; that it might and ought to be for ever filled with the most revolting barbarism, the most heathenish ignorance, the most degrading superstition. Such a conclusion, it is needless to say, is against the most manifest designs of Providence. But, even if this position were supported by principles of abstract right, it could not be maintained in point of fact. Men will not be controlled by unintelligible refinements and wire-drawn theories. The moment the new world was discovered, the doom of the savage races who inhabited it was sealed ; they must either conform to the institutions of the Europeans, or disappear from the face of the earth. The ardent and uneasy spirits of the old world, driven by religious zeal or discontent at home, could have been restrained from throwing themselves upon the American shore, by no cobweb trammels of speculating civilians. Barbarism and civilization were set up, face to face, and one or the other must fall in the encounter. The history of two hundred years is a perpetual commentary upon this text.

But our purpose was not to discuss the general subject of our Indian relations, so much as to bring together a few traits and anecdotes which these lives supply. We shall take them as we find them, without much regard to order or arrangement, with the single remark, that they will illustrate what we have just said about the peculiarities of the Indian character and intellect. The editor is entitled to our warmest commendation for the abundant matter he has placed within our reach, to aid us in forming a just estimate of the Indian tribes. The series of Portraits is very properly introduced, by an admirable likeness of Red Jacket, the celebrated Seneca war-chief. He was a man of remarkable abilities, measuring him by Indian standards. His policy, — a policy sustained by uncommon perseverance and eloquence, — was opposed to civilization in every form. He "hated the missionaries and cold water," and remained a dogged Indian to the last, adopting from the whites nothing but a love of strong drink. He fancied, that the Indians might still save themselves by adhering sternly to their own languages, religion, and habits ; with all his boasted sagacity, he had not comprehension enough to see, that, in the battle of the Indian and the civilized man, the Indian must suffer a total rout,

and that the only way of saving himself was, to yield the point, and rival the invaders in their own arts. When it was proposed in council to establish a mission among his people, he replied, with no little shrewdness, "Your talk is fair and good. But I propose this; Go, try your hand in the town of Buffalo, for one year. They need missionaries, if you can do what you say. If in that time you shall have done them any good, and made them any better, then we will let you come among our people." On the differences of Indians and whites, he remarked, upon another occasion, that

"He had no doubt that Christianity was good for white people, but that the red men were of a different race, and required a different religion. He believed that Jesus Christ was a good man, and that the whites should all be sent to hell for killing him; but the red men, having no hand in his death, were clear of that crime. The Saviour was not sent to them, the atonement not made for them, nor the Bible given to them, and, therefore, the Christian religion was not intended for them. If the Great Spirit had intended they should be Christians, he would have made his revelation to them as well as to the whites; and, not having made it, it was clearly his will that they should continue in the faith of their fathers." — No. I. p. 11.

This is a pretty fair specimen of Indian logic; the whole force of it depends upon a sophism, which a common schoolboy would be at no loss to refute.

One of the most interesting portraits in the whole collection, is that of Mohongo and her child. The face of the mother is marked by a regular, placid, and thoughtful beauty, far from common in aboriginal physiognomy; and both figures remind one of the Madonna and Child, — the favorite subject of the Italian artists. This woman was one of a party of seven, decoyed from their homes by a crafty Frenchman, who carried them to Europe, by way of speculation. It is a lucky circumstance, that this shrewd trick was not played by a Yankee. If it had been, we should never have heard the last of it. They visited Holland, Germany, and other parts of the continent; but, on their arrival at the capital of France, their deceiver was detected by his creditors; and the Indians found in Lafayette a kind friend, who immediately took measures to restore them to the United States. Speaking of the superior intelligence displayed in this interesting countenance, the writer says,

"Mohongo travelled in company with her husband. Con-

stantly in his society, sharing with him the perils, the vicissitudes, and the emotions incident to the novel scenes into which they were thrown, and released from the drudgery of menial occupation, she must have risen to something like the station of an equal. Perhaps, when circumstances of embarrassment, or perplexing objects of curiosity, were presented, the superior tact of the female mind became apparent, and her companion learned to place a higher estimation upon her character than is usually awarded by the Indian to the weaker sex. Escaped from servile labor, she had leisure to think. New objects were continually placed before her eyes; admiration and curiosity were often awakened in her mind; its latent faculties were excited, and that beautiful system of association, which forms the train of rational thought, became connected and developed. Mohongo was no longer the drudge of a savage hunter, but his friend." — No. I. p. 23.

In the same number with our Indian Madonna, are the portrait and life of Push-ma-ta-ha, the famous Choctaw warrior. The regimentals of an American general on this red officer, form a strange antithesis to all our notions of Indian costume. He made himself famous both in savage and civilized warfare, — pretty much the same thing, — and raised himself, from a humble station, to a distinguished rank. Among other peculiarities, he was an advocate of polygamy. To the question, whether he did not think the custom wrong, he replied;

"No. Is it not right that every woman should be married? — and how can that be, when there are more women than men, unless some men marry more than one? When our great father, the President, caused the Indians to be counted last year, it was found that the women were most numerous; and if one man could have but one wife, some woman would have no husband." — No. I. p. 33.

This argument was perfectly satisfactory to Push-ma-ta-ha. Being a reasonable man, however, he confined himself, with exemplary fidelity, to two wives. An unusual number of his speeches are preserved; but the most striking one of all, is that addressed just before his death, in Washington, to his Indian friends.

"I shall die, but you will return to our brethren. As you go along the paths, you will see the flowers and hear the birds sing; but Pushmataha will see them and hear them no more. When you shall come to your home, they will ask you, 'Where is Pushmataha?' and you will say to them, 'He is no more.'

They will hear the tidings, like the fall of a mighty oak in the stillness of the woods." — No. I. p. 34.

This simile is among the noblest ever conceived by orator or poet; at the same time, it could have come only from a son of the forest.

One of the most remarkable Indians, that we have any knowledge of, was Tecumthé, of whom an interesting account is given in connexion with his brother, the Prophet. This chieftain appears to have shown his superiority at a very early period of life, except on one occasion, when, being a youth of fifteen, he ran away from the enemy in battle, and brought a temporary cloud over his good name. But this did not long continue. His subsequent brilliant exploits restored him to an ascendency almost unrivalled in Indian annals. About the year 1806, he began his operations for expelling the whites from the valley of the Mississippi. He proposed a general union of all the tribes for this purpose, travelled among them with unwearied perseverance, and urged them to lay aside their petty feuds, and wage a general warfare against the common enemy. His labors in this cause, the partial success that attended them, and his final overthrow, are matters of history.

Tecumthé maintained a very plausible theory of Indian rights, and argued stoutly against the validity of treaties, ceding lands to the whites. It was in substance, that, as the Great Spirit had given them to all the Indians for hunting-grounds, — and as each tribe had a right to certain tracts of country while they occupied them and no longer, so that one might take possession when another moved away, — no tribe had a right to alienate that of which they had only a temporary possession; and, consequently, treaties made without the consent of all the tribes were void. These propositions he maintained with no little ingenuity and power. On one occasion, ridiculing the idea of selling a country, he exclaimed, "Sell a country! why not sell the air, the clouds, and the great sea, as well as the earth? Did not the Great Spirit make them all for the use of his children?"

The following anecdote is told of Waa-pa-shaw, a Sioux chief. A quarrel took place between the Winnebago Indians and the inhabitants of a little village at Prairie du Chien, during the last war. The villagers immediately claimed the interposition of this chief, on account of his in-

fluence, not only over his own tribe, but among his neighbours. He responded to the request, and went immediately to the village, with but one attendant. Seeing him approach without his customary train of warriors, the villagers gave up all for lost. In reply to their expressions of alarm, he said nothing, but sent a message by his attendant, requiring the Winnebagos to meet him at an appointed time and place that day. The Winnebagos obeyed, and Waapashaw took his place among them. After a few minutes silence, he arose, assumed an attitude of great dignity, and gazed upon the chiefs with a threatening look. He plucked a hair from his head, held it up before them, and said, "Winnebagos! do you see this hair? Look at it. You threaten to massacre the white people at the Prairie. They are your friends and mine. You wish to drink their blood. Is that your purpose? Dare to lay a finger upon one of them, and I will blow you from the face of the earth, as I now blow this hair with my breath, where none can find it." Having uttered this bold defiance, he turned upon his heel and left the council, without waiting for a reply. Nothing more was heard of Winnebago hostilities.

Sequoyah, the inventor of the Cherokee Alphabet, is a most interesting personage, but would be still more so, were he a full-blooded Indian. He is the son of a white man and a half-breed woman, and this circumstance essentially detracts from the wonderful character of his discoveries in arts and letters. Still, his story is a pleasant one. Instead of joining the rude sports of Indian boys, while a child, he took great delight in exercising his ingenuity by various mechanical labors. He also assisted in the management of his mother's property, consisting of a farm, and cattle, and horses. In his intercourse with the whites, he became aware that they possessed an art, by which a name, impressed upon a hard substance, might be understood at a glance, by any one acquainted with the art. He requested an educated half-blood, named Charles Hicks, to write his name; which being done, he made a die, containing a fac-simile of the word, which he stamped upon all the articles fabricated by his mechanical ingenuity. From this he proceeded to the art of drawing, in which he made rapid progress, before he had an opportunity of seeing a picture or engraving. These accomplishments made the

young man very popular among his associates, and particularly among the red ladies ; but it was long before incessant adulation produced any evil effect upon his character. At length, however, he was prevailed upon to join his companions, and share in the carouse, which had been supplied by his own industry. But he soon wearied of an idle and dissipated life, suddenly resolved to give up drinking, and learned the trade of a blacksmith by his own unaided efforts. In the year 1820, while on a visit to some friends in a Cherokee village, he listened to a conversation on the art of writing, which seems always to have been the subject of great curiosity among the Indians. Sequoyah remarked, that he did not regard the art as so very extraordinary, and believed he could invent a plan by which the red man might do the same thing. The company were incredulous ; but the matter had long been the subject of his reflections, and he had come to the conclusion, that letters represented words or ideas, and being always uniform, would always convey the same meaning. His first plan was to invent signs for words ; but upon trial he was speedily satisfied, that this would be too cumbrous and laborious, and soon conceived the plan of an alphabet, which should represent sounds, each character standing for a syllable. He persevered in carrying out this invention, and attained his object by forming eighty-six characters.

While thus employed, he incurred the ridicule of his neighbours, and was entreated to desist by his friends. The invention, however, was completely successful, and the Cherokee dialect is now a written language ; a result entirely due to the extraordinary genius of Sequoyah. After teaching many to read and write, he left the Cherokee nation in 1822, on a visit to Arkansas, and introduced the art among the Cherokees who had emigrated to that country ; and, after his return home, a correspondence was opened, in the Cherokee language, between the two branches of the nation. In the autumn of 1823, the general council bestowed on him a silver medal in honor of his genius, and as an expression of gratitude for his eminent public services. This extraordinary man is now with his countrymen west of the Mississippi. Whether he continues to cultivate aboriginal literature, we have not heard. It is to be hoped, the first attempts at Indian epistolary writing, in an Indian language with Indian

characters, will not be lost. They would be objects of great curiosity to philologists.

It would be easy to go on collecting interesting anecdotes and traits from these well executed volumes, but perhaps we have already given enough to excite the attention of our readers to the work itself. The portraits are a noble monument of skill and art, and a most becoming tribute to the memory of the departing tribes. Their lineaments ought to be thus preserved from oblivion, so that, if the time should come, when the red men are only known by tradition and history, their successors may be able to form a lively idea of the races, with whom the first settlers had to contend for the soil of America.

In closing our remarks, we cannot refrain from expressing our unfeigned thanks, as Americans, to the authors and conductors of this great enterprise ; second only to that of Audubon. It is a work in every respect honorable to the nation. As both the design, and the execution thus far, have merited the applause of the public, so we heartily wish it success to the end. We are glad to learn, moreover, that its circulation is not confined to one hemisphere, and that it is already attracting the attention of the curious and the enlightened in various parts of Europe. Under the energetic management of Mr. James M. Campbell, the publisher in England, a large edition is sold in that country. As a proof of the patronage it receives, it is enough to state, that the entire work, the plates, coloring, and letter-press, are executed anew in London for the British market, and that there is encouragement for an extensive sale on the continent.

ART. VI. — *National Standard of Costumes. A Lecture on the Changes of Fashion, delivered before the Portsmouth Lyceum*, by CHARLES W. BREWSTER. Portsmouth. 1837. 8vo. pp. 15.

THE subject of costumes is curious and interesting. Dress is an object of universal attention. It occupies no small portion of our time and thoughts ; it forms a distinct and important trade, or, we should be more inclined to call it, profes-

sion ; it constitutes a very large branch of commerce. We should be somewhat at a loss to determine whether civilized or barbarous nations are most occupied by the cares of the toilet. Certainly a full-dressed savage makes a wonderful display of art. His painted countenance and head, the nicely adjusted colors, the tortured hair, the elaborate ornaments, the pouch and moccasin skilfully embroidered with variegated porcupine's quills, the cloak of gorgeous feathers or cloth of bark, indicate plainly, that his attention has been directed with no little patience and contrivance to this all-important object. And we doubt not, that as much care is expended upon his toilet, as the votary of civilized fashion gives to his.

We should be almost afraid to compute how large a portion of the time among civilized people is occupied, either in dressing, or in thinking about dress. Much less, probably, is so used in this country, than in others, where a stricter etiquette prevails ; but we still think we are within bounds in supposing, that one third of the waking hours of the community, including what is employed in making and repairing, is devoted to the subject of dress.

Half-civilized nations, who show more sense in their costumes than any others barbarous or refined, must, we imagine, be somewhat at a loss to account for their neighbours' bestowing so much attention upon a subject, which for them is entirely settled. Where a man, or still more a woman, knows what colors and what forms of dress she is to use, being the same precisely that her ancestors have worn for centuries, and where the idea of fashion never dawned, there can be but little time wasted upon dress. We only wonder, what the fair inhabitants of such a country can find to supply the place of that deep interest, which the subject affords to the happier heirs of civilization. "What a monstrous idea!" we fancy some of our fair readers to exclaim ; "a country where there is no such thing as fashion ! where one must dress like one's grandmother ; where there is no difference between morning and evening dresses ; where there are no such things as walking dresses and carriage dresses, no distinctions of bonnets, and no change of forms ! What becomes of the spirit of a woman in such a stupid country ?"

What, then, are the causes of these differences in different countries ? Why do the Persians at this day, dress as the Persians did in the days of Cyrus the Great, while the forms

of English and French dresses have been constantly changing since the time of the Roman conquests? Is there a deep philosophy of dress to account for this? Is there any theory to explain why civilization makes changes in costume, or to account for each successive change?

These questions we do not pretend to answer. We will give our readers a slight sketch of some of the different remarkable costumes of ancient and modern times, and the various changes which have been made with the advance of civilization. Perhaps they may deduce some theory, to suit themselves, from the facts we shall present them.

An ingenious observer might possibly discover in the costumes of different nations, a harmony with the prevailing tastes and the general character of the people. There is certainly no way in which taste, whatever it is, displays itself more than in dress; and, as far as nationality of costume exists, there might perhaps be found a certain correspondence or identity in the taste in dress and in the fine arts. Thus the Egyptian costume would possess a character very different from that of Greece or Rome. The dress of one age would differ in style from that of another in the same country. Each would be marked by the peculiar taste and the prevailing spirit of the time. The costume of a cavalier in the thirteenth or fourteenth century would be as different from that of a Roman in the days of Cicero, as a Gothic church is from a classic temple; and each costume, in point of taste, might be marked with the same spirit, that inspired the architecture of the different periods.

Nothing can be more ungraceful than the costume of the Egyptians, as it is represented in their sculpture. In the Capitol at Rome, there is a collection of very ancient Egyptian statues. The dress consists of a cloth or mantle, wrapped closely round the body, so as to show the whole outline of the form, and descending in some to the knees, in others to the feet; and bound so tight, as to fetter the limbs. The arms are left bare; on the head is a small cap, shaped in some like a coronet, from each side of which descends a sort of wing or pendant, making the neck appear of the same breadth as the shoulders; the whole costume, giving the living man, as near as possible, the look of a mummy. A representation of a priest, in Denon's work on Egypt, also shows very nearly the same costume. The cap and its gro-

tesque wings are precisely like those in the statues ; and the dress consists of a tunic descending not quite to the knees, and fitting close to the body. Now there certainly is some resemblance in the stiff, graceless, and square form of this costume, to the equally stiff, graceless, and square architecture of Egypt. That people were certainly distinguished by bad taste, but there was a harmony in its badness ; their colossal structures and their gigantic statues, their sphinxes and their other monsters, all are marked with the same monstrous taste. There is a resemblance to these in the costume. We do not mean, that there is an imitation. The caps are not made in the shape of a pyramid or a sphinx, nor the vest in the form of any other structure. But there is in the costume a certain taste, which is obviously the same that gave birth to the architecture. It is essentially Egyptian, as strongly marked as the pyramid or obelisk, and could not be mistaken.

The Asiatic dress is entirely different. The costume of the Parthians was a long flowing tunic or gown, reaching nearly to the ancles, and gathered round the waist with a girdle. The sleeves, which reach to the wrists, were made tight, so as to show the form of the arm ; the trowsers were loose and gathered at the ancle ; and the cap was low, and shaped somewhat like a coronet. This dress, as represented in ancient paintings, resembles almost exactly the costume of the Persians at the present day. The dress of the Persian ambassador, whom we met in Paris a few years since, might have been thought a copy from the antique, so closely did it correspond to the representation of the ancient Parthian. The Parthian sovereigns are represented on the coins, sometimes bareheaded, with long bushy hair and profuse beards very elaborately curled, sometimes wearing a cap in the form of a truncated cone, inverted. The Medes and Persians generally wore a conical cap, sometimes truncated and much ornamented. The inhabitants of the countries bordering on the Black Sea and of the Archipelago, used the Phrygian cap, with the top bent forward, and long flaps descending to the shoulders.

We have particularly mentioned these various head-dresses, to show that all antiquity boasted nothing in the way of head-gear so absurd as the hats of the present day. Of all the articles of dress which the present age abounds in, there is none which we contemplate or wear with so little compla-

cency or patience as a hat. For the fashion of other parts of dress, we can see some reason ; but we are at a loss to discover the philosophy of this. It can hardly be called a covering for the head, as it only rests on the top, never covering the ears. The tall cylinder of the crown rises up several inches above the head, leaving a large space, which, for all we can discover, is perfectly useless. Then the hat must bind the forehead closely ; otherwise a breath of wind will take it off. In all truth, we do believe, that one great reason why Americans stoop so much, is, that, living in a country where high winds prevail, they are obliged to walk stooping half the time, to prevent the wind's blowing their hats off. The most sensible head-gear which is worn in these days, is the cap which sailors call a *southwester ;* fitting close to the head, and having a sort of cape which descends over the shoulders. But any kind of cap is better than a hat, which, we doubt not, is the invention of some unhappy wretch whose fair proportions nature had curtailed ; and who endeavoured to make up for his deficiencies by a lofty head-dress. Fashion, however, dictates, that hats shall be genteel, and caps otherwise ; and who shall dare to dispute her decree ?

The warlike dress of the Amazons, if we may believe the paintings upon antique vases, was very tasteful. It consisted of a tunic reaching not quite to the knee, and confined at the waist with a girdle. It came up round the throat and fitted close to the form above the waist. The sleeves were made tight and reached to the wrists. Over this tunic was worn a short cloak or mantle not longer than the tunic, fastened round the neck and flowing from thence. This garment resembles very much the short Spanish cloak worn by cavaliers in the sixteenth century. Finally, these ladies, with extreme propriety, and in keeping with their character, wore pantaloons, which might be the envy of the greatest dandy in Broadway or Chesnut Street. They were made to fit close, showing the form of the leg completely ; and, in addition to their elegance, must have been extremely convenient. With the war dress, the Amazons wore a helmet, sometimes terminating in the beak of a griffin, the jagged crest of the animal forming the summit or back of the helmet. In peace these ladies condescended to put on the ordinary female costume.

In general, the Asiatic costume forms a remarkable con-

trast to that of Egypt; the one, loose, flowing, and graceful; the other, so contrived as to fit close to the form, and yet to make it appear more awkward,—without a single fold, square, dead-like. There is something very grand and imposing in loose and ample robes. We attach the idea of princely magnificence to them, and man seems to acquire double grandeur when thus arrayed. The fact is, that this mortal must put on a dress in order to look respectably. One tailor is not enough to make a man. He is not completely made till he has had nine of them at work upon him.

We come now to the classic costume, which we shall find to be completely in keeping with the taste displayed by the Greeks and Romans in other things. The first thing we notice with regard to the Greeks, is, the great care bestowed upon the arrangement of the hair. Writers on costumes distinguish the different ages, by the changes in the manner of arranging the hair. The earliest style was remarkable for primness, the hair being divided into symmetrical curls much in the corkscrew form; and the dress was made to correspond with this by plaiting it into straight and stiff folds. The hair was dressed in the same way for men as for women. After a little time, it became the fashion to gather all the hair hanging down the back, by means of a riband, into a single bunch, leaving only two or three long slender ringlets hanging in front of the ears. At a later period, this bunch of hair hanging down behind, was gathered up and doubled into a club, while the side locks were allowed to descend as low as the breast. In the fourth era of Grecian barbarism, these long ringlets gradually shrunk away to a number of short curls about the ears, leaving the neck quite free. The hair and beard were arranged with extreme care, and were made to resemble the cells of a beehive, or a network of wire, the Greeks being very skilful in the use of the hot tongs.

The dress of Greek females was a tunic or gown, reaching to the feet, and fitting round the neck, with sleeves reaching to the elbows. Over this, was a second garment, which was intended only as an additional protection to the upper part of the person. It was a square piece of stuff, folded double, so as to show only half of the original width, and was worn with the doubled part upwards, so as to display the embroidered edge more fully, hanging down. This garment was suspended round the back and chest, passing under both arms. The

centre was brought directly under the left arm, so that the ends met and hung down under the right ; and it was kept in place by two clasps or buttons which fastened together the front and back part over the shoulders. The outer garment was called the *peplum*, and was used more for occasions of ceremony than for ordinary convenience, as it was very long and ample, and, from the manner of putting it on, must have been inconvenient to the wearer. It was sometimes wound double round the body, first under the arms, and then over the shoulders, and was not fastened by any clasps or buttons, but was kept on by the intricacy of the folds. The *peplum*, and the *pallium* or men's outer garment, gave occasion to a great display of taste in the manner of wearing, as the various combinations seem to be almost endless. Every variety which human ingenuity or fancy could devise in the manner of wearing this part of the dress, may be seen in the pictures on ancient vases ; and it is supposed that the different degrees of grace, in the arrangement of this garment, indicated the degree of refinement in the wearer. At times, the mode of wearing it was made to indicate the state of mind of the individual. Thus, it was drawn over the head by persons in deep affliction, or engaged in any solemn religious ceremony. For both of these reasons it was represented as drawn over the head of Agamemnon in the celebrated classical painting of the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenia. Finally the *peplum* served as a protection to the head in stormy weather ; though travellers provided themselves with a flat-broad-brimmed hat, which they called a *petasus*, tied under the chin like a bonnet.

The dress of the Roman ladies was much like that worn by the Greeks. It consisted of the tunic, or *stola*, reaching to the feet, with long sleeves worn next the skin ; then the *amiculum*, formed of two square pieces of stuff fastened on the shoulders ; and, lastly, the *palla*, corresponding to the Grecian *peplum*, and very similar to the men's *toga*, except that it was more ample and was embroidered. The Roman ladies bestowed infinite pains upon the dressing of their hair. Like the Greeks, they used the curling tongs ; and a number of antique busts, portraits of Roman ladies, in the Gallery at Florence, display a degree of care, ingenuity, and skill in the coiffure, that would baffle the most accomplished hair-dresser of Paris at the present day. The hair was plaited, twisted,

or woven, into the most elaborate and exquisite forms. Coronets, wreaths, diadems, baskets of flowers, clusters of grapes, were all represented by the cunning hand of the Roman hair-dresser. When the natural color of the hair was not agreeable, it was stained, by means of a pomatum made of the dregs of vinegar and the oil of mastic. And when, after the conquest of Great Britain, the light golden hair of the Caledonian maidens gained the admiration of their conquerors, the ladies of Rome aspired to the same attraction by filling their hair with gold dust. They also used white and red paint for the face, besides a variety of washes and cosmetics.

The Roman ladies were very fond of jewels, and carried their passion for them to such an excess, as to become occasionally the subject of legislation. The principal personal ornaments were ear-rings, necklaces, and finger rings. The ear-rings were of gold, pearls, and precious stones, and were sometimes of immense value. Necklaces were also set with gems, and very precious, and were worn by men as well as women ; every school-boy will recollect the story of Manlius Torquatus. In the manufacture of ornamental chains, the Roman or Greek jewellers displayed great skill. There was one kind of chain, in particular, wrought with such consummate art, that modern jewellers have in vain attempted to imitate it. The links are so cunningly shaped and knit together, that, when the chain is extended, it resembles a single bar of gold ; and yet it is perfectly flexible in every possible direction, like a small cord. Chains of this kind in the most perfect preservation have been found in Pompeii. Finger rings were of various forms and devices, commonly set with engraved gems, and used as seals. A remarkable mention of these is in Cicero's Oration against Catiline, in which he speaks of the impress of the ring of Lentulus in his intercepted letter. Among the ornaments discovered in Pompeii, is a breast-pin, to which is attached a Bacchanalian figure with a *patera* or goblet in one hand, and a glass in the other ; having bat's wings attached to his shoulders, and two belts of grapes passing across his body.

Indeed, if we may judge from the symbols of ancient coquetry, which that living tomb, Pompeii, has yielded up, the refinement of the toilet was as great with the Romans, as at the present day ; and Pope's lines are as descriptive of a

morning scene in the chamber of a Roman belle, as of a modern fine lady.

"Unnumbered treasures ope at once, and here
The various offerings of the world appear;
From each she nicely culls with curious toil
And decks the goddess with the glittering spoil.
This casket India's glowing gems unlocks,
And all Arabia breathes from yonder box;
The tortoise here and elephant unite,
Transformed to combs, the speckled and the white.
Here files of pins extend their shining rows,
Puffs, powders, patches."

How the poor things managed without the "Bibles" and "billets-doux," which should complete the line, is more than we know; perhaps some of our fair readers can suggest the substitute.

The dress of the men consisted of the *tunic*, which reached nearly to the knees and had no sleeves. It was fastened by a girdle above the hips; and a strip of purple, on the right side of this garment in front, indicated, by its breadth, whether the wearer was of Senatorial or Equestrian rank. Over this, was worn the distinguishing garment of the Romans, the *toga*. It has been disputed by antiquaries, whether the form of this garment was round or square. Mr. Hope thinks it was semicircular. Beckmann says, that the Roman weavers made each piece of cloth just of the proper size for a toga, so that when it came from the loom it was ready for use, and probably had no seam. It was a loose robe or cloak, extending from the neck to the feet, closed below the breast, but open above, and without sleeves. It was ample, flowing, and graceful; and gave a dignified and majestic air to the wearer.

The materials used by the Romans in the manufacture of their garments, were chiefly linen and wool. The *toga* was woollen, and generally white, though mourners wore it black. Silk began to be imported in the latter days of the republic, nor did the Romans at first understand the manufacture of it. Afterwards they began to weave it, intermixing woollen thread. The fabric thus formed, was called *vestes Coæ*, as it was invented in the island of Cos. It was very thin, like muslin or gauze, and is spoken of by Seneca as "woven wind." The term *bombycina*, undoubtedly the origin of our

word *bombazine*, derived from *bombyx*, a *silk-worm*, was applied to this fabric.

The Romans commonly went with the head bare or only covered with the toga, except at sacred rites and festivals, on journeys, and in war. At the *Saturnalia*, they wore the *pileus*, or woollen cap, which was never permitted to be worn by slaves. They probably assumed it particularly at this festival, as a mark of distinction, because slaves during the Saturnalia were allowed almost unlimited license, and needed something to admonish them of their real condition. Roman travellers, like Greek travellers, wore the *petasus*.

There were various coverings for the feet. The *calcei* were somewhat like our shoes, and covered the foot entirely. They were provided with strings or lacings, which sometimes covered the ancle. Senators wore on the top of the *calceus*, a gold or silver crescent, as a mark of their order. The shoes of men were usually black; those of women were white, red, yellow, or of other colors. Buskins were also worn, covering only the sole of the foot and laced above. Soldiers wore boots reaching as high as the ancle. The legs were protected by bands of cloth, wound round them from the thigh downwards.

The distinguishing marks, in the costume of the Greeks and Romans, were elegance, majesty, and grace. Their robes were loose and flowing. They were never intended to display the form, but to hang loosely around it, suggesting grace and beauty to the imagination, while they actually concealed the work of nature. The dress of these nations had a good effect upon the art of sculpture. In their costume, form was of much more consequence than color; and it could therefore be perfectly represented by the marble. The sculptor at the present day is embarrassed in the representation of his hero. The modern costume, which, especially with military men, depends as much for its effect on color as on form, and perhaps even more, cannot be adequately represented by marble; and the artist must clothe his statue in some foreign or imaginary garb, which every one knows he never wore. The Greek sculptor, on the contrary, found in every man he met a model, which he might study to advantage. And the immense variety of arrangement, which the ample robe allowed, must have constantly suggested to him some new idea with regard to the arrangement and flow

of drapery; a subject of sufficient importance to occupy one chapter in Flaxman's admirable volume of Lectures. We can now do no more than hint at the effect thus produced on one of the fine arts. At some future time, we may find occasion to resume the subject.

We must hasten on to the dress of modern ages. The dress of the different Christian nations of Europe has not greatly varied in the same century; and the description of the costume of one nation may be taken as a specimen of all. We shall, therefore, give an account of some of the most remarkable costumes of England. The dress of the Anglo-Saxons consisted of shirts; tunics, both long and short; surcoats, or sleeved gowns; cloaks or mantles; conical or Phrygian bonnets; shoes open in the middle, or on each side, and stockings. The legs were protected by breeches reaching to the knee. The hair was parted on the middle of the head, and hung down on each side, and the forked beard was worn. Women of the same era wore under-tunics with sleeves; upper-tunics like gowns; mantles or cloaks; kerchiefs or hoods; high-quartered shoes, and stockings.

But our readers will form a better notion of the Saxon dress from the following description, than it is possible to convey by our dry details. We quote from Scott's picture of Cedric the Saxon. "His dress was a tunic of forest green, furred at the throat and cuffs with what was called minever; a kind of fur inferior in quality to ermine, and formed, it is believed, of the skin of the grey squirrel. His doublet hung unbuttoned over a close dress of scarlet, which sat tight to his body; he had breeches of the same, but they did not reach below the lower part of the thigh, leaving the knee exposed. His feet had sandals of the same fashion with the peasants, but of finer materials, and secured in front with golden clasps. Behind his seat was hung a scarlet cloth cloak, lined with fur, and a cap of the same materials richly embroidered, which completed the dress of the opulent landholder when he chose to go forth."

Such was the general outline of the costume worn in England from the beginning of the tenth century. Some changes became visible in the fourteenth century. The head-covering for men assumed a great variety of forms, some of them very fantastic. They might be seen in all the variety of wreathed, turban-shaped, flapped, rolled, skull-

capped, brimmed, with projecting ends, conical and cylindrical with or without brims, night-capped, tied under the chin, sometimes tongued over the head, escalloped, or simple bandages round the hair, &c. Spencers were also worn, buttoning in front and without sleeves. The shoes were long-pointed, and were joined to the stocking so as to form but one garment; and were differently colored on each leg. The shirt, in the time of the Saxons and Normans, formed no ostensible part of the dress; but, at a later period, when tunics became doublets or waistcoats, they were made more open upon the neck and bosom, so as to display the shirt collar, which was richly embroidered.

In the fifteenth century, the costume became still more fanciful and grotesque. The doublets were cut and slashed, and nearly disjointed at the elbows, in order to show the fineness of the shirts. The dress of the two sexes could hardly be distinguished from each other; men wore petticoats over their lower clothing; the doublets were laced in front like stays, over a stomacher; and the gowns were open in front to the girdle, and again from the girdle to the ground. The women wore gowns, enormous trains, and corsets over the other dress; and were particularly distinguished by two peculiarities, the horned and the steeple head-dresses; the former consisting of two elevations like a mitre worn edgewise, the other having only one elevation, of a pyramidal or conical form, and very high. Addison dates the existence of these enormous head-dresses a century earlier, though they probably appeared both in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He says, "I do not remember in any part of my reading, that the head-dress aspired to so great an extravagance as in the fourteenth century; when it was built up in a couple of cones or spires, which stood so excessively high, on each side of the head, that a woman, who was but a pigmy without her head-dress, appeared like a Colossus upon putting it on. Monsieur Paradin says, that these old-fashioned fantanges rose an ell above the head; that they were pointed like steeples, and had long pieces of crape fastened to the tops of them, which were curiously fringed, and hung down their backs like streamers."

In the sixteenth century, men wore gowns, boddices, close pantaloons, boots coming up to the middle of the thigh, cloaks, slashed doublets, petticoat breeches, and the remark-

able trunk hose, which were breeches sitting close to the leg, and stuffed out enormously about the hips. The women appeared in long boddices, with or without skirts, and the famous farthingale, which was an immense hooped petticoat; they also invented a kind of doublet with high wings and puffed sleeves, a costume in full fashion in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. To give our readers a better notion of the costume of this period, we will again quote from Scott, who was extremely correct and minutely accurate in his descriptions. Whom, then, can we select, as a more worthy representative of the fashions of the sixteenth century, than that renowned cavalier Sir Piercie Shafton? His first appearance is thus described: "He has a crimson velvet bonnet, and long, brown hair falling down under it, and a beard on his upper lip, and his chin clean and close shaved, save a small patch on the point of it, and a sky-blue jerkin slashed, and lined with white satin, and trunk hose to suit." Again, in speaking of his wardrobe, Sir Piercie gives the following catalogue, which might drive a modern dandy to despair. "My rich crimson silk doublet, slashed out and lined with cloth of gold, which I wore at the last revels, with baldric and trimmings to correspond; also two pair of black silk slops, with hanging garters of carnation silk; also the flesh-colored silken doublet with the trimmings of fur, in which I danced the salvage man at the Gray's Inn mummery." "There are four suits of as pure and elegant device as ever the fancy of a fair lady doated upon, every one having a treble and appropriate change of ribbons, trimmings, and fringes, which, in case of need, may, as it were, renew each of them, and multiply the four into twelve. There is also my sad-colored riding suit, and three cut-work shirts with falling bands," &c. Such were the wonders of the wardrobe in the sixteenth century.

And here we leave the subject of costumes. The changes of dress since that time have been great. The subject is ample and amusing, as connected with politics, literature, and religion, as well as fashion, but we forbear to pursue it. We have already far exceeded the limits we first fixed for our article, and we might engage in speculations which would be thought foreign to the matter.

ART. VII. — *Boylston Prize Dissertations for the Years 1836 and 1837.* By OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, M. D., Fellow of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and Member of the *Société Médicale d'Observation* of Paris. Boston; Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1838. 8vo. pp. 371.

IN 1803, Ward Nicholas Boylston established a fund, affording an income of one hundred dollars a year, to be expended in prizes for Medical Dissertations; the fund to be managed by the Corporation of Harvard University, and the prizes to be awarded by a committee of physicians, appointed by the Corporation. At first three subjects were proposed in each year; and the premium awarded to the author of the best dissertation on each, was a gold medal of the value of thirty-three dollars. In 1815, the number of annual questions was reduced, at the suggestion of the Committee, to two, and the value of the medal increased to fifty dollars; and so it continues to the present time. It would have been still better, if the whole sum had been appropriated to a single medal each year. The Committee, in 1815, recommended this change; but the founder did not assent to it.

As it is, the Boylston medal has drawn out a considerable number of discussions, some of them of no small degree of merit. The questions proposed are such as the committee judge to be best suited to lead to valuable discoveries or important observations; and entire impartiality in the adjudication of the premium is secured by having the names of the authors concealed until after the award is made, when the sealed packet, accompanying the successful dissertation, is alone opened. Unsuccessful authors are never known, unless they choose to avow themselves; and thus they are spared any mortification, which might otherwise add to the disappointment of their failure. The volume before us contains three Dissertations, for which the Boylston premiums were awarded to the author in 1836 and 1837. It affords a proof of his industry as well as of his talents, that the author should be successful in obtaining three prizes in two successive years, gaining in the latter year both that were offered.

The first Dissertation is a "History of Intermittent Fever,"

so far as it is known to have prevailed in New England, on the question, as proposed by the Committee; "To what Extent, and in what Places, has Intermittent Fever been indigenous in New England?" For many years past, the only cases of this disease, which have appeared among us, except in a few peculiar situations, have been evidently caused by exposure elsewhere. There were some traditions, and some scattered notices, which seemed to imply that it was not always so; but that, on the contrary, the early settlers of New England, had, in common with most pioneers in a new country, to encounter this among the other difficulties of their enterprise. The inquiry, therefore, involved more of antiquarian research than of recent history. The materials for the investigation were few, and of the most miscellaneous character. The few physicians who accompanied the early Pilgrims, seem to have had too much else to do, to employ themselves in writing for the benefit, or to gratify the curiosity, of their successors. There were no medical journals to receive occasional communications; and to make a medical book was an undertaking in that day rarely accomplished, and in this new world not attempted till long after.

What notices there are of the early diseases of New England, are to be found chiefly in the incidental mention of them in the letters and journals of the first settlers, as collected in biographical memoirs, and local histories; and in the traditions, which, in some instances, have been handed down and preserved by curious conservators of the sayings and doings of their ancestors. In these repositories of ancient occurrences Dr. Holmes has made a diligent search; and he has succeeded in bringing together many facts, of which the record was scarcely known to exist, and in rescuing from oblivion others, of which the knowledge would soon have been irretrievably lost.

It may serve as an encouragement to the inhabitants of some of our new settlements to hope for healthier days, at least for their children, when their forests shall have more thoroughly decayed, to learn, that the same fever and ague, which now so seriously disturbs their comforts and enjoyments, once pervaded the most healthy parts of New England, from which it has wholly disappeared for more than a century. The justly celebrated Eliot contracted the disease in his missionary excursions to the Indians on the hills in

Newton ; where no trace of it has been seen for several generations.

Since the early forests were cleared off, Intermittent fever has appeared in New England only in a very few situations, in which some peculiar local cause has operated to produce it. An example of this kind occurred on the banks of the Connecticut River, in Hampshire county, Massachusetts. A dam was carried across the river, in 1792, at South Hadley, to aid the operations of a canal, in consequence of which the low grounds on the borders of the river were partially overflowed. For several years after, *fever and ague* prevailed to a considerable extent in the neighbourhood ; and so confidently was it attributed to the dam, that several of the sick persons recovered damages at law from the canal corporation, and ultimately the dam was removed by order of court, and the disease has rarely, if ever, originated there since.

The valley of the Housatonic River, in Berkshire county, has been still more productive of intermittents. The detailed accounts of these, given by Dr. Holmes, belong rather to the members of his profession, interesting as they are to them, than to our readers in general. But we cannot forbear to quote an amusing example of successful confidence in an empirical remedy, from the letter of one of his correspondents, written at the advanced age of eighty-seven years.

"About forty years ago," writes Dr. Partridge, of Stockbridge, "a Mr. Smith, from the hills east in Connecticut, bought a farm, mostly tillage land, in the southwest part of Stockbridge, bounding east on the river, (west on a hill,) here raised some way above and below said farm ; no stagnant water near, fogs rare (except in calm weather), and more rarely reaching his house, on rising ground, so as to hide the morning sun. His wife of a sedate disposition, quiet and slow of speech, not readily disturbed and rarely from home. After about two years (1802 I think), the occurrence took place. I lodged in Tyringham, say about ten miles southeast from home ; in the morning rode a few miles northeast into Haycock Hollow, to see a patient, and return home down said vale through South Lee ; between 9 and 10 A. M., I met said Mrs. Smith, riding southeast up said vale, as I supposed, out only on a visit, and passed with only a 'Good morning.' I here was nine miles from home, and she nearly thirteen. The same day, at four o'clock, P. M., four miles northwest from home, I

met Mrs. Smith again, three miles north from her home. I stopped to say, 'Where have you been to-day? You must have been a round-about way, to be returning on this road.' She says, 'I do not know where I have been. A few days ago, the *fever ague* took me, and I was told, that if I would rise early in the morning, eat some crusts of bread and drink water, and take an horse, and crusts in my pocket, and ride all day, all the roads I could find which I never see before, and eat only crust and drink water, I should lose the fever ague.' 'Well, is this your fit day?' 'Yes.' 'Have you felt any ague?' 'No; a little before I see you in the morning, I might have a little chill; but I did not regard it, the sun was so warm and pleasant.' 'Any fever?' 'No; but may have drinked more water than common with my crusts, and felt pretty well all day, but now am some tired.' 'Where have you been?' 'I do not know. After I saw you in the morning I rode on, and coming to the hills, turned and came back, took a road, went on north, till noon, or after, and turned about to find the way home, — going right, I suppose?' 'Yes, — farewell.' Desiring to know the issue of the strange impression on her mind, with the exercise and diet, I soon after went and inquired as to the event, and found that she lost the ague and fever that day, and had no more of it." — pp. 98, 99.

The second Dissertation, "On the Nature and Treatment of Neuralgia," gives scope to a different kind of investigation. A young man, just entering upon the practical duties of his profession, cannot of course be expected to do much in the way of discovery, by original observations, in reference to an obscure and not very frequent disease. All that is left for him to do is, to collect the best observations of others, and, by a skilful examination and comparison of them, to draw from them such a description of the disease, and of its character and treatment, as they afford the means for. This Dr. Holmes has done; and with such industry and ability, as to render his treatise highly valuable to the profession.

The third Dissertation, "On the Utility and Importance of Direct Exploration in Medical Practice," had been already published; and under rather peculiar circumstances. It obtained for its author the Boylston premium for 1836. Two other dissertations on the same subject, though not entitled to the prize as being the best, were thought by the Committee worthy of notice; and, a liberal medical gentleman having furnished the means, they awarded a prize of the same pe-

cuniary value to their authors. The three were then published, at the expense of the same gentleman, by the Massachusetts Medical Society, and distributed gratuitously, not only to all the Fellows of that Society, but also to every other regular physician in Massachusetts. To be distinguished as the successful one among such worthy compeers, is sufficient evidence of the value of this treatise in the estimation of those most competent to judge of it.

Like the others it was written for the medical profession, and is chiefly interesting to them, rather than to our readers in general. It gives a survey of the affections in which direct exploration is applicable, the extent to which it is required in consequence of the inadequacy of other means of investigation, and of the results to be obtained from the examination. Most of our readers must have often seen, if they have happily been too much exempt from disease in the last few years to have felt, the physician tapping on the chest of his patient, and then applying his ear, and listening wistfully, as expecting some wise suggestion from within. To many of them, all this has seemed like mere trifling or quackery, while others have been ready enough to suppose that valuable information is gained by it; although few, we believe, out of the medical profession, have any very distinct notion of the nature of this information, or of the principles on which the means of obtaining it are founded.

This knowledge we propose now to supply them; and, if their curiosity has been enough excited by seeing the process of thumping and listening (percussion and auscultation) to induce them to give us a hearing, we shall hope to make it all plain to them. We might do this chiefly in the words of our author. But, as we have already intimated, in writing for physicians, he has of course made use of the technical terms by which they avoid circumlocution and gain precision. We shall strive to make ourselves intelligible to the uninitiated, even though it may be at the expense of some more words, and of some loss of professional exactness.

The language of auscultation has been more encumbered with technical phraseology than any department of medical science. The later French medical writers, from whom we have derived a large portion of our knowledge on this subject, have shown a remarkable propensity to coin new words. Sometimes they doubtless obtain by this means a term, which

better expresses the qualities of the object they wish to designate. But, in many instances, the whole idea might be fully as well or better expressed by words already in use, and too often we get only new names for old ideas. The whole matter of auscultation has been peculiarly overburdened in this manner, by the use of new terms, coined with learned etymology from the Greek or Latin language; and we have no doubt, that a knowledge of its real utility has been greatly retarded by so much erudite phraseology. We do not mean to intimate, that the author of these "Dissertations" has exhibited any of this silly affectation. It is quite otherwise. He has merely used the language as he found it; and, writing for those to whom it is familiar, he had no reason to take any special pains to avoid or to explain it.

The principal methods of direct exploration, and the only methods of which we propose to speak, are *percussion* and *auscultation*. The others, *palpation*, *succussion*, &c., are either used too unfrequently, or their mode of application is too obvious, to demand our attention at present.

The principle, on which percussion is applied to the detection of disease, is sufficiently plain. Indeed, it is often used in the common affairs of life. The carpenter strikes his hammer against the wall, to ascertain where to drive his nail "in a sure place." The spirit-dealer knocks upon the head of his cask, to learn the quantity of liquor contained in it. With precisely the same view, the physician thumps the chest of his patient, that he may judge of the state of the organs by the sound which is given forth.

The chest is an enclosed cavity, containing, and in the natural state filled by, several organs of different degrees of density. Of course, the part corresponding to each organ gives a dull or a resonant sound, according as the organ is firm and solid, or light and porous. Much the greater portion of the chest is occupied by the lungs. They are of a light and spongy texture, partly filled with blood, and partly with air. The sound they emit is intermediate between that of an empty cavity, or one filled with air only, and a collection of fluid, or a solid organ. In the neighbourhood of the lungs is the heart on one side, and the liver on the other, both solid organs; the latter, indeed, not strictly in the same cavity, but capable of pressing upon the others. If either of these is increased in size, so as to encroach upon the lungs,

the existence and the extent of the encroachment will be shown by a flat sound in the place of the natural resonance.

If the membrane which lines the cavity of the chest becomes inflamed, a fluid is gradually poured out into the cavity, compressing the lungs, and occupying their space; and then a flat sound is the consequence. Or, the same space may be filled by air, introduced either by a wound, or as the effect of disease; and then the sound on the other hand is unnaturally resonant. The structure of the lungs itself is also liable to be changed by disease. On the one hand it may be *emphysematous*, too much distended by air, when the sound is hollow. On the other hand, it may be rendered unnaturally solid, either by a pressure of blood, or by inflammation, or by the formation of tubercles; either of which will cause the sound to be dull or flat in proportion to the extent of the disease.

It is not our purpose to go into particulars, and show how all the several affections are distinguished from each other. Such details belong to the physician, and must be studied by him with industry and care. The distinction is made partly by other considerations, and partly by differences in the percussion itself. We may give an example by way of illustration, of the extent to which this mode of investigation may be carried. We have said, that fluid in the chest, congestion of the lungs, inflammation, and tubercles, all cause a flat sound. How shall we know one of these from the rest? The formation of tubercles is a slow process, and the disease they produce is chronic; and it is attended by circumstances quite unlike those which ordinarily accompany the others. For this reason there can generally be little question between them. But this is not all. Tubercles are almost always first deposited in the upper portions of the lungs, while inflammation as generally occupies the middle and lower portions. In any case, therefore, where the disease has not advanced so far as to leave no room for doubt, if the flatness be in the upper part of the chest, the presumption is strong in favor of the existence of tubercles; if in the lower part, it is something else. In like manner, a crowded state of blood in the lungs is ascertained, chiefly by means other than those we are now considering. Between a collection of fluid in the chest, the result of acute inflammation of the lining membrane, and inflammation of the lung itself; that is,

between pleurisy and pneumonia, the distinction is not so easy. Both are acute diseases; and both give rise to many of the same symptoms. Indeed, so much alike are they in these respects, that it was formerly said to be impossible to distinguish them. Yet the importance of their effects is widely different. The one is a grave disease and often destroys life, the other is rarely fatal. And the treatment required by each is often very unlike. Here, too, we are by no means restricted to the use of percussion. Other modes of examination serve to explain, or correct, or confirm, as the case may be, the results of this. But we must show what this can do.

We have seen that, in pleurisy, the flatness of sound is caused by a fluid poured out into the cavity of the chest, taking the place of a portion of the lung. The flatness is consequently complete so far as the fluid extends, and there stops abruptly. In inflammation of the lung the condensation, and the consequent flatness, are complete only at the part most highly inflamed, and diminish by a more or less gentle gradation towards the healthy portions. This flatness, too, is constantly observed in the same place, whatever may be the position of the body, whereas in pleurisy every movement of the body causes the fluid to flow to the lowest part, and consequently changes the seat of the flat sound. These different circumstances are not always enough of themselves to establish a perfect diagnosis between the two diseases. But they go far towards it; and, taken in connexion with the results of the other principal mode of exploration, they rarely leave any just cause of doubt between them.

In detecting diseases of the heart, percussion, regarded by itself alone, will do little more than to point out an enlargement, without showing its precise character, or whether it be an enlargement of the heart itself, or a distention of the pericardium by a fluid. There are other means of making these distinctions, with a greater or less degree of certainty.

The organs of the abdomen are less concealed from observation, than those of the chest. The walls of the cavity are yielding, so that any considerable change in the size, or texture, or position, may be detected by pressure; a mode of examination now learnedly called *palpation*. Percussion is often useful, however, in diseases of these organs. It enables the physician to discover their precise condition with

greater accuracy, to detect with more certainty the nature and extent of any enlargement of an organ, or the existence of any morbid growth, or the accumulation of a fluid.

From the almost constant use of percussion, in a large proportion of diseases, by most intelligent physicians, at the present day, and from the obvious principles upon which its proper application is founded, it would seem strange, that it should not have always been in use. But so it is. Until within the last few years, it was very little practised. Avenbrugger is said to have first introduced it as a new invention, in 1761. But his discovery excited very little notice until Corvisart called the attention of the profession to it, in 1808; and it did not come into general use until the publication of Laennec, in 1815. Since that time much has been written upon it, and much has been done to improve the art of practising it successfully.

At first, percussion was performed by striking with the ends of the fingers directly upon the part examined. But this is liable to serious objections. Besides that it sometimes gives pain, there is an uncertainty in the resonance, in consequence of the difference of texture in the several parts struck upon. The present practice is, therefore, always to interpose something to receive the blow. A variety of substances have been used for this purpose. An ivory plate has been much commended and much used; others prefer a piece of India rubber; and many use only a finger of the left hand. "Fingers were made before forks," says the proverb. The circumstance, that the finger is always at hand, while any other *pleximeter* adds something to the already cumbersome apparatus of the physician, is much in its favor; though in general, that will practically be the best in the hands of any practitioner, which he is most accustomed to use.

The degree of resonance on percussion is very considerably modified in different persons by the form and bodily condition of the patient. The chest of a thin, spare person, gives a much louder and clearer sound than one which is well clothed with fat and flesh. All this is easily taken into consideration by the physician, so that he is in little danger of mistaking an accumulation without the chest for disease within. A comparison between the two sides of the chest

gives additional security against such a mistake. In some parts, it is true, the organs are different in the two sides; but to a considerable extent they correspond. It is also true, that the same state of disease may exist in the corresponding parts, so as to obscure the results of a comparison between them. But this is extremely rare. In general there is a marked difference in the sounds of the two sides in most cases of decided disease. To take advantage of this comparison, it is of course necessary, that the practitioner be accurate in his knowledge of the anatomy of the parts, or he may confound the flatness produced by striking upon a solid organ for that of diseased structure.

The practice of auscultation is founded upon principles of physical science equally well established. Sounds, which are caused by certain actions within the cavities of the body, are transmitted through the walls of the cavity, and are perceived when the ear is applied closely to the surface, or through the intervention of a proper instrument. These sounds are always alike under like circumstances, and are changed when the circumstances which caused them are changed. Hence the physician, if he render his ear familiar with the sounds caused by the internal actions of the body in a healthy state, will readily perceive a variation, when the part is diseased. What disease is indicated by any particular unnatural sound, he can learn only from repeated and extensive observations. But that there is a deviation from the natural state, he will perceive at once; and the accumulated observations of all the physicians, whose attention has been directed to the subject, have now gone far to explain most of the deviations which have been noticed.

These principles are chiefly available for practical purposes in reference to the actions of the lungs and the heart. The air in passing through the windpipe gives rise to a certain sound, which in health is always nearly the same. This sound is modified in the smaller tubes (the *bronchia*) into which the windpipe divides, and again still more decidedly in the little air vesicles in which the *bronchia* terminate, and which occupy every part of the lungs. These several sounds are readily perceived and easily distinguished by a *practised* ear, applied to the corresponding part of the chest and neck. Hence we have *tracheal*, *bronchial*, and *vesicular*

respiration ; and if these are heard only in their appropriate places, and in a right degree of force, they indicate a healthy state of the parts.

When a portion of the lung is diseased, the current of air in that part is either obstructed or its natural force changed, and of course the sound is modified. Hence, by applying the ear extensively over the chest, we are enabled to detect the existence, and the precise seat, and generally the nature, of the disease. In inflammation of the lungs, the air cells are for the time obliterated in the part affected. As there are no vesicles for the air to enter, there is no vesicular respiration. But we have, what would not at first view be anticipated, *bronchial* respiration in its stead. In the healthy condition of the lungs, the porous character of the vesicular structure renders it a bad conductor of sound, so that the sound caused by the air in the bronchial tubes is not transmitted through them. But when they are consolidated by disease, they become good conductors of sound ; and, at the same time, the morbid condition of the parts gives a greater degree of intensity to the sound itself.

Bronchial respiration, then, heard in the place of vesicular, always indicates — inflammation ? That would be a simplicity in the art of distinguishing diseases, which nature does not tolerate. But it always indicates a consolidation of the lung from some cause, and inflammation is one of the most frequent of the causes. Another, and unhappily a frequent cause, is the deposition of tubercles, in incipient consumption. As in regard to percussion, so in reference to auscultation, there are means of distinguishing between the several morbid affections, which give rise to phenomena in many respects similar. These it is the business of the physician to study, and they often exercise his ingenuity and industry not a little. But it would lead us too far to attempt to explain them here.

There are other morbid sounds in the respiration, besides those which arise from what we may call the misplacement of such as are healthy. When the membrane which lines the air passages is inflamed, as in common cold or catarrh, its surface is at first unnaturally dry ; and in that state the current of air through the tubes gives rise to various sounds more or less musical, which are the different modifications of

the *sonorous râle.** At a later period the membrane becomes more than naturally moist, and the passages are crowded, and more or less obstructed, by an adhesive fluid. In this state, if the ear is applied to the chest, the air is heard bubbling through the mucus, and this is the *mucous râle.* Inflammation of the substance of the lung, in its earlier stage, before the air vesicles are obliterated, is accompanied by a still different *râle*, the *crepitous.* In the advanced stage of consumption, a cavity, sometimes more than one, is formed in the lungs, at first filled with purulent matter, which is afterwards discharged through an opening into a bronchial tube. The air as it rushes into, and out of, this cavity in every respiration gives rise to a peculiar hollow sound, which is the *cavernous râle.* If the cavity is very large, and the opening into it from the bronchia small, the sound resembles that caused by blowing into the mouth of an empty bottle (*amphoric resonance*). The same sound is produced when air escapes into the cavity of the chest, compressing the lung; which is sometimes the result of an accidental injury, and sometimes of ulceration.

The sounds of the voice give still farther aid in detecting and distinguishing the diseases of the lungs. In the healthy state of those organs, no peculiar sensation is communicated to the ear, unless it be applied over the windpipe, or over the larger bronchia at the root of the lungs. But where a portion of the lung is condensed, whether it be by inflammation, or tubercles, or by the infiltration of a fluid into its substance, a resonance of the voice is transmitted to the ear at the corresponding part of the chest, resembling that from the bronchial tubes, and thence called *bronchophony.* When there is an empty cavity in the lungs, the sound is still more remarkable. The voice seems to enter the ear, as if the mouth of the speaker were applied closely to it. This speaking from the chest (*pectoriloquy*), when strongly

* There is a good deal of difference of opinion as to the best term to designate these morbid sounds. Some writers use the English word *rattle*, and others the Latin *rhonchus.* We prefer to adopt the French *râle*, used by Laennec. Where the thing to be expressed is new, it is better to adopt a new word, than to assign a new meaning to a word already in common use. As no new English word has been proposed, we can only do this by borrowing from a foreign language; and the French term was first introduced, and is more extensively used, and more agreeable to the ear than the Latin.

marked, is a very decided characteristic of confirmed consumption, and sometimes gives evidence of a hopeless condition of that deceptive disease, long before the symptoms have led the patient to feel any apprehension. Dr. Williams says of it, "More than once has it occurred to me, that the very words, which in that delusive confidence with which this malady enshrouds its victims, ridiculed my examination of the chest, roundly saying, that nothing ailed them there, have belied their meaning, and, coming from the breast, have told a far different tale." A modification of the voice, of a different character, is observed in some states of the chest in pleurisy. The voice comes to the ear through the walls of the chest, not in its clear natural tone, but in a vibrating, thrilling, squeaking sound; like the bleating of a goat (*hægophony*).

Auscultation is applied to the investigation of the diseases of the heart as well as those of the lungs, although the actions of this organ are more obscure, and the phenomena which attend them are less understood. On applying the ear over the region of the heart, we perceive, in the first place, the impulse of the heart beating against the ribs; then we hear two distinct sounds, following each other at every pulsation, in regular succession. By habitual practice we learn to distinguish the natural force of the impulse, as well as its natural extent and limits, and the regular cadence or rhythm of the successive sounds, and to appreciate the difference if either is changed by disease. The diagnosis of the particular diseases of the heart and large arteries is still involved in much obscurity. Considerable progress has been made in the knowledge of them within the last few years, and much may be hoped from the investigations which are constantly going on. As it is, we are in general able to distinguish with confidence between the actual changes of structure in that organ, and the nervous, and sometimes imaginary affections, which have often, in past times, been confounded with them. And, in many cases, if not in most, we can ascertain the particular character of the morbid affection, and give a tolerably sure prognostication of its termination. There is here consolation in the fact, that some of these diseases, which were formerly classed together without any other distinction than "diseases of the heart," and regarded alike with terror,

as surely fatal, excite very little alarm, now that their true character, and the means of distinguishing them, are better known.

Enlargements of the heart, or its envelope, are easily detected by the greater extent over which the impulse and the sounds of its action are perceived, and by the absence of the sound of respiration, in consequence of the encroachment of this organ upon the lungs, as well as by an enlargement of the corresponding part of the chest, and a change in the sound on percussion. But a knowledge of the general fact of an enlargement is not enough. We wish to know, whether it be a simple dilatation of the cavities of the heart, or the thickening of its muscular substance, or a distention of the pericardium by a fluid. And each of these has its appropriate, characteristic marks, so as to leave little cause of doubt between them. The membrane which covers the external surface of the heart, and that which lines its internal cavities, and occasionally also the muscular substance itself, are liable to inflammation; its numerous valves are exposed to various diseases; and both its cavities and its orifices are subject to unnatural dilatation or contraction. Most of these changes can be detected with a greater or less degree of confidence during life, and some of them are capable of successful treatment. We shall not trouble our readers with a description of the different sounds heard in the several diseases, as we have done in regard to the lungs; partly because these sounds are less fully understood, and partly because we are afraid of wearying them with so many details.

Let us now see how these two modes of exploration, *percussion* and *auscultation*, bear upon each other. We have thus far examined them only in their separate capacities. In their relations to each other, they do much to correct or confirm the results obtained from either separately. In all diseases of the chest, besides the knowledge obtained from the symptoms, we have two distinct modes of observation. If the inferences drawn from the sounds on percussion are confirmed by applying the ear to the chest, — and, in regard to the lungs, we have both the respiration and the voice to reveal their secrets to us; — and especially if these inferences are in accordance with the symptoms, we may feel an assured confidence, that we have come to a just knowledge of the disease.

A man has pain in the side, with difficulty of breathing, attended by more or less fever. All this may arise either from rheumatism in the muscles, or from pleurisy or inflammation of the lung ; and the symptoms alone will not always tell which is the disease. If it be rheumatism, we are not likely to find any external sign of it, except perhaps some feebleness of respiration, on account of the difficulty of expanding and contracting the chest. If the disease be pleurisy, we shall have flatness on percussion, in the lower part of the side affected, changing its place if the patient changes his position, so as always to keep the lowest part ; absence of all sound of respiration in that part, while the respiratory sound is louder than natural in the surrounding parts ; and generally hægophonic resonance of the voice. If it be inflammation of the lung, there is dulness on percussion, increasing, as the disease advances, to flatness, retaining the same place in all positions, not bounded abruptly by healthy resonance ; crepitous *râle* in the respiratory sounds, at first, followed by bronchial respiration and bronchophony. These several characteristics, however obscure they may seem in the description to many of our readers, to an intelligent and experienced observer will perfectly designate the character of the disease, so as to leave no doubt whatever in his mind. The disease may, indeed, be complicated, and then the evidences of its nature will be so too ; and so will be the treatment that it will require.

A more interesting case is unhappily also much more frequent. A youth, just ripening into manhood, gradually loses his ruddy color and vigorous strength ; he loses flesh, and occasionally a slight cough alarms the fears of his friends, though he himself thinks it nothing but a trifling cold. On examination, a slight dulness is observed at the apex of one lung, — so slight as scarcely to be appreciated except by comparison with the opposite side. The respiratory sound is at first remarkably feeble at that part, or a little later there is bronchial respiration and bronchophony. These are sure indications, that the way is already prepared for consumption. Still there is hope, if a proper regimen can immediately be begun and persevered in ; for direct remedies can here do but little. Too often, either the patient is not alarmed early enough, or, in despite of every precaution or effort, the disease advances. Bronchial respiration is followed by a muco-

crepitous, and then by cavernous *râle*, bronchophony by pectoriloquy, and so on till life is destroyed, each step of the destructive process being clearly revealed by the sounds elicited in successive examinations.

But what avails it thus to trace the melancholy progress of a disease which we have no power to arrest? There is some consolation in knowing the just amount of what we have to fear, however great that amount may be. And, if we have no remedies that are able to reach this formidable disease, who shall say, that we shall never have them? The first steps towards acquiring them must be taken in obtaining a full knowledge of the disease. We can now do something towards prolonging life and diminishing suffering. We can at least abstain from doing harm by vain attempts to effect what is impossible. Above all, by an early discovery of the disease, we may teach our patient to flee from the danger before it overtakes him. In very many cases, a careful examination of the chest will detect unequivocal evidence of approaching consumption, long before the symptoms excite any considerable apprehension. At this early period much may be done to avert the danger. And if the attention of physicians and patients were more directed to this period, much more might doubtless be done to diminish the fatality of consumption than ever has been.

If it be asked, on which we are the most to depend for the elucidation of disease, the investigation of symptoms, or an examination by physical signs, we answer, that there is no opposition whatever between them. The use of direct exploration does not preclude a careful inquiry into the symptoms of the case. On the contrary, it prompts to a more full investigation. In practical life, it certainly is true, that those physicians who most constantly make use of the benefits of exploration, are not only equally, but generally much more, thorough in their inquiries into all the circumstances of a patient's health, than those who neglect or ridicule it. This may be partly because those, who are the most zealous in their researches, are the most willing to take the trouble requisite to acquire a new method of investigation, when it promises adequate advantages. But this is not the whole of it. There is something so grateful in comparing the results of different modes of examination, that, were it a mere matter of specula-

tive philosophy, the mind would necessarily be stimulated by the comparison.

There are still some physicians, who laugh at the whole matter of direct exploration as either idle foolery, or empiricism. But they are those, who have never taken the pains to learn how to practise it; were there no more advantage in it than they know how to obtain from it, their ridicule might be better founded. Whether their ignorance be the effect of indolence or incompetence, it becomes us not to say. But, while they laugh, others will learn; and the time is not far distant, when the physician, who is unable to practise percussion and auscultation, will be held to be unfit for his profession. We have not written these remarks in the expectation of converting such men to our views. Nor, indeed, has it been our leading object to instruct the profession generally. Our aim has been, to give to unprofessional readers some notion of these new methods of examination. Neither our limits nor our plan admit of going fully into the details of the subject. But we have hoped to do enough to show, that the means of acquiring an accurate knowledge of an extensive and highly important class of diseases are vastly improved by the introduction of this mode of examining them.

Art. VIII. — 1. *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed, udgivet af det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab. Andet Bind.*

(*Bemaerkninger over de Venetianerne Zeni tilskrevne Reiser i Norden;* af C. C. Zahrtmann, Capitainlieutenant.) Kiobenhavn: 1833.

2. *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London. Volume the Fifth.*

(*Remarks on the Voyages to the Northern Hemisphere, ascribed to the Zeni of Venice.* By Captain C. C. Zahrtmann, R. N., Hydrographer to the Royal Danish Navy; and communicated by him. Read 27 April, 1835.) London: 1835.

Rival pretensions to the glory of having discovered the New World are fast springing up, or beginning to be urged with

renewed vigor. In a late Number of this Journal we examined somewhat at length the apparently well-founded claims of the Scandinavian navigators, whose voyages were performed as early as the tenth century.* Between that period and the date of the first voyage of Columbus, if we may believe the accounts, the American coast was visited by the Arabians (of the Spanish Peninsula), the Welsh, the Venetians, the Portuguese, and by a native Pole in the service of Denmark. Other rumored voyages were made within the same period, but they rest on more questionable authority.

The Arabian expedition, it appears, was undertaken by a company consisting of eight persons, of the same family, called the *Almagrurins*, or, as commonly translated, the *Wandering Brothers*, who, having made provision for a long voyage, "swore they would not return until they had penetrated the farthest bounds of the DARK SEA," meaning the Atlantic, then vulgarly supposed to be enveloped in literal darkness. Sailing from Lisbon, these bold adventurers directed their course to the south and west, and, after many days, discovered an island inhabited by a people of lofty stature, a red skin, and long flowing hair, descending upon their shoulders. They were here told by the inhabitants, that persons from the island had sailed twenty days to the west without discovering land. Despairing of accomplishing the purpose of their voyage, the Arabian brothers retraced their course, and returned safely to Lisbon. The island they discovered is supposed by some writers to have been situated on the American coast; but the better opinion seems to be, that it was one of the Canary group, whose original population, the Guanches, were a pastoral race, not unlike the people described in the account of this voyage. The date of the voyage is not certainly known; but, as the Arabians were driven from Lisbon in 1147, it must have been prior to that period. †

A brief account of the voyages of Madoc, a Welsh navigator, as related by Dr. Powel, the historian of Wales, is contained in Hakluyt's invaluable collection, who says, that the land discovered by him (in 1170) "must needs be some part of that country of which the Spaniards affirm themselves to be the first finders since Hanno's time.

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLVI. pp. 161 – 203.
† Humboldt, *Examen Critique*, Vol. II. p. 137.

Whereupon it is manifest, that the country was by Britons discovered long before Columbus led any Spaniards thither."* We do not learn, however, that the British government has ever rested its claim to any part of America on the strength of this discovery.

The Venetian discoveries, to which our attention will be chiefly directed in the present article, are referred to the latter part of the fourteenth century; and Count Daru, in his admirable History of the Republic, states, that the library of St. Mark, at Venice, contains a map bearing the date of 1436, with the name of a Venetian geographer, or artist, on which is laid down a large extent of land, five or six hundred leagues west of Gibraltar, under the name of Antillia.†

According to the Portuguese writers, Newfoundland was discovered in 1463 by John Vas Cortereal, of Portugal, who gave it the name of *Terra de Baccalhaos* (the Land of Cod Fish); but the evidence, on which the statement depends, is far from being conclusive, although recently Barrow, and other English writers, have, without much examination, given countenance to the story. An American writer, the author of the "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot," has shown pretty conclusively, by a rigid investigation of the subject, that there is little, if any, ground for the claim; in which opinion he is approved and followed by Baron Humboldt.

The voyage of Szkolney (or, as the name is Latinized, Sciolvus), the Pole, to the coasts of Greenland and Labrador, is stated to have been performed in 1476; and we are informed, that a learned countryman of that navigator has recently vindicated his merits in an elaborate work, written in the Polish language, which is spoken of in terms of high commendation.‡

It is not our purpose, at the present time, to examine these various pretensions to the discovery of this continent,

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* *Voyages*, &c. Vol. III. p. 1.

† *Histoire de Venise*, Vol. V. p. 625. Malte-Brun, referring to this matter, says, "M. Pinkerton croit que cette Antillia qui se trouve aussi sur d'anciennes cartes Venitiennes, n'est qu'une création systematique des géographes, qui s'imaginaient qu'il devait y avoir un continent opposé à celui de l'ancien monde, et destiné à contre-balancer celui-ci. Mais je ne vois pas que M. Pinkerton donne aucune raison de son opinion." — *Géographie Universelle*, p. viii. note.

‡ *Humboldt*, Ibid. Vol. II. p. 152.

as to their respective claims to consideration; but nevertheless we are bound to say, that the subject, in our opinion, presents to the student of geographical history a fair ground for diligent inquiry, and impartial attention.

We have already alluded to the Venetian voyages, on the strength of which the Republic contests the originality of the discoveries of Columbus, the son of a rival state. The claim, as stated by Count Daru, is, that two brothers of the family of Zeno, discovered Iceland, Greenland, Canada, Virginia, and Mexico, towards the close of the fourteenth century. This, it will be hereafter seen, is too broad a statement of the matter; but it is sufficiently correct for the moment. Whatever may be thought ultimately of the effort thus made to dim the glory of the great man who was, at least, the first to make the discovery of the new world practically useful to the old, and however slight may seem the foundation for so sweeping an assumption, which has been advocated with great zeal and no small degree of learned research, within a few years, by one of the highest dignitaries of the Romish church,* the subject is certainly one of more than ordinary interest, and forms a curious chapter in the geographical annals of our continent.

The political and commercial preëminence of the Venetian Republic during the Middle Ages, until the discovery of a new route by sea to the Indies, is well known. Constantinople and the principal cities of Greece, were tributary to her power, and on the soil of Italy her superiority was disputed, but never shaken, by the fierce jealousies of rival states. The distant regions of the East poured their treasures into her lap, and her "argosies with portly sail" not only covered the Mediterranean, but extended their adventurous voyages beyond the Pillars of Hercules, to the Atlantic coasts of Spain and Portugal, France, England, and the ports of Flanders, then the principal marts of the north of Europe.

> "A dying glory smiles
> O'er the far times when many a subject land
> Looked to the winged Lion's marble piles,
> Where Venice sat in state, throned on her hundred isles."

When we contrast the fallen and abject condition into which that far-famed republic has declined in modern times, with

* Cardinal Zurla.

the brilliant and commanding station she once filled, — her commerce annihilated, her liberties the sport of arbitrary power, the palaces of her merchant princes and illustrious nobles tenantless, and the descendants of her proudest families perishing with want at home, or lingering out a wretched existence in exile abroad, — the lesson of earthly vicissitude cannot fail to awaken the most profound emotion, and create the liveliest sympathy for her hapless fate.

The merchants of Venice were the first to explore the realms of Eastern Asia, and reveal the existence of the rich possessions of the Tartar monarchs to admiring, but incredulous Europe. The visions of wealth, luxury, and magnificence, that garnished the tales of the early travellers, were among the most active stimulants to that new spirit of enterprise, which finally resulted in the discovery of the new world. Columbus himself caught from this source the inspiration that led him on in the career of adventure, and crowned his hopes with a consummation of which he had not dreamed. But, strange as it may seem, he was never undeceived ; to the last moment of his life, he continued in the belief, that his discoveries had only opened a shorter route to those regions of Eastern Asia, Mangi and Cathay, which the Venetian travellers had visited by land, and whose exhaustless riches they had so eloquently described.

Among these merchant travellers, and the most celebrated of all, were the brothers Nicolò and Maffeo Polo, or Paolo, and Marco, a son of Nicolò. The two former made their first journey into Tartary about the year 1255, and, after several years' absence, returned to Italy as ambassadors from the Great Khan to the Pope. After remaining at home for a brief period, they again set out on a second journey to Asia, accompanied by Marco, whose description of their travels is now the oldest book of its class, and, although long regarded as only a bundle of fables, has been abundantly verified in all important particulars by succeeding travellers. After an absence of more than twenty years, the Polos returned to Venice, in 1295 ; but, as no intelligence respecting them had reached their native city before their return, they had the mortification to find themselves entirely forgotten by all their old acquaintance and countrymen. They repaired to their own house, a noble palace in the street of St. Chrysostom,

and found it inhabited by several of their relatives, who were either unwilling, or unable, to recognise them. The dress of the travellers was coarse, and much worn, and in the Tartar fashion. They had, besides, partly forgotten their native tongue, intermingling with their conversation foreign words, and, in their general air and demeanor, had become assimilated to the people among whom they had sojourned for so long a period. It was not strange, therefore, that they should not have been recognised at once.

The means these adventurous travellers took to revive the recollections of their kinsmen, and excite the respect of their countrymen, may be familiar to our readers, but the story is too good to lose by repetition. They invited all their relations and old associates to a magnificent entertainment; when the guests arrived, what was their astonishment on finding the poor, despised travellers arrayed in rich garments of crimson satin, made in the Oriental fashion, which, before leading the way to a table loaded with luxuries, they exchanged for still richer robes of crimson damask. The surprise of the company was without bounds, when, after dismissing the attendants, Marco produced the coarse Tartar dresses in which they had arrived; these he now cut open, and from their folds and linings took out so prodigious a quantity of rubies, sapphires, emeralds, carbuncles, and diamonds, that the guests, delighted with the beauty and splendor of these costly and magnificent gems, no longer hesitated to acknowledge their countrymen.

When the fame of this wonderful banquet had spread throughout Venice, as it soon did, the travellers became at once the lions of the day. Crowds of persons, of all ranks, flocked to their palace, to see and congratulate them on their return, and listen to the story of their unsurpassed adventures. Maffeo, the oldest of the party, was admitted to the honors of the magistracy, as a token of respect, and public marks of distinction were conferred upon them all. The noble youth of the city came almost daily to visit and converse with Marco, who was always communicative, and ready to gratify their curiosity by his descriptions of what he had seen, in the distant regions they had visited. As he usually spoke in round numbers of the immense wealth of the Khan, or Emperor, of Tartary, they gave him the name of Marco *Millioni*. In the time of Ramusio (about the

middle of the sixteenth century), the Polo palace was still pointed out in the street of St. Chrysostom.*

Washington Irving, alluding to the effect produced on the public mind by the travels of these celebrated Venetians, as described by Marco Polo, says ;

"His splendid account of the extent, wealth, and population of the Tartar territories filled every one with admiration. The possibility of bringing all those regions under the dominion of the church, and rendering the Grand Khan an obedient vassal to the holy chair, was for a long time a favorite topic among the enthusiastic missionaries of Christendom, and there were many saints-errant who undertook to effect the conversion of this magnificent infidel. Even at the distance of two centuries, when the enterprises for the discovery of the new route to India had set all the warm heads of Europe madding about these remote regions of the East, the conversion of the Great Khan became again a popular theme ; and it was too speculative and romantic an enterprise not to catch the vivid imagination of Columbus. In all his voyages, he will be found continually to be seeking after the territories of the Grand Khan ; and even after his last expedition, when nearly worn out by age, hardships, and infirmities, he offered, in a letter to the Spanish monarchs, written from a bed of sickness, to conduct any missionary to the territories of the Tartar emperor, who would undertake his conversion." †

The story of the Zenos, (or *Zeni*, in the Italian plural,) who flourished a century after the Polos, is far less wonderful in its details, and, had it been published in their own age, would be entitled to no less credit. The family was one of high consideration in the Republic of Venice. Marino Zeno was the Venetian governor of Constantinople, in the year 1205 ; Riniero filled the office of Doge of his native city, from 1252 to 1268 ; and others of the family were elevated, from time to time, to various distinguished posts in the service of the state, both at home and abroad. The most brilliant in genius of all this noble race, and not less illustrious in his career than the rest, was Carlo Zeno, a brother of the navigators, whose valor and naval prowess, skilfully directed, saved the Republic in the famous war of Chiozza, which he brought to a close in the year 1380. Aided by powerful allies, and strengthened by the accession of large bodies of

* *Navigationi e Viaggi*, Tom. II. Prefatione.
† *Life and Voyages of Columbus*, Vol. II. p. 297. Appendix.

condottieri, or mercenary troops, the Genoese had taken and occupied Chiozza, a considerable town in the Venetian territory, built on the lagoons, like Venice, and assailable only from the sea. After a long and vigorous siege, conducted with great spirit by the Venetian forces, chiefly under the direction of Carlo Zeno, the place was reduced, and the enemy compelled to capitulate unconditionally. This event raised Carlo to the highest distinction in the Republic, and added fresh lustre to his name, already honorably known in the public service.

The brothers of Carlo, who are stated by the Venetian writers to have anticipated Columbus, and forestalled the Genoese in relation to the glory of original discovery, as the former had deprived them of the credit of naval superiority, were named Nicolò and Antonio, both younger than Carlo, under whom they are supposed to have served in the wars of the Republic. Their discoveries are referred to the period immediately succeeding the termination of the war of Chiozza, from 1380 to 1400 ; but no account of them was published until the year 1558, more than a century and a half after they are supposed to have been made. The work was then printed at Venice, it is believed, under the direction of Nicolò Zeno, called the Younger, who was well known for his scientific attainments, and may be presumed to have drawn up the account from the materials in his possession. It was published by Marcolini, a noted bookseller at Venice, in an octavo volume, containing, also, the Travels of Caterino Zeno in Persia, an ambassador from the Venetian government to that country in 1473. The former is entitled, "Dello Scoprimento dell' isola Frislanda, Eslanda, Engrovelanda, Estotilanda, et Icaria, fatto per due fratelli Zeni, M. Nicolò, il Cavaliere, e M. Antonio." (The Discovery of the Islands of Frisland, Iceland, Greenland, Estotiland, and Icaria, made by two brothers Zeni, the Chevalier Nicholas and Antonio.) Both works were added to the edition of the second volume of Ramusio's collection of Voyages and Travels, published at Venice, in 1574.

The narrative commences in the following manner ;

"Or M. Nicolò il Cavaliere, come huom di alto spirito, doppo la sudetta guerra Genovese di Chioggia, che diede tanto da far ai nostri maggiori, entrò in grandissimo desiderio di veder il mondo, e peregrinare, e farsi capace di varij costumi, e di lin-

gue de gli huomini, acciò che con le occasioni poi potesse meglio far servigio alla sua patria, e a se acquistar fama e honore. La onde fatta e armata una nave delle sue proprie richezze che amplissime aveva, uscì fuori de i nostri mari, e passato lo stretto Gibilterra navigò alcuni dì per l' Oceano, sempre tenendosi verso la Tramontana con animo di veder l' Inghilterra e la Fiandra, dove, assaltato in quel mare da una gran fortuna, molti dì andò trasportato dalle onde e da' venti senza sapere, dove si fosse, quando finalmente scoprendo terra, nè potendo più reggersi contra quella fierissima burrasca, ruppe nell' Isola Frislanda, salvandosi gli huomini, e gran parte delle robbe, che erano su la nave, e questo fu l' anno mille e trecento e ottanta. Qui concorrendo gl' Isolani armati in gran numero assaltarono M. Nicolò, e i suoi, che tutti travagliati per la fortuna passata, non sapevano in che mondo si fossero, e per conseguente non erano atti a far un picciolo insulto, non che a difendersi gagliardamente, come il pericolo lo portava contra tali nimici ; e in ogni modo sarebbono stati mal menati, se la buona ventura non faceva, che casualmente si fosse trovato ivi vicino un Prencipe con gente armata, il quale inteso, che s' era rotta pur all' hora una gran nave nell' Isola, corse al romore, e alle grida, che si facevano contra i nostri poveri marinari, e cacciati via quelli del paese, parlò in Latino, e dimandò che genti erano, e di dove venivano, e saputo che venivano d' Italia, e che erano huomini del medesimo paese, fu preso di grandissima allegrezza. Onde, promettendo a ciascuno che non riceverebbono alcun dispiacere, e che erano venuti in luogo, nel quale sarebbono benissimo trattati, e meglio veduti, li tolse tutti sopra la sua fede. Era costui gran Signore, e possedeva alcune Isole dette Porlanda, vicine a Frislanda da mezzo giorno, le piu ricche e popolate di tutte quelle parti, e si chiamava Zichmni; e oltra le dette picciole Isole signoreggiava fra terra la Duchea di Sorani posta dalla banda verso Scotia."

" After the termination of the war of Chiozza, which gave our ancestors so much trouble, the Chevalier Nicolò, possessing an enterprising spirit, conceived a strong desire to see the world, and to acquaint himself by travel with the customs and languages of different nations; that, when occasion required, he might have it in his power to be of greater service to his country, and acquire for himself honor and fame. He therefore caused a ship to be built, and having equipped her at his own expense, as he possessed an ample fortune, he sailed out of our seas beyond the straits of Gibraltar, and directed his course to the north for many days, with the intention of visiting England and Flanders. But, encountering a violent storm, he was

tossed about upon the ocean by the winds and waves without knowing where he was, until he at length discovered land; and soon after, his ship, no longer able to withstand the fury of the tempest, was wrecked upon the island of Frisland. The crew were saved, together with most of the ship's lading. This occurred in the year 1380. In the mean time, the inhabitants of the island, collecting in considerable numbers, made an attack upon the Chevalier and his men; who, being exhausted by the hardships they had endured, and not knowing in what part of the world they had been thrown, were unable to oppose the slightest resistance, much less to defend themselves with the spirit the occasion required. They would have been treated, without doubt, in the most barbarous manner, had it not fortunately happened, that a powerful chieftain, with an armed force, was in their neighbourhood, who, learning that a large ship had been cast away upon the island, and hearing the noise and shouts of the inhabitants as they rushed upon our poor mariners, hastened forward, and putting the islanders to flight, inquired of the Venetians in Latin, of what nation they were, and whence they had come. When informed that they were from Italy, and natives of that country, he was filled with joy and surprise. Whereupon, promising them all that they should be well treated, and that no wrong should be done to them, he welcomed them to the country, and pledged his faith for their protection. He was a great lord, and possessed certain islands called Porlanda, lying on the south of Frisland, the richest and most populous of all in that quarter. His name was Zichmni, and besides the small islands already mentioned, he ruled over the Duchy of Sorani, situated towards Scotland."

We have given this extract from the original, with the literal translation that accompanies it, for the purpose of affording those of our readers who are not curious enough to hunt up the work itself, an opportunity of forming some opinion of the general character and style of the relation. It may be well to state here, that, at the period referred to in the foregoing account of the shipwreck of the Venetians, there flourished in that quarter, in the character of Earl of the Orkneys, a Scotish chieftain of the name of *Sinclair*, who is supposed by Reinhold Forster, and other writers, to have been the powerful prince who came to the relief of the distressed mariners. The latter is subsequently described as a man of warlike genius, engaged in many enterprises, and generally successful, especially upon the sea. The preceding year he had encountered and vanquished the king of Norway, to whose

jurisdiction Frisland belonged, and he had now just landed on that island, for the purpose of adding it to his other conquests. Perceiving the Chevalier to possess judgment and understanding in relation to naval matters, Zichmni commissioned him to go with his men on board of his ships, and take the command.

The navy of this northern chief, or sea-king, consisted of thirteen vessels, two of which only were propelled with oars; of the others, one was a ship of considerable size, and the rest small barks. Sailing in a westerly direction, they took possession of several small islands, and, entering a bay called Sudero, they captured a number of fishing vessels, laden with salted fish, lying in the harbour of Sanestol. They soon after rejoined Zichmni, who, with his army, had advanced victoriously to a distant part of Frisland (an island somewhat larger than Ireland), until the inhabitants, coming in from all quarters, yielded the country into his hands. On learning how much benefit had been derived to his fleet from the valor and nautical skill and experience of the Venetians, who understood thoroughly the art of navigation, and had piloted the ships with entire safety among the islands, the chief sent for Nicolò, and after acknowledging his obligations for the important services he had rendered, conferred upon him the honor of knighthood, and distributed rich presents among his men. They soon after embarked for the principal town on the island, also named Frisland, situated upon one of the numerous gulfs that intersect the country. Immense quantities of fish, it is stated, are taken in these waters, and carried, for a market, to Flanders, Britain, Norway, and Denmark, with which a profitable trade is carried on.

Thus far, the writer of the account remarks, the facts it contains were derived from a letter written by the Chevalier Nicolò, to his brother Antonio, in which he requests him to find means to join him in Frisland. Whereupon the latter, having also a taste for adventure, purchased a vessel, and, embarking from Venice, succeeded in reaching Frisland, where he remained fourteen years. During this period, various enterprises were undertaken by Zichmni, in which one or both of the brothers were engaged. The first was against Estland, an island lying between Frisland and Norway, and subject to the latter. An attempt upon Iceland proved unsuccessful; but several other small islands situated in the same seas,

which are enumerated by name, were subdued. They were called, Talas, Broas, Iscant, Trans, Mimant, Damberc, and Bres. The Chevalier erected a fort on the island of Bres, and remained there until the following season, when he fitted out an expedition for the purpose of exploring the seas to the north. In the course of this voyage, he discovered Engroveland (Greenland), where he found a monastery of friars, and a church dedicated to St. Thomas, situated near the base of a volcanic mountain. Here were numerous hot springs, which afforded the monks the means of rendering their condition comfortable, although surrounded by the extreme rigors of eternal frost and snow. The water from these springs was conducted into the apartments of the monastery, and employed not only for cooking their food, but to diffuse warmth; and being introduced into their gardens, enabled them to cultivate a great variety of vegetables, fruits, and flowers. Their houses were built of pumice-stone, or lava, which proved a substantial and durable material. They were of a circular shape, having on the ground-floor a diameter of twenty-five feet, and tapering upwards, with an aperture at the top for the admission of light and air. In the summer, many vessels arrived there from the islands in the northern seas, from Norway, Suecia (Sweden), and, more than all, from Iceland. The inhabitants exchanged dried fish and peltry, for corn, woollen stuffs, and wood or timber. Their boats are described as being in shape like a weaver's shuttle, covered with skins, and rendered so impervious to water, that the boatmen may shut themselves within them, without fear from the violence of the waves. Such are some of the particulars related of Greenland, by the Chevalier Nicolò, to whom the severity of the climate proved ultimately fatal. He contracted an illness in that country, from exposure to the cold, which terminated his life soon after his return to Frisland. "He left behind him in Venice," says the account, "two sons, Giovanni, and Tomma, who also had two sons, namely, Nicolò, father of the famous Cardinal Zeno, and Pietro, from whom descended the other Zenos, that are living at this day."

At the time of his brother's death, Antonio had been four years in the service of the powerful Zichmni, who refused to allow him liberty of returning to Venice, after that event, notwithstanding the most urgent entreaty on his part. His

services were of too great importance to his patron, who had appointed him to the command of his ships, in place of the Chevalier. The remainder of the narrative purports to be derived from letters addressed by Antonio to his brother Carlo, in the course of which he gives the following account of the adventures of a fisherman in the west.

"According to the tale of this mariner, he had been one of a party who sailed from Frisland about twenty-six years before, in four fishing boats. Being overtaken by a violent tempest, they were driven about the sea for many days, until the boat, containing himself and six companions, was cast upon an island called Estotiland, about one thousand miles from Frisland. They were taken by the inhabitants, and carried to a fair and populous city, where the king sent for many interpreters to converse with them, but none that they could understand, until a man was found who had been likewise cast away upon the coast, and who spoke Latin. They remained several days upon the island, which was rich and fruitful, abounding with all kinds of metals, and especially gold. There was a high mountain in the centre, from which flowed four rivers, that watered the whole country. The inhabitants were intelligent, and acquainted with the mechanical arts of Europe. They cultivated grain, made beer, and lived in houses built of stone. There were Latin books in the king's library, though the inhabitants had no knowledge of that language. They had many cities and castles, and carried on a trade with Greenland for pitch, sulphur, and peltry. Though much given to navigation, they were ignorant of the use of the compass, and, finding the Frislanders acquainted with it, held them in great esteem; and the king sent them with twelve barks to visit a country to the south, called Drogeo. They had nearly perished in a storm, but were cast away upon the coast of that country. They found the people to be cannibals, and were on the point of being killed and devoured, but were spared on account of their great skill in fishing."

"The fisherman described this Drogeo as being a country of vast extent, or rather a new world; that the inhabitants were naked and barbarous; but that, far to the southwest, there was a more civilized region, and temperate climate, where the inhabitants had a knowledge of gold and silver, lived in cities, erected splendid temples to idols, and sacrificed human victims to them, which they afterwards devoured.

"After the fisherman had resided many years on this continent, during which time he had passed from the service of one chieftain to another, and traversed various parts of it, certain

boats from Estotiland arrived on the coast. The fisherman went on board of them, acted as interpreter, and followed the trade between the main land and Estotiland for some time, until he became very rich ; he then fitted out a bark of his own, and, with the assistance of some of the people of the island, made his way back, across the thousand intervening miles of ocean, and arrived safe in Frisland."*

This relation of the fisherman, who had returned greatly enriched by his adventures, determined Zichmni to send an expedition to the countries he had discovered in the west, which Antonio Zeno was to command. But, just before sailing, the fisherman, who was expected to accompany them as pilot, died ; but certain mariners, the companions of his return voyage from Estotiland, were taken in his place. The enterprise, however, proved unsuccessful ; the only land they discovered, was an island, called Icaria, which is supposed to have been Newfoundland, from which they were repulsed by the natives, and, being afterwards driven upon the coast of Greenland, they effected their return in safety to Frisland. It does not appear that any further attempt was made to find Estotiland or Drogeo.

At another time, Antonio wrote again to his brother, but only a fragment of the letter was in existence when the work was published. Indeed, the whole account purports to have been put together from such imperfect portions of the correspondence as remained at that period. The editor, who is believed to have been a descendant of one of the navigators, remarks, that the manuscripts originally came into his hands when he was a child, and, not knowing what they were, he tore them in pieces as if they had been of little value,—a fate with which old papers too often meet. He afterwards collected such fragments as remained, being apprized of their contents, and disposed them in the best possible order.

The motives that led him to undertake the work, were of the most laudable character, as stated at the close,—"that the memory of so many good things might not be lost, and to satisfy the age, which had done so much in the way of discovery, and, being ever alive to the importance of new

* The above abstract of the fisherman's story we take from Irving's *Columbus*, Vol. II. p. 273. Appendix.

relations, appreciated the discoveries made by the bold and sedulous exertions of our ancestors." *

The appearance of this work so long after the date of the discoveries it describes, seems not to have detracted essentially from its credibility at the period when it was published. It was generally received as a valuable contribution to the geography of the New World, to which the attention of all Europe was then strongly directed; for, though Columbus and his companions had made fully known what the story of the fisherman had dimly shadowed forth, the existence of rich countries in the southwest, it was otherwise with the north. After the utter extinction in Europe of all knowledge of the Scandinavian colonies, that had been planted at an extremely early period in Greenland, deep obscurity rested upon these regions, which the publication of the discoveries of the Zeni, as will hereafter appear, tended to dissipate.

But the publication excited still greater interest on account of the priority of discovery, or at least of knowledge, in relation to the New World, which it at once gave to the Venetians. The celebrated Flemish geographer, Ortelius, was the first to view it in this light. In the edition of his great work, "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum," published in 1570, a few years only after the appearance of the account of the Zeni, he says, that all the writers of his time "ascribed the first discovery of the new world to Christopher Columbus, and that not unworthily; for by him it was in a manner first discovered, made known, and profitably communicated unto the Christian world. Howbeit, I find, that the north part thereof * * * was long ago found out by certain fishermen of the isle of Frisland, driven by tempest on the shore thereof; and was afterwards, about the year 1390, discovered anew by one Antonio Zeno, a gentleman of Venice." This, as remarked by Humboldt, was written almost in the lifetime of Bartholomew de las Casas, the celebrated contemporary of Columbus and Cortez. He adds, "*Ce jugement est beaucoup trop sévère.*"†

* The author of "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot" objects to the avowed motive of the editor, as if it were wrong to gratify "the prevailing appetite of the public for such works." A strange idea for so acute a writer.

† *Examen Critique*, Vol. II. p. 120. What, then, shall be said of the following remarks, contained in the great geographical work of *Mentelle, Malte*

Hakluyt, whose famous collection of voyages was intended to contain every thing of an authentic character in relation to the New World, presented the entire account of the discoveries of the Zeni, in his third volume, published in 1600, with the following note ;

" For the more credit and confirmation of the former History of Messer Nicolas and Messer Antonio Zeni, (which for some few respects may perhaps be called in question,) I have here annexed the judgment of that famous cosmographer, Abraham Ortelius, or rather the yielding and submitting of his judgment thereunto ; who, in his *Theatrum Orbis*, fol. 6. next before the map of *Mar del Zur*, borroweth proof and authority out of this relation, to show, that the northeast part of America called Estotiland, and in the original always affirmed to be an island, was, about the year 1390, discovered by the aforesaid Venetian gentleman, Messer *Antonio Zeno*, about 100 years before ever Christopher Columbus set sail for these western regions ; and that the northern seas were even then sailed by our European pilots, through the help of the loadstone ; with divers other particulars concerning the customs, religion, and wealth of the southern Americans, which are most evidently confirmed by all the late and modern Spanish histories of Nueva España and Peru."

Another well known collector and compiler of similar works, Samuel Purchas, published an account of these discoveries in his " Pilgrims," with the following remarks ;

" This History I have thus inserted at large, which perhaps, not without cause in some things, may seem fabulous ; not in the Zeni, which they writ, but in the relations which they received from others. Howsoever, the best geographers are beholded to these brethren for that little knowledge they have of those parts, of which *none before had written*, nor since have there been any great inland discoveries."*

Notwithstanding, however, the inferences drawn by these eminent geographers, unfavorable to the originality of Columbus, from the voyages of the Venetian brothers, the work itself is unpretending in its character, and, although it was edited by one who had at heart the honor of his ancestors, as

Brun, and others, Tom. XIV. p. 8, note ; — " En un mot, Colomb n'est point du tout un génie transcendant, une espèce de prophète, qui ait deviné le nouveau monde ; c'est tout bonnement un navigateur instruit et courageux, c'est le *Cook* de son siècle. Son mérite réel est trop grand pour qu'il ait besoin d'une gloire imaginaire."—Columbus but the *Cook* of his age !

* Vol. III. p. 914.

he avows, in a passage already quoted, yet makes no claim for them to superiority of title as original discoverers. Says Humboldt,

"If, as Torfæus pretends, in the preface to his work on Vinland, the book of the Zeni was a fiction, designed to obscure the glory of Columbus, the editor would have endeavoured, without doubt, to connect the Venetian discoveries in some way with those of the Genoese navigator, at least with the northern discoveries of Cabot or Gomez. He would have insisted on the priority of the expedition of the Zeni to the shores of the New World; he would have said, that the later voyages to Florida and Mexico had proved how accurate was the statement of the fisherman of Frisland, in describing the 'new world' of Drogeo, in relation to the wealth and civilization of the people (in America) situated towards the south and southwest. The naked details, the absence of recrimination or offensive remarks, remove all suspicion of imposture; but the extreme confusion, that prevails in the numerical data of distances and sailing days, shows the want of order in the arrangement of the matter, and the sad condition of the manuscripts, which the heirs of the navigators acknowledge had been torn in fragments, without their value being known to them." *

Such was the undoubted credit which these discoveries enjoyed for a considerable period, that the chart accompanying them, purporting to have been originally drawn by the Chevalier Nicolò Zeno, and transmitted with his letters to Venice, was extensively copied, in reference to the north, by the map-makers in Europe. Estotiland was assigned to that part of North America remaining unexplored on the north, and Frisland was an island of goodly dimensions in the sixtieth degree of north latitude, not far distant from Engroveland. Sir Martin Frobisher, who sailed on his first voyage of discovery to the north, in 1576, and on the second the following year, mentions in his journal, on both occasions, that he beheld the coast of Frisland, which the ice prevented his approaching. It was soon found, however, that this navigator had mistaken Greenland for Frisland, and the coast of Labrador for Greenland, and that no island existed in those latitudes corresponding to the description of Frisland, unless it was Iceland itself. In other respects, the chart of Nicolò Zeno wanted confirmation, and suspicions began to arise that

* *Examen Critique*, Vol. III. pp. 122, 123.

all was not right. And when Hugo Grotius, in his treatise on the origin of the American people, traced their emigration from the continent of Europe to Iceland and *Frisland*, and remarked, that the latter was in the vicinity of Greenland, or formed a part of it, his opponent, De Laet, the Dutch geographer, in his caustic annotations upon the unsatisfactory essay of his celebrated countryman and contemporary, declares, "that the statements of the Zeni were justly regarded as of doubtful credit, for that nothing resembling their descriptions had been found in those regions." (Quæ autem Zenones illi Veneti prodiderunt suspectæ fidei merito habentur, neque hodie tale quid in illis regionibus deprehenditur, quale ipsi tradiderunt.)* In the course of time, the whole matter was denounced as a rank imposture, and all traces of the pretended discoveries, as laid down on the chart of Zeno, disappeared from the maps.

Such seems to have become the settled conviction of the public mind on this subject, until the publication of Reinhold Forster's well-known work, the "History of Discovery in the North," which appeared in 1784 ; a work of high reputation, containing an able vindication of the truth and authenticity of the voyages of the Zeni. This writer had enjoyed opportunities for acquiring practical experience as a navigator, having accompanied Captain Cook on his second voyage of discovery (1772–1775), which, united to uncommon attainments of a solid character, and a predilection for geographical studies, eminently fitted him for the investigation of such a question as the history of those voyages presented, and gave great weight to his opinion. He was soon after followed on the same side (to use a somewhat technical phrase) by H. P. Eggers, a Danish counsellor of state, in a memoir on ancient Greenland, read before a learned society at Copenhagen, and afterwards published, in 1792. In this essay (which we have not seen) we are given to understand, that the author did not attempt a formal defence of the discoveries of the Zeni, but confined himself to the removal of some of the objections that had been made against the credibility of the story, and explained many things previously regarded as insuperable obstacles to its reception. He also obtained from

* J. de Laet Antwerpiani, *Notæ ad Dissertationem Hugonis Grotii*, &c. (Amsterdam. 1643.) p. 20.

Venice a copy of the chart that had accompanied the original publication of the Discoveries, which he caused to be engraved for his work.*

But the most complete vindication of the Zeni, appears to have been made by Cardinal Zurla, (Vicar-General of the late Pope Leo the Twelfth,) himself a native of Venice, and distinguished for his learning and scientific attainments. He published, in 1808, "Dissertazione intorno ai Viaggi e Scoperte Settentrionali di Nicolò e Antonio Frat. Zeni;" and again, in 1818, he pursued the subject in a general work "upon the most illustrious Venetian travellers." Other eminent writers, within the present century, have espoused the same views of this interesting question, among whom may be mentioned Walckenaer, (author of "Géographie Moderne," 6 tomes,) Malte-Brun, the late Baron von Zach, and M. de la Roquette, one of the contributors to the "Biographie Universelle," and author of the article in that work relating to the brothers Zeni. In England, Barrow, Hugh Murray, and others, maintain the same ground.

The opposite view has, however, found of late a strenuous advocate among ourselves. The "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot," a work of learning and talent, published a few years since, speaks of "that memorable fraud, the pretended voyage of Nicholas and Antonio Zeno"; in another passage, it applies the expression "rank imposture" to the account, and, again, speaks of "a complex piece of roguery running through the several editions of Ramusio," with reference to the same unoffending narra-

* On the subject of this Chart, an error of some magnitude exists in the Appendix to Irving's *Columbus*, Vol. II. p. 275. The passage is as follows; — "M. Malte-Brun intimates, that the alleged discovery of Vinland may have been known to Columbus when he made a voyage in the North Sea, in 1477, and that the map of Zeno, being in the national library at London, in a Danish work, at the time when Bartholomew Columbus was in that city, employed in making maps, he may have known something of it, and have communicated it to his brother." The Danish work referred to by Malte-Brun, as containing a copy of the chart of the Zeni, is that of Eggers, which, as it was first published in 1792, could not well have been seen by Bartholomew Columbus in the "national library at London." Malte-Brun simply states, that a copy of Eggers's work, with the chart, was in the national (now the Royal) library at Paris, in his time. If there had been such an institution at London as the "National Library," it would be difficult to understand, how a copy of Zeno's chart could have been there in the time of Columbus, when the original was yet buried in the family archives at Venice, among the forgotten and neglected papers of the navigators. — *Géographie Universelle*, Tom. XIV. p. viii. note. *Ibid.* Tom. II. p. 284.

tive. These are serious charges, especially when they are made to bear, with concentrated force, on the head of the hapless bookseller, Marcolini, to whom the "Memoir" attributes the authorship, or rather the forgery, of the work in question. But it must be borne in mind, that the Memoir is a zealous vindication of the claims of *Sebastian Cabot* to the merit of having first discovered the American continent, and that, if the genuine character of the discoveries of the Zeni be admitted, there is an end to those claims. And if the Zeni are disposed of in this work with a very summary condemnation, observing readers will not fail to be put upon their guard, when they remember the freedom with which the same writer occasionally treats the labors of Hakluyt, Purchas, and others of the diligent and painful collectors of the world's discovery and history.

But let us examine for a moment the argument of the "Memoir," and see what ground there is for the strictures to which we have referred. The gist of the matter is contained in the following passage from that work.

"The Dedication of this work [the Discoveries of the Zeni], as originally published by Marcolini, bears date December, 1558. Ramusio died in July, 1557; and of course it is impossible that it could have been published by him, or that he could have marked it for insertion. It does not appear in the Ramusio of 1559, but was *interpolated* into the second volume in 1574, seventeen years after his death. *This circumstance is decisive against its authenticity.* Ramusio, a native of Venice, was not only a diligent and anxious collector of voyagers, but, it appears by his work, was familiar with the family of the Zeni of that city, and he speaks with pride of the adventurous Travels of Caterino Zeno in Persia. Had the materials for such a narrative existed, he would have eagerly seized the opportunity of embodying them, and it is plain, that the imposture dared not make its appearance in his lifetime. Yet, from the subsequent *interpolation*, this tract, by almost unanimous consent, has been considered to bear the high sanction of Ramusio's name." — pp. 322, 323.

So far as respects the impropriety of claiming the authority of Ramusio for the publication, there can be no doubt. He died, as stated, before the work appeared. But the "Memoir" neglects to add, that the second volume of Ramusio's collection was not published until after his death, the first and third only having appeared in his lifetime. But the second volume

was not without a responsible editor and publisher ; Tomaso Giunti, an intimate friend of Ramusio, performed the duties of both. His Preface to the volume bears date March 9th, 1559 ; and as the Preface to the Discoveries is dated the preceding December, only two or three months before, it is probable, that both works appeared at about the same time. The same editor, in a subsequent edition of the second volume of Ramusio, inserted the Discoveries, so that they came honestly enough into that work, although not placed there by Ramusio himself.

It has been already stated, that the Travels of Caterino Zeno, the ambassador in Persia, were published in the same volume with the Discoveries ; why was this work excluded from the first edition of Ramusio's collection, if the latter had so great a desire to extend the fame of the Zeno family, as assumed in the "Memoir?" The apology Ramusio makes for the omission, is a singular one ; the work had been before printed, and the worthy compiler says, he was once so fortunate as to obtain a copy of it, but that, by some chance, it had got mislaid. It is strange, that so "diligent and anxious a collector," especially when animated by a particular regard for the family whose fame would be promoted by the publication, could not have procured another copy of the book, or at least obtained the materials for some notice of the adventures of the noble knight, when the editor of the Discoveries was enabled, so soon after the death of Ramusio, to publish an account of them. But Ramusio's alleged familiarity with, and great regard for, the family of the Zeni, is a gratuitous assumption on the part of the "Memoir" ; there is no evidence to sustain it.

Giunti's edition of Ramusio, in 1574, contains not only the Discoveries of Nicolò and Antonio, but the Travels of Caterino, so that a double "interpolation" was effected, which bears as strongly against the authenticity of the latter, as of the former, except that Ramusio mentions the Travels, and assigns a frivolous excuse for not publishing them. But these were not the only "interpolations" made in that edition of the second volume ; no less than three other works were inserted in it, which were not contained in the previous editions ; — a most flagrant breach of honest editorship on the part of Tomaso Giunti, truly, and, according to the "Memoir," enough to destroy all claims to authen-

ticity those works might otherwise possess. However, the editor, between whom and Ramusio, as the former feelingly states in the Preface to the volume in question, there existed a strong and uninterrupted attachment of many years' standing, (*grande amore continuamente per lungo spatio d' anni*,) might console himself under the charge of adulterating the work of his friend, by pointing to the title-page of the volume, where, as usual in such cases, the reader is forewarned, that it is "a new edition enlarged" (*accresciuto*), of a work "originally compiled" (*raccolto già*), by Giovanni Battista Ramusio; and, if this were not enough, he might refer the captious critic to the table of contents, in which the additions to the volume are distinctly set forth, so that, if he chose, on making the discovery, he might shut the book at once, and demand an uncorrupted copy, — a Ramusio, a whole Ramusio, and nothing but Ramusio, under the pains and penalties against "interpolation" and "imposture"!

But we pass from this. The Cabots, who were also a Venetian family,* possess sufficient claims to the grateful remembrance of posterity, without subtracting from the well-earned laurels of any of their countrymen; and, whatever may be thought of the pretensions of the noble brothers, it is evident enough, that they cannot be seriously affected by either the arguments, or the unceremonious language, of the "Memoir" in question.

The most formidable assailant of the Venetian title to the discovery of the new world, is yet to be named. The Essay of Captain Zahrtmann, of the Danish Navy, originally published in the Transactions of the Royal Antiquarian Society at Copenhagen (in 1833), and subsequently communicated to the London Geographical Society, is by far the ablest attempt ever made, to shake the authority of the voyages of the Zeni. We must say, that our first impressions, after perusing that masterly production, were so strong against even the possible truth of the account, that we well nigh resolved to abandon the matter as beyond all hope of surgery, without bestowing another thought upon it. The writer brings such a mass of *primâ facie* proof to bear upon the subject, and discovers so many loose points and apparent inconsistencies in the story, that the argument comes upon one with the

* Sebastian, it appears, had his birth in England.

force of demonstration. At the same time, the perfect freedom of the paper from vituperative remark, and the admirable coolness, as well as skill, with which the operator dissects his victim, are far from diminishing the effect produced upon the mind. A more careful examination, however, of this elaborate effort from the pen of so profound a scholar has suggested several ideas that detract, to some extent, from the conclusive character of the argument, and leave a ray of hope to the sanguine admirers of Venetian prowess.

The first position of Captain Zahrtmann is as follows ; — "That there never existed an island of Frisland, but that what has been represented by that name in the Chart of the Zeni, is the Ferroë Islands." ("1. Der har aldrig existeret noget Frisland, men det, der under dette Naven er afbildet paa Zeniernes Kaart er Foeraerne.")

The identity of Frisland with the Ferroë islands seems to be generally admitted by the later writers, including those who defend the genuineness of the account. The name is supposed to be a southern corruption of *Ferrisland*, or Ferris islands, by which they were known to the Danes and English of the Middle Ages. This is a suggestion of Eggers, adopted by Malte-Brun. It was the opinion of Reinhold Forster, in which he was followed by Dr. Belknap, the American historian,* that the Frisland of the Zeni had disappeared from the surface of the ocean in one of those submarine, volcanic convulsions, that sometimes occur in the northern seas, especially upon the coast of Iceland. Other writers have maintained the same opinion. A leading English Review, in describing an ancient artificial globe, the first ever made in England, has the following observations on this subject ; "On this sketch, we see with pleasure the Drogeo and the Frisland of the two noble Venetians, the Zeni ; we observe the latter where it always was, and still is, at the southern extremity of Greenland, a little above the sixtieth parallel of latitude, still holding its head above water, in spite of the volcanos and the earthquakes created by the Duke of Almadover and Delisle, the Abbé Zurla and Signor Amoretti, to overwhelm it in the ocean." † As these different hypotheses distinctly admit, that such a locality as Frisland

* *American Biography*, Vol. I. p. 67.
† *London Quarterly Review*, Vol. XVI. p. 165.

once existed, we shall not stop to examine them at the present time.

But there is on record one unquestionable recognition of the name of Frisland, that has not a little puzzled the disbelievers of the Zenonian discoveries, and is well worthy of the most weighty consideration under this head. We refer to the following passage from the "Life of Columbus," written by his son, Fernando.

"In a memorial or annotation which he [Columbus] made, demonstrating and proving, by the experience of navigators, that all the five zones are habitable, he says; 'I navigated, in 1477, in the month of February, 100 leagues beyond the island of Thule, the southern part of which is distant from the equator 73 degrees, and not 63, as some will have it; neither does it lie within the line that includes the west of Ptolemy, but is much more westerly. And to this island, which is as large as England, the English go with their merchandise, especially those from Bristol. And at the time I went there, the sea was not frozen, though the tides were so great, that in some places they rose 26 braccia, and fell as many. The truth is, that the Thule, which Ptolemy makes mention of, lies where he says, *and this by the moderns is called* FRISLAND.'"*

It is a little singular, that Irving, in citing the above passage,† should omit the last sentence, of which he takes no notice in his subsequent remarks upon the voyages of the Zeni. Captain Zahrtmann contends, that it refers to Iceland, which he supposes to have been known to the southern navigators under the name of Frisland. It is conceded, therefore, that the name of Frisland was in use in the south of Europe, applied to an island in the northern seas, and was so employed by Columbus himself. This is an important point gained in favor of the account of the Venetian brothers. The question, as to its particular application, is one of subordinate importance, and need not detain us at the present time.

The second position of Captain Zahrtmann is the following;—"That the Chart of the Zeni has been compiled

* *London Atheneum*, No. 514, (1837.) The above is declared to be a literal translation from the original edition of Fernando's biography of his father.

† *Life of Columbus*, Vol. I. p. 29. Irving translates *braccia*, "fathoms"; but the former measure only about twenty-three inches.

from hearsay information, and not by any seaman who had himself navigated in those seas for several years." ("2. Dette kaart er sammendraget efter Sagn, men ei af nogen Soemand, der selv i flere Aar havde befaret dette farvand.")

The criticisms of our author on the Chart of the Zeni are acute, and apparently in some respects well-founded. The date of 1380, which it bears, was unquestionably placed there by the editor, and is admitted by Cardinal Zurla to be a probable error. The voyage is to be dated, without doubt, eight or ten years later, as the Chevalier Nicolò was still at Venice in 1388, as appears from the annals of the Republic, when he was appointed to an office of considerable importance. He is supposed by Captain Zahrtmann to have been at that period sixty years of age; but this is only conjecture, founded on the fact that he was the oldest son, and that his father was married in 1326; whence our author infers that Nicolò was born in 1328. This may be a common course of things, but it is by no means invariable.

The principal evidence that the Chart was a compilation of the sixteenth century, is derived from its agreement with the maps of that period in the peculiar location of the Orcades, or Orkneys, on the coast of Norway, far distant from Scotland, and in the correctness with which Norway and Denmark are laid down, the proper position of which was never understood in the south of Europe till the publication of Olaus Magnus's map of the three Scandinavian kingdoms, in 1539. But it is admitted by our author, that the materials for constructing some portions of the Chart, which are found to be surprisingly accurate, did not exist in any publication prior to the appearance of the Discoveries of the Zeni, in 1558. This accords also with the statement of Purchas, already cited, in respect to Greenland and the American coast. So far, therefore, there was no compilation, unless the information was obtained by oral communication, and to this supposition Captain Zahrtmann is compelled to resort. He says,

"With respect to the general outline of Greenland, it is more correct than any known chart published before the sixteenth century. This would be a strong proof of the genuineness of the chart and of the voyage, if Nicolò Zeno the younger, had not, in 1558, any other authorities from which to lay down Greenland, than the common maps of that period.

But it is easy to find reasons which make it highly probable that he had verbal sources of better information, and quite certain that he was able to avail himself of written sources not generally known."

The learned author then proceeds to say, that Nicolò, the younger, (the supposed editor of the Discoveries of his ancestors) was regarded by his countrymen as the greatest geographer of his time, and that he might have obtained correct information respecting the topography of the north from certain Catholic priests then residing in Italy, who had been banished from the northern countries. But this is conjecture, and, although sufficiently ingenious, and, it may be, plausible, can pass for nothing more. It supposes, however, that a man, respected by his fellow-citizens for his distinguished scientific attainments, (and at that period geographical science was in higher repute than almost any other branch of knowledge,) condescended to apply his superior learning to the composition of a fraudulent work, which, instead of taking the credit to himself of the original information it contained, he palmed off upon the world as the production of one of his remote ancestors! Surely the name of Zeno, at Venice, needed no such factitious reputation to render it conspicuous. What motive, then, can be assigned for such folly as is thus attributed to an honored descendant of that proud family? We pause for a reply.

But in respect to the character of Nicolò, the younger, we shall not allow our nautical critic to blow hot and cold in the same breath; in one passage, to give the noble Venetian the benefit of the respectability he enjoyed as a man of science, and in another, when it better suits the drift of his argument, to deny him the favorable estimation of learned men among his contemporaries. We refer to the intimation, that Ramusio did not esteem him as trustworthy on the subject of his ancestral history, — that he "doubted his veracity," and for that reason excluded from his great work both the Discoveries, and the Travels of Caterino, the ambassador. It is also insinuated by our author, that a high compliment, bestowed on the younger Nicolò by Patrizi, another learned contemporary, with reference to his historical knowledge, was intended to be ironical. Of course, these imputations are designed to lead to the conclusion, that the standing of the editor of the Discoveries was none of the best; and that

it is possible he might have been guilty of fraud and imposture.

But there is no good reason for supposing, that Nicolò the younger was distrusted by Ramusio, or equivocally praised by Patrizi. In order to lay a foundation for the former supposition, Captain Zahrtmann is under the necessity of making a conjectural emendation of the text of Ramusio, which, in our opinion, is not required by the sense of the passage ; and, to establish the second, he allows nothing for the apparent exaggeration (to a northern ear) characterizing the complimentary style of Italy. Moreover, Patrizi was not alone among his contemporaries in bestowing the meed of praise upon the younger Zeno ; "plusieurs écrivains Venitiens * * * en font le plus grand éloge," says Roquette ; and even the State, out of respect to his talents and scientific attainments, caused his portrait to be drawn by Paul Veronese, to adorn the hall of the public councils. He also filled a distinguished place in the magistracy of the Republic. Although termed the Younger, for distinction's sake, it is known, that he was born in the year 1515, and was consequently in the forty-fourth year of his age, at the time when the Discoveries of his ancestors were first published. He died at Venice on the 10th of August, 1565.

It is not improbable that Nicolò, the younger, objected to the publication of the Discoveries in Ramusio's collection, preferring that they should form, together with the Travels of Caterino, a distinct and independent volume. Family pride, or some other cause not now known, might have led to this determination. The supposition is countenanced, to say the least, by the fact, that the second edition of Ramusio's second volume, which appeared in 1564, did not contain those works, although edited by Giunti, who inserted them in the next edition (1574) after Zeno's death. Sixteen years had then elapsed since their first publication in a separate form ; — a period long enough, one would suppose, for a prudent editor, anxious to insert nothing in the great work of his deceased friend that could be deemed of doubtful credit, to ascertain the reputation the book had acquired in the learned world. So that, on the whole, whether the Discoveries had been originally excluded by Ramusio, or the editor of his posthumous volume, or their insertion objected to by Zeno, the younger, the republication of them in

a subsequent edition of that collection, in an open and responsible manner, several years after the death of Zeno, the supposed fabricator, is decisive of the favorable estimation in which they were then held, not only at Venice, but throughout Europe.*

Having thus examined some of the points attempted to be established by Captain Zahrtmann, under the first and second heads of his discourse, in which we have anticipated the fourth and last (charging upon Zeno, the younger, the compilation of the work from materials that reached Italy in his own day), we shall offer a few remarks, in conclusion, on the subject of the alleged fictitious character of the details of the account, which forms the burden of his third proposition.

It is well known that the early travellers of all countries are proverbially famed for the extraordinary character of their relations. Indeed, it seems to have been expected that the traveller, as well as the poet, should have his license, and draw upon the resources of his imagination. Their tales were listened to, with not the less "greedy ear" by the astonished multitude, even if they sometimes transcended the bounds of probability, and, like Othello, (another Venetian hero, by the way, though not "of Venice born,") talked of "men, whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders." Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville doubtless, to some extent, indulged this caprice; and, substantially correct as their accounts are found to be, in the main, they are not free from the defects to which we have alluded. Had they given a strictly accurate account of what they personally observed in the course of their travels, without trusting to hearsay, or painting with the colors of fanciful exaggeration, their admirers would have been fewer in number, and their celebrity less widely extended. This they probably well understood. That the Zeni, or their editor, may have fallen into the same error, is not improbable, and we presume will not be denied by their most strenuous advocates. Take, for example, the descrip-

* Marcolini, the original publisher of the Discoveries of the Zeni, and Giunti, who published and afterwards edited Ramusio, were rivals in business at Venice. *En passant,* Mr. Irving makes Marcolini not only the editor or author of the Discoveries (it does not appear which), but also a kinsman of the Zeni; and, if the former statement were correct, the latter would necessarily follow, from some expressions in the account. Both suppositions, however, are uncalled for, and highly improbable.

tion of the Monastery of St. Thomas, in Greenland. This, according to Captain Zahrtmann, "bears the most evident marks of fiction." "As to the volcanos and hot springs," he says, "which served to warm the houses, to cook the victuals, and to make the fruits of the south thrive in the latitude of 74°, I do not think this part of the romance worth refutation." The latitude of Cape Farewell is but 60° ; this, however, is of slight moment, as the climate is rigorous enough even there, to answer all the purposes of the critic. The entire improbability of this part of the story does not appear to us well established. Some of the details may be exaggerated, but there is nothing very strange in the convenient adaptation of boiling water to culinary purposes, either directly, or by evaporation, or in the idea of heating apartments by the same means. Hot water stoves are not unknown in our day. The boiling springs of Iceland are well known to be used for domestic purposes. "We see no reason," say our foreign brethren, already cited, "to disbelieve (as some affect to do) the fact stated by Nicolò Zeno, of the friars of the Monastery of St. Thomas warming their rooms, cooking their victuals, and watering their gardens from a spring of hot water ; such things are known to exist, and what should prevent these friars in that dreadfully cold region from availing themselves of an article so obviously useful and effectual ?"*

But the incredulity of Captain Zahrtmann, in regard to this matter, is shown to be quite unreasonable, by the following statement of Humboldt, which is sufficiently conclusive ; "One would suppose, that the Convent, described so minutely by the brothers Zeni, had suggested the plan of the extensive heating establishment at Chaudes Aigues, in the department of Cantol, where the fountain of Par distributes warmth among several hundred houses at the same time, and also answers the purposes of domestic economy. At the baths of Toplitz, in Bohemia, *the gardens begin to derive a benefit from the effect of warm subterranean waters.*" †

* *London Quarterly Review*, Vol. XVI. p. 165. They add, "There is one simple fact mentioned by Nicolò Zeno, which no man in the fourteenth century could know or imagine, who had not lived among the Esquimaux ; 'Their boats,' he says, 'are framed of the bones of fishes, and covered with their skins; and they are shaped *like a weaver's shuttle*' ; — a description so just, and a resemblance so perfect, that, from that time to this, it has been adopted by every succeeding voyager."

† *Examen Critique*, Tom. II. p. 127, note.

Other parts of the narrative, pronounced with so much confidence, by our author, to be only "a tissue of fiction," may, perhaps, be found equally susceptible of explanation. But we have already extended this article far beyond the limits originally intended, and must hasten to a conclusion. A further discussion of the subject is promised in a work now in the progress of publication at Copenhagen, on the monuments of ancient Greenland, which will unquestionably throw much new light upon it. In the mean time, we intend to hold our minds open to conviction, instead of coming to a hasty decision in a question of so much importance, involving the honor of a noble house, and the glory of an ancient republic. But we are free to acknowledge, that, so far as we have been enabled to pursue our investigations, with the dim light afforded to us by the few authorities on the subject within our reach, our convictions are unequivocally favorable to the substantial truth of the relation of the noble brothers ; — convictions, that, we trust, for the honor of our common nature, and the fame of that venerable commonwealth, may be hereafter fully confirmed.

Art. IX. — 1. *L' Ildegonda e la Fuggitiva, Novelle Romantiche di Tommaso Grossi.* Firenze : 1825.
2. *I Lombardi alla Prima Crociata, Canti Quindici di Tommaso Grossi.* Milano : 1829.
3. *Ulrico e Lida, Novella di Tommaso Grossi.* Napoli : 1837.
4. *L' Esule di Pietro Giannone.* Parigi : 1830.
5. *Poesie di Giovanni Berchet.* Londra : 1827.

There are six great highways across the ridge of the Alps. From the Alps to the ocean, it is but a journey of three days. The Sirius and the Great Western have stretched a long bridge across the ocean, and the old world has shaken hands with the new. The bulletins of the French legions in Africa reach Paris in two days. Fresh figs from Smyrna are served on the tables of London. Queen Victoria crowns her head with flowers from a green-house of New York.

Yet steam-engines are only an infant discovery. It will not be long, and we may live to witness the time, when all Europe shall be but one vast city, and the United States a pretty suburb just across the ferry; when, like Philip, we shall say to our children, "Seek for another world; this earth is too narrow for you!"

Books, the first movers, perhaps, of this rapid whirling of men and things, do not circulate with the astonishing speed of other articles of luxury. Learning sails on a heavy-laden ship, encumbered with a weighty ballast of pedantry. We want oranges and pineapples from the tropics, ice and furs from the poles. Books grow in all climates; every country has but too many of its own. Oppressed with business at home, we have no time to think of our neighbours. Our literary reputations are confined within the limits of our district. In days of darkness, Petrarch was received in triumph, as a prophet, wherever he moved; in our days, the notoriety of Byron in Venice was owing to his handsome face, and to the singularity of his manners. Many a school-book, on the old continent, is still teaching that Florida is a province of Spain, Louisiana a French colony. To them the capital of the Union is still Philadelphia. Boston is very seldom heard of; Pittsburg and Buffalo never. On the other side, nothing comes here from Naples except maccaroni; Parma is known only for its exquisite cheese. Many ask whether the Pope is the king of Italy; and we have heard of a lady who, with earnest conviction, numbered the Italian among the dead languages. Alas! ignorance is much more vast than the ocean!

Few modern languages, however, are more generally studied than the Italian. Whether this is to be attributed to its velvet smoothness, or to the general persuasion of its easy acquisition, or to the general diffusion of the music of Bellini, it is certain, that, in all Europe, that language ranks with the English in its commercial, the German in its literary, and the French in its diplomatic and choregraphic importance. The ladies of the eastern cities of America are rivalling Europe in this, as in other branches of literary culture. One hundred young men are annually trained to the acquirement of it in Harvard College. All persons, who have any pretension to learning, have, more or less, had something to do with Italian.

But, although few share now the opinion of the good lady, that twenty-two millions of people cannot keep a language alive, it is a general persuasion, received and accredited among sensible persons, that the literature of that country is dead, and that Italy, exhausted with the productions of five centuries, by which she has waked her rude neighbours into literary life, is resting now under the shade of her laurels, and surveying the youthful efforts of England and Germany, like a superannuated wrestler, with downcast brow and folded arms, looking upon the feats of his disciples from the head of the circus.

In calling the attention of American readers to books, which have never reached or never circulated among them, it is our purpose to give some general views of the direction that literary studies are taking in Italy; to point out how far the influence of German and English literature acts upon the productions of that land, accustomed to exert, not to obey, influence, and what important revolutions are going forward in the taste and genius of a nation, whose creative power can never be extinguished, whose genius is indigenous, and whose resources are inexhaustible as its soil; which has successively nourished generations of Gauls, Romans, and Greeks; of Goths, Vandals, and Lombards; of Spaniards and Frenchmen; and which is now but too rich and luxuriant for Croats and Hungarians.

Italy is, in modern civilization, the eldest of countries. Laboring under the miseries of decrepitude, she exhibits, in her outward aspect, the long ravages of age. The sea has receded from her coasts; several of her noblest harbours have been dried up and deserted. The discords of her former republics, the inroads of Moors and pirates, and the improvidence of her successive governments, have turned into swamps her flourishing shores and the shores of her islands. The clearing of woods in the mountains has let in the winds of the north, and sprinkled with hoary frost the fair hair of her Apennines. War and earthquakes, all the scourges of heaven, have desolated, demolished, buried her cities. Invasions, migrations, the crossing of races, have degraded her character, eclipsed her grandeur, obliterated her name. Rome and Ravenna, Pavia, Venice, and Pisa, by turns queens and empresses, lie now inglorious and senseless, like spectre cities, the grass growing in their wide streets, the moss creep-

ing over the marble of their tottering palaces. Ruins of forums and aqueducts, arches of bridges and mausoleums, Gothic castles and temples, nunneries, dungeons, Madonnas, and Venuses, the wrecks of all worships and governments, the pride of all rulers and conquerors, all crushed in a common heap, mouldering in a general dissolution;—such has been, and, to a certain extent, such is, Italy. But among those ruins a few warm, confiding hearts may be seen, impatient of that lingering decay, hastening the work of time, trampling those remains with disdain, to level them to the ground, a basis for new edifices; young believers, firm in the opinion of an approaching redemption, persuaded, that, like Tithonus of the fable, Italy is doomed to old age, not to death; young thinkers, exulting in the eternal reproduction of all things, pointing to Leghorn and Trieste, new towns rising and thriving as the old decline; the vale of the Po inheriting the ever smiling fertility of Apulia and Campania; the Lombard character, strengthened and ennobled in proportion to the relaxation of the Roman and Tuscan; the elements of Italy in ages to come.

The romantic literature in that land is the representative of this spirit of regeneration. Literature is not politics; but the highest and dearest patriotic feelings are very often, if not essentially, its main resource. Poetry and eloquence may grow independent of all forms of governments; but they always receive a decisive impulse from the established orders of society, and exert upon them a strong reaction. Literature is not politics. The air of liberty is not so essential to the budding of genius, as the spring breeze to the opening of flowers. Byron was born in England, rocked in the cradle of freedom; Schiller was bred up in Austria, fed upon errors and prejudices. But letters and arts want excitement; they can sail with all winds, but not without wind. The mind expands in proportion to its own exertion. Give a genius passion and movement, delirium and fever, anxiety and suffering; let the mountain stream madden through rocks and over precipices, dash and foam against bridges and dikes; but let it not exhaust its might on the plain, to stagnate in marshes and mire.

The regeneration which is now in progress in Italy, although in great part of a political cast, does not depend on political vicissitudes. Whether the petty fragments, into

which the nation is dismembered, will feel, at a future day, the want of a federative bond, or whether the sighed-for union shall be the work of the daring ambition of one of her national princes, or of the cautious cupidity of Austria, or whether, in a general convulsion of Europe, her children shall raise a unanimous cry for emancipation; one fact is unquestionable, — that Italy is rising to action. It is not there a question of democracy or aristocracy, of reforms or constitutions. It is a question of existence. The revolution of Italy is not to be effected by sects and conspiracies, not by fortuitous incidents of wars, or changes of dynasties; it must arise from the recasting of individual character, from the enlightened resentment of masses, from the sympathy of an immense, compact population, from the resources of a rich soil, from the seeds sown by a liberal, refined civilization, developed in several unsuccessful attempts, and only strengthened by senseless persecutions.

Few countries have, in the course of the last fifty years, — we mean in the age of Napoleon, — undergone a more total revolution than Italy. Her political divisions and boundaries are, indeed, nearly the same, with the exception, perhaps, of Venice and Genoa, the last leaves hanging on a withered branch, destined to drop at the first blast of November; but all the notions, the morals, the passions, the prejudices and superstitions, the popular festivals, games, and spectacles, have either been entirely abolished, or changed in their nature and object, or have given place to others of an entirely opposite character. From the days of Charles the Fifth to the end of the last century, under the direct or indirect influence of Spaniards and Austrians, Italy had fallen from her former importance, unaware of what she lost. Persuaded of her beneficent influence on the general course of modern civilization, she relied upon the gratitude of all nations. Milan and Naples, the most important states of the Peninsula, indeed, had fallen a prey to strangers. But the Lion of Venice still braved the Crescent by land and sea; the Dukes of Savoy laid their glove in the balance of Europe, formidable allies and adversaries. Spain and Austria trembled at every starting of the populace of Naples and Genoa. Rome had laid aside her sword, but ruled the world by the crosier; Florence had bent to the Medici, but dictated laws and manners by letters and arts. Besides, her sky smiled as brightly as ever, her climate was

as mild. A privileged land, removed from all cares of political existence, Italy went on with dances and music, happy in her ignorance, sleeping in the intoxication of uninterrupted prosperity. Accustomed to the scourges of invasion, passive in all the rivalries among her neighbours, used to suffer and to forget, she consoled herself for the evils inflicted by foreigners upon her sons, with the old saying, that her land was destined to be the tomb of her conquerors. The first spring shower washed away the blood with which the invaders had stained the green enamel of her plains ; the first harvest, luxuriant from a soil enriched by French and German corpses, made up for the dearth occasioned by the waste of a hungry soldiery ; and the sons of the South took up again their guitars, wiped away their tears, and sang anew, like a cloud of sparrows when the tempest is over.

Such were not the consequences of the late wars ; her neighbours were envious of that uninterrupted enjoyment ; the serpent intruded himself into the Eden of Europe. The French philosophers persuaded the Italians they were too happy ; and they envied the tempests of France, as if tired of happiness. The French, wanting aid from every quarter, hailed the awakening of Italy. They gave her a standard ; they girt her sons with the weapons of war ; they seated them in senates and parliaments. They dusted the iron crown of the Lombards, and placed it on the brow of one of her islanders. The Italians started up. They believed ; they followed ; they fought. Deceived by the French, they turned to the Austrians ; betrayed by the Austrians, they came back to the French. It was a succession of deception and perfidy, of blind confidence and disappointment ; and when, weary, dejected, and ravaged, they lay down, abandoned to their bitter reflections, an awful truth shone in its full evidence, the only price for torrents of blood, — that, beyond the Alps, they had nothing but enemies. The reaction was long and severe. To these few years of raving intoxication, lethargy succeeded, and nothingness. The sword was taken from the side of the brave ; the lips of the wise were closed ; the name of Italy was proscribed. All was settled, and silenced, and fettered, but thought. Thought remained, anxious, sleepless, rebellious ; with a grim, severe monitor behind, — Memory ; and a rosy, seducing Syren before, — Hope, always within his reach, always re-

ceding from his embrace ; and he sat a tyrant of the soul, preyed upon the heart of the young, of the brave, of the lovely, choosing his victims with the cruel sagacity of the vampyre ; and he strewed their couches with thorns, and sprinkled their feasts with poison, and snatched from their hands the cup of pleasure. "Italians," he said, "remember what you have been, what you are, what you must be. Is it thus, on the dust of heroes, is it in the fairest of lands, that you drag on days of abjectness ? Will you never afford a better spectacle to the nations, than masquerades and processions of monks ? Will you never go out among strangers except as fiddlers and limners ? England and France are subduing deserts and oceans ; Germany flourishes in science and letters. The sons of the North are snatching from your hands the sceptre of the arts. What is to become of Italy ? Shall her name be buried under these ruins, to which you cling with the fondness of a nobleman, prouder of the armorial bearings and portraits of his ancestors, in proportion as he degenerates from them ? Shall it be said of her sons, that they have made their own destiny, and they groan under a yoke they have merited ?"

Such is the bitter chagrin to which the Italians have been left, from the ephemeral excitement arising from the revolutionary ideas of the late convulsions of Europe. The nation at large has assumed a serious and sullen countenance. The revels of the carnivals have lost their attraction ; that slow and silent disease, that atrabilious frenzy, — politics, pervades all ranks, exhibiting a striking contrast with the radiant and harmonious gayety of heaven and earth. Morals gain by that melancholy mood. Studies are pursued with incredible eagerness, and come off conquerors over all obstacles raised against them.

Unfortunately the rulers have not been capable of justly appreciating the new ideas and wants of the age. Instead of encouraging those awakening energies, and directing them to noble pursuits, they have been alarmed at the prevailing restlessness of mind ; they have apprehended in it the germs of social dissolution. Since their restoration, they have laid aside their wonted clemency, and have consequently roused a spirit of opposition. The march of their government is checked at every step. In every debate, public opinion always declares against power. From the smug-

gler of the mountains to the ringleader of the university, the most daring transgressor is ever the idol of the multitude. In every district, that deplorable contest is more or less openly waged. The skirmishes are short, the field of battle is narrow, but the exasperation is immense. Unfortunately, the dungeon, exile, and the scaffold have been resorted to. Blood has been lavishly shed ; it has raised an insurmountable barrier against all possible reconciliation ; it has heated the passions of those classes, to whom party spirit would never otherwise have descended. A tale of woe from the Spielberg has moved the sympathies of all Europe. A cry of horror has risen against Modena, where, as in ancient Egypt, every mother is weeping for her first-born. Meanwhile, the land is sterile of events. Literature, as well as commerce, industry, and all the fine arts, except music, are unproductive. All is mute and sad, as in the calm which precedes the storm. Every one recognises an age of transition, of preparation. Every one feels, that Italy has no longer any lower degree of dejection to sink into ; that, according to the rules of Providence, she has a right to look to the future for brighter days ; that all her sons are natural brothers and allies ; that their enemy is the same, and their cause is one ; that God was pleased to associate them in common sufferings, that they might aspire to a common redemption.

It may be easily perceived, how far literature must be imbued with the spirit of the times we have attempted to describe. It is a literature of constraint and discontent ; of transition and expectation ; reluctant and murmuring ; stifled and tortured. A proud enthusiasm has given a strange relish for silence and melancholy. The Italian bards rend the chords of their harps, shaking their heads with a sullen disdain. "No," they exclaim, "we shall not sing the lays of our land for the gratification of strangers ; we shall not soothe, with our verses, the toils of bondmen. Let the brightness of our sky be clouded ; let the fire be quenched in the eyes of the daughters of Italy ; the pure enjoyment of the treasures of nature are the exclusive possession of noble souls ; the smiles of beauty are the sacred reward for high deeds. The songs of the troubadour are reserved for the delight of the brave, who dare to rival his heroes." The voice of the Italian bards is mute. They seek the solitude of their groves, the stillness of their ruins, refusing utterance to their

sorrows, and obstinately feeding upon them ; or they carry their chagrin beyond mountains and seas, roaming from land to land, among strangers who cannot understand them, to pine away slowly, and die ; like an exotic plant, drinking a scanty ray through the panes of a hot-house, drooping its head on its consumptive stem, and yielding life without struggle or regret.

But, independently of the political circumstances peculiar to Italy, literature is there, as in the rest of Europe, in a state of transition. As in politics, so in letters and arts, there are two antagonist parties ; there are the ideas of the old social world, and the wants of the new. In politics, the two opposite parties are distinguished by the names of legitimists and liberals ; in literature, they are called the classical and romantic.

Romanticism, that word, so vaguely defined, and so strangely interpreted ; that universal reformer, extending from the frame of an epic poem, to the head-dress of a girl, a substitute, in Europe, for all endearing adjectives ; a seducing enchanter, surrounded with fairies and genii, haunting lonely towers and silent groves, crowned with holly and cypress, with mail on his breast, a cowl on his head, a red cross on his mantle ; mounted on a spotted horse, with a damsel *en croupe ;* a hawk perched on his gauntlet, and a harp of gold slung across his shoulder ; this creation of the Northern fancy, received in Italy with eager hospitality, is about to usurp there an undisputed sway over letters and arts, as soon as the consciousness of political existence shall set the wings of Italian genius at liberty.

In Italy, with the exception of the writers of the age of Dante, and a few others in the sixteenth century, literature had been the sterile possession of individuals, and had never attempted to exert any influence on the mass of the people. Men of letters, a privileged class of academicians, Arcadians, and doctors, strangers to the age in which they lived, never studied its character or its wants ; on the contrary, they abstracted themselves from the present, to live exclusively in the past. Hence, literature remained for many centuries behind the people, and the people arrived at new ideas without guidance or instruction. A veneration for the immortal works of antiquity, which the researches of the literary men of that country had brought to light out of the darkness of the

Middle Ages, inspired them with such fondness for all that belonged to the old world, that they transported themselves into it in imagination, and spoke, and wrote, and thought, as if they had been the ghosts of their ancestors. Hence their sweet language was too vulgar and tame for their grand ideas. The names, with which they had been baptized, were not sufficiently sonorous ; the dress of their contemporaries did not sweep the floor with sufficient majesty ; and, in idle and puerile pursuits, they wasted their powers, and forgot their true mission, — public improvement.

Hence, Italian genius was exhausted for ages on those long, empty sermons for the theatre, which they styled tragedies ; poor translations from the Greek, which they called originals ; poor Grecian faces, disguised in the French costume, and redolent of French perfumes ; or in those childish playthings of the shepherds of Arcadia, or in those dull *epopees* written in dishonor of Homer, or in those bombastic odes outraging Pindar and Horace. It was not so that Italian literature had risen, when, the young Italian republics having vindicated their natural rights, and invaded the sanctuary of letters, confined hitherto to the shade of the cloisters, it started into new existence, wild and fiery as the age which it was called to enlighten, full-grown and armed, like Minerva, from the head of its great father, Dante.

Dante was the father of romanticism, though that name was not to be mentioned till five centuries later. Romantic were Petrarch and Boccacio, who described their feelings and their age. Romantic were Ariosto and Tasso, who read the ancients, only to ascertain, themselves, how vast a field remained open for new conceptions ; and their lays are the songs of the people, and find an echo in the rudest hearts, from the fisherman of Baia, to the gondolier of the Venetian lagoons. But then liberty failed, and, with it, national energy. The prince threw gold at the feet of the bard, and the bard stooped to gather it ; art became a trade ; academies were opened, and sent forth rhyme-smiths by the score ; then pedantry came, and dictated its laws. The bed of Procrustes was produced, and all capacities were stretched or mutilated, according to the academical pattern.

This spirit of classicism, this retrospective literature, reproducing itself to infinity, preaching a crusade against all innovations, patronized by the apprehensive jealousy of the

Italian princes, zealously coöperating with the artful policy by which they undermined the national character, and strengthened thus, in proportion to their successful usurpations, invaded all branches of instruction, and reigned uncontrolled.

It taught, that the Greeks and Latins, issuing more freshly from the hands of nature, free from all mixture, free from all specious refinements of an artificial culture, had contemplated and painted nature in her native innocence and graces, smiling with the roses, fragrant with the perfumes of the happy climes of the East; that an instinctive taste for order, proportion, and symmetry, for justness and measure, had early determined for them the confines of the beautiful, and naturally dictated the rules of unity for their poems and dramas, with the same judgment that had presided over the construction of their temples and theatres. It taught that Italy was, by birthright, a classic land, a vast museum of classic remains and memorials, and that her children had inherited that exquisite organization and that sober imagination, by which their fathers had chosen to restrain themselves within certain limits, had combined union with vastness and variety, and raised edifices, which are still braving the redoubled efforts of time and of man; that the imagination of the northern nations is gloomy, their traditions dark and dreary, like the aspect of their forests, their fancies heavy and dull, like the frown of their sky, that, in subjects derived from modern history, there is too much matter of fact, prosaic notoriety, ever to afford room for poetical fictions; that the speculative sciences have despoiled the modern world of its most charming illusions; that poetry, like painting, loves to contemplate objects fading in the distance, and involved in a mysterious twilight. It was added, with a strange mixture of hypocrisy and cowardice, that the Christian religion is too awful a subject, and modern patriotism too delicate, to be prostituted to poetical dreams, to become an object of scoffing profanation, or a source of revolutionary effervescence.

On the other hand, the new school have proclaimed, that literature must take the lead in the progress of society; that it must substantially belong to the age and nation for which it is produced; that it must divine the spirit of the times, and guide men for the best; that religion is poetry, and can derive more evidence from the warmest in-

spirations, than from the most subtile arguments ; that among the ancients the types of the beautiful had something too ideal, too abstract, too general ; that their poetry was etching, chiselling, not painting ; that their notions of symmetry and harmony, their laws of the three unities, depended on local circumstances, — on the measure of their rhythm, or the shape of their stage ; but that order prescribes no scale of dimensions ; that unity is not incompatible with immensity, nay, that immensity is the comprehension of all unities ; that the ancients spoke to the imagination, or to the senses, not to the heart ; that their feelings had too much of earth, while our affections have been sanctified and ennobled by the influence of a pure religion, and the progressive refinement of manners ; that the pagan sought all enjoyment in this world, while the Christian places all his expectations beyond ; that, independent of all reasonings, every age must be represented by its own literature ; that we may take advantage of the inheritance of past ages, since it has been providentially preserved, but we must have our own productions, and build in our turn for posterity.

" Qui nous délivrera des Grecs et des Romains ? "

Why should not the legends of chivalry, the crusades, the annals of the Middle Ages, the wars, the voyages, the errors of our forefathers, and even the sufferings and the hopes of the living age afford a high subject for poetry, as long as the heart is beating with them ? When will our poets lay aside their Medeas and Alcestises, their Troy and Messenia, old fables, to which use and abuse have made us indifferent, of which we are sick at the very bottom of our hearts ; and tell us of old England, of noble France, of fair Italy, of the Alhambra, of Columbus, of Doria and Dandolo, of Washington and Napoleon, of the martyrs of the Grève, and the heroes of the Beresina ; of events, of which the report is still stirring the air ; of horrors, with which our nerves are still thrilling ; of calamities, for which our hearts are still bleeding ?

These theories, radiant with the light of truth, flattering the revolutionary mood which agitates the mind in Italy, have visibly prevailed over the most active part of the population, the young ; and all modern productions, since the days of Alfieri, have displayed a more or less determined tendency to the romantic. That school, however, could not obtain there such a decisive success as it met with in England, and

Germany, where it originated. Italy was in possession of larger treasures of classical lore, and classic prejudices had a deeper foundation. Romanticism has only secured its victory; it belongs to the coming age to reap the advantages of it, and direct it to the noble purposes for which it seems to have been called into life.

Alfieri was, in Italy, the last of the classics; and happy was it for that school, that it could, at its close, shed a light so dazzling as to shroud its downfall in its glory, and trouble, for a long while, with jealous anxiety, the triumph of its fortunate rival. When we number the greatest tragedian of Italy among the classics, we consider him only in regard to the form and style of his dramas, not to the spirit that dictated them. Whatever might be the shape, which his education, or the antique cast of his genius, made him prefer in his productions, no poet ever contributed more powerfully to the reformation of the character of his countrymen. For that object, he only needed to throw before them the model of his own character; it mattered little, whether it was drawn with the pencil, or carved with the chisel; whether it was wrapped up in the Roman gown of Brutus, or in the Florentine cassock of Raimondo de' Pazzi. Properly speaking, he belongs to no school; he stands by himself, the man of all ages, the man of no age. — The romantic taste gained ground. The Jacobin legions invaded every thing around him; he knew nothing, of it, he heard nothing. Many years since, he had retired from the stage of the world; his mission was fulfilled, and he hastened to immortality, unconscious of the storms that thickened around him. Then the great catastrophe arrived; the new democracy imported from Paris, and the flame of military renown, left no leisure for study. All was absorbed in the general vertigo, until the rage of the elements abated. Then men began to count each other, and to exchange congratulations on their happy escape. The general attention was then shared among three contemporaries of different manners and taste; characteristic geniuses, destined to represent the opposite parties into which the Italians, in the alternation of so many vicissitudes, were compelled to range themselves.

The first, surrounded with honors and affluence; respected, but closely watched by the reinstalled governments as a formidable enemy, but a faithless friend; surrounded by a crowd of young poets, and old pedants; his hazle hair sprinkled

with the frosts of age, his smile radiant and winning, his brow contracting, ever and anon, as if from an inward sting of remorse ; Monti, the poet of the times, sold to all parties, the constant friend of the conqueror. — The second, still clad in the uniform of a Cisalpine officer, with a dark, menacing countenance, disfigured by a large volume of hair and whiskers, with the marks of wild passions and a disorderly life,

"Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,"

Ugo Foscolo, a soldier and a poet, the austere patriot, the victim of his own violence, hesitating between exile and the dagger of Ortis. — The last, a soft, colorless face, with a deep, serene eye, a delicate frame, downcast, pensive, sad, Pindemonte, just arrived from his country-seat, a harmless spectator, hating no man, respected by all parties, secure in his integrity and in his unenvied obscurity. — Bred up with the classic taste, occupied in translations of Homer, influenced by the reigning authority of the genius of Alfieri, but early brought into the midst of the innovating activity of their age, obeying the general current of thought, and naturally placed at the head of the movement, these three poets were destined to constitute the link between the established theories, and the invading ideas, between old and young Italy. It is to them, and to a few of their predecessors, that we owe the restoration of Dante ; the redeemer, the regenerator, the prophet, unheeded and forgotten in times of prosperity, resuscitated in days of perplexity ; the glorious pyramid, raising its head above the region of storms, a rallying point for the sons of Italy against future dispersion.

Monti, the most able reviver of the Ghibeline poet, the greatest master of versification, perhaps, after him, had all of Dante excepting his soul. That rich, pompous dress, that ever-rolling majesty, that dazzling vividness of coloring, was found, at length, to cover only barrenness and shallowness, only ashes and smoke. It was found, that his inventive powers were limited, his images vague and undefined. A total absence of principle, an entire want of conviction, of faith, of character, soon broke the spell of that borrowed grandiloquence. The active minds, the generous, the confident, spurned the wanton seduction, and the reign of Monti was over.

Foscolo, like Alfieri, rather a great soul, than a great mind, mastering men and events, mastered by his passions, in a perpetual struggle with himself, reining his imagination,

and paralyzing his forces, only showed that he was a genius, but fulfilled not the mission of genius. Diving into the most sanguine illusions of the times, writing and fighting, roving and raving, loving much, and hating much more, Foscolo had no taste, no leisure, no aptitude for the pursuit of a regular course of ideas. — Satisfied with having won the favors of fame by a short courtship of four hundred lines, with having poured out his soul in the pages of his Venetian hero, the author of *I Sepolcri* and *Jacopo Ortis* sunk in disappointment and inaction, to die in distress and bitterness of heart.

Pindemonte, a master of the gentle and delicate feelings, the high priest of melancholy, of a sweet, all-endearing melancholy, giving heart and voice to the whole kingdom of nature, a man of innocence and forbearance, was not in unison with the unsettled period in which he was destined to live. Fifty years earlier, he might have raised and ennobled, fifty years later he might have assuaged and consoled, his countrymen ; but in that raging effervescence, in that ebbing and heaving of passions, his voice could not make itself audible, any more than a cry of distress in the roar of the ocean, any more than the strain of the lark in the din of a hurricane. — And thus, with the highest qualifications, each of the three poets of the age of Napoleon failed in gaining for himself the title of the poet of the age ; the first, discredited by a cowardly connivance ; the second, exhausted in a desperate struggle ; the third, cast into the shade by a harmless neutrality. But, if all of them renounced the glory of leading the way in the progress of the new school, they left, however, high claims to our gratitude, as having, willing or unwilling, favored its rapid diffusion ; Foscolo, by dignifying the trade of poetry with the sanctity of patriotism, as minstrelsy was once associated with all the splendor of chivalry ; Monti, by demolishing the last Arcadian and academical ramparts of pedantry ; Pindemonte, by giving the soul a wide empire over fancy ; all of them, by turning Italian literature to its original sources, by attempting subjects of an immediate interest, of a heart-thrilling influence ; by singing themselves, their age, and their country.

Almost at the setting of that fair constellation, a young believer arose, alone, and as yet unrivalled, to give, by his influence, a name to the literary reform, that had begun long before him, — Manzoni.

As soon as the abating of the revolutionary flood afforded some ground for studious pursuits in Italy, the German literature, ripened among the preceding commotions, appeared on the top of the Alps ; young, active, gigantic. Italian restlessness turned to Germany, it turned to England and Spain, to the East, and to the North. The sphere of studies was prodigiously extended. Shakspeare and Milton never read, or never understood ; Garcilasso and Lope de Vega, dead and buried ; Brahminic verses, Icelandic legends, Gothic epopees, unknown lands ; the Niebelungenlied, the Bible, the Koran, — were now placed by the side of Homer and Dante ; while Goethe and Schiller, Byron and Scott, Lamartine and Victor Hugo, sent every day a supply of new models. It was amazing and frightful ; it was the tower of Babel ; it was a literary fair of all ages and countries.

Manzoni came up in that recent affluence. With a mind imbued with the maxims of freedom and patriotism, common in Italy to all who were educated on this side of 1800, he embraced the romantic views respecting the substance and form of his art. He gave Italy two historical tragedies, on national subjects, free from the bondage of Aristotelian rules. — *Carmagnola* and *Adelchi*, the best dramas in Italy since the *Saul* of Alfieri, the standard works of romanticism in that country, have, by the general consent of strangers, been ranked by the side of the best modern productions ; Goethe and his school have been proud of adopting their author.

Of those tragedies, only the first was tried upon the stage, and met with poor success. Manzoni, a genius of the very first order, giving life to all objects he takes in hand, master of all the keys of the imagination and the heart, the greatest lyric poet, we think, Italy ever produced, did not equally possess that vastness and calmness of mind, which embrace the whole of a tragedy. Recently placed in contact with Shakspeare and Schiller, seeing in their works a manifest breach of the three unities of the Greeks, he believed, perhaps, that they had abolished all unity. This is far from being the case. The unity of time, from twenty-four hours, had been extended to months and years, to the lifetime of a hero ; the scene, from the vestibule of a palace, had passed from place to place, had crossed seas and mountains ; the four, or six personages, had been multiplied to a whole court, to a

nation ; but the action, the interest, the movement of the drama, far from stagnating or slackening, had gained in strength and intensity. Taking any of the best models of the romantic theatre, say *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *Don Carlos*, or the *Conspiracy of Fiesco*, it will be easily perceived, whether the poet, or the spectator, loses, for a single instant, his object of view. It is, we repeat, only the scale, that has been altered. It is unity in larger dimensions, but still unity. Now we do not mean, that Manzoni's tragedies are wanting in such unity. *Adelchi* is the extinction of the Lombard dynasty ; *Carmagnola* is the cold-blooded sacrifice of a confiding warrior to the jealous suspicion of a cowardly government. All the episodes essentially belong to the subject ; every scene leads us to the catastrophe ; but we believe, that there is wanting that warmth, that simplicity of action, that proportion between the means and end, which permit us to view the whole at a glance and follow its progress through its digressions, which persuade us of the importance of the episodes, which keep our minds in suspense, our hearts in anxiety. Those tragedies are inimitable in their details. The fifth act of *Carmagnola*, and the fourth of *Adelchi*, are grand specimens of correct and sublime pathos. Some of the monologues, and some of the characters, are delineated with a perfect knowledge of the inmost recesses of the human heart ; the three chorusses are the noblest effusions of prophetic inspiration, the most holy lessons of patriotic admonition. But alas ! romanticism asked poetry for the people ; and how can these two tragedies come home to the people, which, for want of connexion, cannot be performed.

What has been said of the historical dramas, we are disposed to apply to the historical novel. *I Promessi Sposi* has placed Manzoni by the side of Scott. Yet the reader, who takes up that book for a novel, will find himself sadly disappointed. It had already been imputed as a fault to the original inventor of that class of writing, that his two first volumes were wasted in painting manners and times, and the action proceeded slowly until the beginning of the third. But in Manzoni there is no action at all. A monk, a nun, a cardinal, a pedant, a gossip, are successively introduced ; it takes one or two chapters to acquaint us with each of them ; insurrections and famine, rapes, conversions, pestilence are produced ; but the author seems

embarrassed with the means he has called to his aid, the conjuror seems at a loss how to get rid of the demons he has ventured to evoke.

True, each of these episodes is worth in itself a romance. True, the *Monaca di Monza* is a tale of woe, which wrings our hearts with anguish and rage. True, the pestilence of Milan makes us forget Thucydides, Lucretius, Boccacio; scenery and manners, individuals and masses, — all is breathing with the colors of life. True, the farewell of Lucia to her home is a new revelation of heaven to earth; but why should such beauties have been put together with such a deplorable absence of any attempt at order and plan; why should they crowd the scene without giving it movement and life?

So much for the form; but, if we look to the spirit that dictated the works of Manzoni, as well as Pellico, and many of their followers, we shall easily perceive, that they are still far from answering the wants of the age, far from being the models Italy had a right to expect from the redeeming school.

The most cruel ravages the doctrines of the French revolution had inflicted upon Italy had fallen upon the religious creeds of the land. Catholicism, a dismantled edifice, supported by the cohesive strength of habit and tradition, was naturally giving place to cautious but progressive repairs, to an enlightened though not incendiary reform. French philosophy thought otherwise. It struck to the right and left until the whole building was levelled to the ground, and strewed salt upon the soil, condemning it to eternal sterility. It was but too easy a task. At the fall of Napoleon, most of the honest thinkers of Italy were, we fear, skeptics. There remained, we hope, many hearts yet filled with the fear of God, but few tongues that dared still to proclaim his name. Such extremes could not go far without rousing a spirit of reaction. The romantic innovators, trusting the success of the national cause to the remoulding of the moral character of the people, cast their gauntlet to that chilling philosophy, and entered the lists for God and his discarded revelation. But there was more ardor in their emprise, than discernment. Their chivalrous magnanimity led them to take upon themselves the whole of the question, the wrong side as well as the right. The spirit of Christianity could yet be revived; the old zeal for Catholicism, never. Biblical truth and evangelic charity

could still work wonders ; priestly craft and monkish ignorance could no longer be popular. The revelation of God remained untouched ; the impositions of man had been judged. There exists in Italy an inveterate antipathy to the court of Rome. If the papal sway has been an evil for all Christendom, for Italian union it has been mortal doom. Prelates and cardinals, abbeys and nunneries, inquisition and censure, confession and purgatory, all these are losing their influence for ever. Catholicism, as a name, is still revered in Italy. A great number of its rites are indigenous. Italian steadiness will not easily be driven to an open profession of apostasy. But the most conscientious Catholic in that country has made his protest within the privacy of his heart; every man forms his sect by himself, and all those individual creeds meet in one church, as if for a tacit compact of mutual forbearance.

What patriotic object then could the Italian novelist propose to himself, when he made a monk and a cardinal his favorite heroes ; when, in an enlightened country, in the age of Galileo and Fra Paolo, he found no greatness, no virtue, but under the cowl or the mitre ? Why did he choose his subject out of a period of oppression and woe ? Does history tell nothing of Italy but reverses ? or has she no reverses unmixed with disgrace ? or did he think ancient disgrace could atone for present abjectness ? or did he wish to reconcile his country to her present abjectness by the despairing conviction, that such has always been, such must be always, her doom ?

With far more limited powers, other novelists in Italy have better divined their times. Romance is in Italy, as elsewhere, the most popular literature, not excepting even the theatre. The Waverley novels have made the historical traditions of an obscure kingdom the inheritance of all Europe. Walter Scott is a sorcerer in Italy. His works have appeared there in no less than four different translations, and several new editions are annually exhausted. It could hardly be expected that the Italian novels should be free from imitation. Few of those productions, in fact, can hitherto lay much claim to original invention. *Il Castello di Trezzo* and *Falco della Rupe* strike us by a few pictures of a masterly hand, with terribly sublime strokes, after the manner of Dante and Michel Angelo ; the *Sibilla Odaleta*, the *Fidanzata Ligure*,

and *I Prigionieri di Pizzighettone*, * describe manners and characters with sufficient skill and variety ; *Marco Visconti* excels in the exhibition of the tenderest feelings, *La Battaglia di Benevento*, and *L' Assedio di Firenze*, in the enthusiastic movement of the highest affections. But the authors of these novels have over Manzoni the great advantage, of having illustrated such periods of the history of their country, as awaken a ready interest and leave a lasting impression.

The annals of Italy, her early revolutions, her unfortunate discords and feuds, afford but too many incidents and characters for romance. Indeed, we know of no novel more entertaining than the sixteen volumes of the "History of the Italian Republics of the Middle Ages," by Sismondi. It was very sad, that Manzoni, a man of upright intentions, could not find better champions than his Renzo, or Fra Cristoforo, while strangers chose at their pleasure Rienzi, Fiesco, and Foscari, misrepresenting them at the expense of historical truth and national pride. On that account the most fortunate production, among the vast number of novels inundating the Peninsula, was *Ettore Fieramosca*, by Massimo d'Azeglio, the son-in-law of Manzoni. A popular narrative, the revival of a long forgotten page of history, the last success of Italian valor in its decline, a private engagement of thirteen Italians with as many French knights, in a close field, at Barletta, a brilliant episode in the wars of the Spaniards in Italy, at the opening of the sixteenth century, has gained more proselytes to the patriotic cause, than any other book published for many years. It is evidently the work of a young mind. The fancy has not been sufficiently chastened, the passions not judiciously managed ; but there is throughout the two volumes a vigor, an enthusiasm, that on the first perusal easily disarm all criticism. The author has indulged perhaps too long, and too often, in horrors and atrocities. It is a fault that has been long attributed to the whole of the romantic school ; it is what has often deterred severe minds from embracing its ideal principles, and has induced others to substitute new names and definitions.

The wide range, that we have given to romanticism, dispenses us from entering into such nice distinctions. Ro-

* We understand with pleasure, that a gentleman of Boston is now occupied with an English translation of the last of these works.

manticism is for us an abstract, conventional term, by which we designate the appropriation of a literature to the age and country from which it springs ; the consentaneousness with, and the influence upon, the feelings, the wants, the creed, the memorials, and the high destinies of man in the various stages of society in which it finds him. Romanticism for us is Nature, that gave Homer to heroic Greece, Tacitus to degraded Rome, Dante to distracted Italy, Shakspeare to aspiring England. Romanticism we call the literature of the romance languages, as long as the romance languages are the effusion of the romance virtues, Christianity, Chivalry, Patriotism. Romanticism is then not responsible for the aberrations of taste, for the exaggeration of tragic enormities, which, principally imported from France and Germany, have darkened the pages of a few frantic productions, now enjoying in Italy an ephemeral popularity. This is a general disease of the age, the result of turbid humors tainting the spirits ; a depravation of feelings, such as led the ancient Romans to their bloody games of wild beasts and gladiators ; a deplorable mania, invading music and painting, ballets and operas, turning the stage into a slaughter-house, making heroes of ruffians and wantons, to blunt and drown sensibility, to give us ague, headache, and sea-sickness.

The school of Manzoni has successfully opposed its influence to this misconstruction of the tendencies of romanticism ; but it has gone, perhaps, too far in the opposite extreme. It seems to have forgotten, that excitement is the persuasive faculty of art ; that virtue moderates, and religion sanctifies, but neither of them commands an absolute extinction of the passions. Such remarks are especially applicable to a book of wide-spread reputation, tending to the noblest aims, dictated with the purest conscientiousness, with the most ingenuous candor, — *Le Mie Prigioni.*

Silvio Pellico has been a name dear to Italy since his earliest youth. *La Francesca da Rimini* is the most popular tragedy now exhibiting on the Italian stage. His other dramas, and his *Cantiche*, chivalrous legends in verse, drawn from the chronicles of the Middle Ages, though visibly affected by the prostration and languor of a prison, are written in good taste, and destined perhaps to rise higher in the public estimation ; but the name of the author is to remain attached to another work, that of which he himself is the

hero. *Le Mie Prigioni*, owing perhaps to a very happy translation,* by which that book has been made the property of American readers, has obtained more popularity in this country, than the original work could ever secure in Italy.

Among Americans,

"Fortunati, quorum jam mœnia surgunt,"

where the social order has been permanently maintained since its very settlement, in a land blessed with the influence of self-imposed institutions, secure from foreign aggression, what the general welfare most requires of the citizen is a sedate, well-disciplined temper; every reluctant, ambitious spirit would prove but fatal to public tranquillity; but in Italy, in the midst of hostile factions and jarring interests, in a land of struggles and violence, how would acquiescence in existing circumstances be interpreted, but as cowardly stupidity; what would be the result of such a temper, but to provoke more outrage, and secure impunity to the oppressor? The "Prisons" of Pellico is not the book of a bigot, not of a man who has forsaken his cause, or wishes for a reconciliation with his unrelenting foe; it is the long, painful effort of a martyr, who has traced his sufferings to his Maker, blessed him for the trial he was pleased to inflict, adored his will in his instruments. Sublime virtues! but the long solitude of his sorrows had made him alone; he had abstracted himself from the cause he had served; he could not find a voice of indignation for his country; he had pardoned for her as for himself. She wanted of him no political rashness, no vehemence; but there is a measure in all things. If all his countrymen should embrace his maxims, it would be over for ever with Italy. We may drop a tear of sympathy on the narrative of evils that have broken a lofty spirit; we may admire the self-possession of a victim who spares his executioner the expression of vain resentment and invective; but Italy must derive a different moral from the doctrines of Christ. God has not created man in his own image, to offer him an object of outrage and torture to his fellow beings. Sons of the same father, redeemed by the same ransom, the blood spilt in fraternal quarrels falls upon the head of the aggressor. The boundaries of the nations are determined by the works of God; he who invades the home of his neighbour violates his law. "Let the Austrian recross

* Printed in Cambridge, 1836.

the Alps, and he shall be a brother again."* Such are the morals that must needs be preached in Italy; and the propagation of such doctrines engages the eager attention of that undefinable agent, known under the name of Young Italy. By this appellation we do not mean to designate only that sect, which, in 1833, attempted one more revolutionary effort in Savoy and Piedmont. That sect, only a fraction of an immense association, a disorderly assemblage of ardent youths in a foreign land, without means or intelligence, venturing an attack of which hardly an indistinct rumor was heard in the country till long after their failure, could only result in adding to the number of victims. At the head of that ill-fated expedition there was a young enthusiast, uniting the boldest ambition to the highest capacities; of that pale, bilious temperament, so common in southern climates; whose passions all obey but themselves; of whose stuff are made Robespierres or Napoleons; a young student of twenty, a Genoese of noble extraction, an exile, Giovanni Mazzini.

It was in June, 1831, that he first made himself known, in France, by an Address to Charles Albert of Savoy, on his accession to the throne of Sardinia, inviting him not to disappoint the expectations he had raised in Italy in 1821, when, being only Prince of Carignano, he styled himself the chief of all the Carbonari in the country. That Address was a flash of divine eloquence, such as had never before shone over Italy. His companions in misfortune gathered in adoration, and bent before his powerful genius. He established himself at Marseilles, as editor of a journal called, after the name of the sect of which it was to be the organ, *La Giovine Italia*. Several numbers of that journal appeared at different intervals in the course of that and the following year. Mazzini wrote the greater part of their contents; but, either because the management of his vast plans of conspiracy engrossed the best part of his time, or because his genius was wearied and exhausted at the first start, his articles were dictated by an insane virulence; the fretful jealousy of exiles was alarmed by his imperious ambition, and he hurried on his insurrectional schemes to the destruction of himself and of others. Involved in rash attempts against all governments, condemned to death in Italy, banished from France,

* "Il Franco
Ripassi l'Alpe e tornerà fratello."
Nicolini. — Giovanni di Procida.

and proscribed in Switzerland, no longer finding where to shelter his head, he finally escaped public notice, probably hidden in some obscure abode, to reappear, perhaps, under better auspices, in hours of action.

But the spirit of Young Italy, we repeat, did not manifest itself exclusively in the pages of that journal, or of two other periodicals, *L' Esule* and *L' Italiano*, also published in France. Historical and philosophical works, periodical and fugitive literature, though closely watched by the police in the various districts of the Peninsula, yet all display a tendency to the developement of new energies, all coöperate to urge on with a new impulse the whole social order, and the chains of ancient institutions weighing upon it.

To search into the most obscure annals of history, and reveal the glories of the land; to derive from that past lustre a feeling of shame for present disgrace, a ray of hope for future resurrection; to spread a chivalrous, devotional, enterprising spirit, inviting men to think, to struggle, to strive; to combat individualism, and all that tends to isolate man, and make him forgetful of what he owes to society; to exhibit in dark colors, dark even to exaggeration, the evils of division and servitude, and cry, "Italy! Italy!" such is the mission of romanticism. Though some of them may be misled by party spirit, by excessive zeal, or by short-sighted prejudices, there is not a writer of any credit in Italy, who does not conscientiously exert his powers for the improvement of the human race, none that does not actively seek the welfare of his country. Letters have resumed their place in society.

The influence that such a noble purpose must necessarily extend over the sources, the substance, and form of all present productions, in order to put them within the reach of the multitude, and engage public attention, has given rise to interminable disputes, in which, as usual, the different parties could not understand each other; the last result of which has been, to assure to every individual genius the independent right of following the dictates of his own taste, deriving the beautiful from its immediate fountains, and reproducing it in its natural dimensions, in its original order.

The books we have referred to at the head of the present article, are evidently written in the spirit of romanticism, and are valued as among its most eminent models. Tommaso Grossi, a living poet, still in the flower of his age, early distinguished in his country by a short, half-satirical, half-politi-

cal poem, in the Milanese dialect, *L'Ombra di Prina*, abandoning comic poetry with nobler views, subsequently produced his *Melodie Lombarde*, a charming little volume of national lays; *L'Ildegonda*, a romantic legend of the thirteenth century; *La Fuggitiva*, a tale of woe, an episode of the Russian campaign of 1812, originally written in the native dialect of the poet, and lately by him translated into Italian verse; and *I Lombardi alla Prima Crociata*, an heroico-chivalrous work in fifteen cantos, which he did not choose to call an epic poem, something like a *Jerusalem Delivered* in a romantic garb. Lastly, after a long interval employed by him in the production of his historical novel, *Marco Visconti*, he published, last year, *Ulrico e Lida*, another tale in verse, an episode of the long wars between the two republics of Milan and Como, in the earlier part of the twelfth century.

Grossi, the Bellini of poetry, as he is commonly called in Italy, is the true poet of the heart. We know of few poets, in whose lines gentle thoughts issue more pure and spontaneous. The affections, occupying the most eminent place in his poems, are entirely free from that affectation, from that artificial refinement, the capital fault of Italian poets from the days of Petrarch, which, known under the name of *concetti* among poets, and *maniera* among painters, has caused strangers to say, that the Italians have their feelings in their head instead of their heart. Grossi has nothing epic in his poetry, and we have reason to rejoice at it. Italy had already heroic poems in sufficient number. In our days, when mind decides the chances of combat, and even military courage has assumed altogether a moral stamp, the everlasting battles of Homer and Tasso have become wearisome. Grossi understood this. In his tales, even in his poem on the Crusades, the chief struggle is carried on by the heart; heroism is, in his verse, only chivalrous enthusiasm. Religion is resignation and hope; love is devotion, purity, and sorrow. As Raffael has been called the painter of Madonnas, and Correggio the painter of children, so we would call Grossi the poet of broken-hearted maidens, in their final agony.

La Fuggitiva, a runaway Milanese girl, following her lover beyond the Danube and the Mosqua, losing him in the last victory of the French in Russia, involved alone and helpless among the disasters of that woful retreat, surviving all hardships only to expire in the arms of her mother, repentant and pardoned;—*Ildegonda*, a new Juliet, atoning for a pure,

guileless love, with long torture and anguish in a nunnery, insulted, harassed by cowled fiends, haunted by terrific visions, feverish, delirious, and with a vigorous, reluctant vitality, emptying to the last drop the cup of woe that had been filled for her by Providence; — *Giselda*, the fair pilgrim of the Po, riding on her white palfrey by the side of her brother, tender, inexperienced, a prisoner in Antioch, in love with a handsome infidel, erring, repenting, relapsing, innocent in her apostasy as in her conversion; — such are the creations of the fancy of Grossi; a poet, whose festive harp, apparently tuned to an exuberant effusion of lively images, suddenly turns to mournful strains, rising higher by far than you would have fancied pathos could reach. And yet such emotions are reserved for a few hearts; popular as Grossi is in Italy, it is only a gentle spirit that can choose him for a favorite poet. The taste of *Oltremonte*, especially the modern French school, aims not to shake the fibres, but to rend them asunder. They anatomize the darkest corners of the human heart; they plunge into the lowest abyss of crime and infamy; they delight in scenes of torture and scaffolds. They are true to nature, indeed, and produce an ephemeral effect; but it is ever at the expense of taste, as well as delicacy, innocence, and virtue. The Italians have preserved themselves pure from the dangerous contagion; and, though their productions must appear tame and insipid to a taste perverted by the continual perusal of Victor Hugo, or *Madame* George Sand, one day, perhaps, they will feel the happy results of their moderation. The faster we advance in a wrong course, the longer it will take us to return to the right one.

On another account, we have reason to congratulate Italy. Since 1800, there has not been an immoral book, of note, printed in that country, not even one not conscientiously directed to a severe reformation of moral principles. All sketch-books of travellers contain some abuse against the Italian name. The Italian character stands in all English and French novels as a model of all villany and profligacy. Yet sixty years have elapsed since the Abate Casti gave Italy, in his *Novelle Galanti*, a book written with as much elegance, and with as much impudence, as Byron ever displayed in his Don Juan, or Paul de Kock in his novels; and this work of Casti is now a rare book in Italy, and is never reprinted but at Paris. True enough, the Italians, since the loss of their liberties,

have been systematically corrupted by their governments. True, the highest classes, even in our days, condemned to inactivity, lead a life of disorder and scandal; but there is need of all the uncharitableness of ignorant travellers, not to recognise a striking general improvement. The day will come, perhaps, when the nations shall cherish towards each other more brotherly feelings; till then, it is consoling, that the Italians have no such teachers of morals as Byron, Moore, or Bulwer; Paul de Kock, or Victor Hugo.

L' Esule, by Pietro Giannone, a Modenese exile residing at Paris, does not exhibit, perhaps, an equal skill in composition; though it is equally commendable on account of the noble sentiments that pervade its pages. Rather a novel in verse than a poem, written in various measures, this juvenile effort of a generous mind is the relation of a dark deed of vengeance and blood, the sudden execution of a sentence pronounced in a secret meeting of Carbonari; a nocturnal enterprise, of which an exile, furtively restored to his home, is the hero; a tragic tale, founded on facts, happily relieved by the contrast of softer colors and gentler images, varied by brilliant narratives and glowing descriptions, and overshadowed by a well-sustained veil of awful mystery.

We have no time to devote to such names as Pietro Sestini and Cesare Cantù, Carrer and Giorgini, Betteloni and Biava, young rhymers of high expectation in their country, but whose names are still too faint a sound ever to have reached these shores; all of them either rapidly advancing in the footsteps of Manzoni, or opening new paths for themselves. Far less could we occupy ourselves with such poets as Nicolini, Rosini, Torti, Leopardi, and other names formerly numbered among the great, but now falling into comparative insignificance, either because their talents have been turned to other pursuits, or because, understanding but imperfectly the change of taste that has taken place in the last twenty years, they have been left behind their age.

It remains only to give some notice of Giovanni Berchet, a Lombard exile in London, "whose poetry," according to Maroncelli's expression, "produces homesickness in the poor exile, and kindles the fire of independence in the bosom of those who breathe the air of our adored Peninsula."

The *Romanze* of Berchet, the immediate expression of the feelings of the present age, are, without contradiction,

the most romantic production of Romanticism. They have hitherto been regarded only on account of their national importance, only as the war-song of the Italians, in their mute but not passive struggle against foreign oppression. None, in fact, of the modern poets has been better able to conceive the pining depression, the ardent impatience, under which the Italians are laboring, none to express the inveterate rancor long cherished in Italy, and especially in Lombardy, against the Austrian name. The spirit of the exile has roamed amidst the favorite haunts of his childhood; he has descended into the privacy of afflicted mansions; he has interrogated the tears of sisters and wives, and has revealed their secret anguish to the sympathies of all Europe.* Here,

* It will, perhaps, be agreeable to our readers, if we give some short fragments of two of his most popular ballads, as they are utterly unknown in this country.

"Sotto i pioppi della Dora,
Dove l' onda è più romita,
Ogni dì sull' ultim' ora,
S' ode un suono di dolor;
E' Clarina, a cui la vita
Rodon l' ansie dell' amor.

* * *

Già mature nel tuo seno,
Bella Italia, fremean l' ire,
Sol mancava il dì sereno
Della speme e Dio il creò,
Di tre secoli il desire
In volere ei ti cangiò.

* * *

E Clarina al suo diletto
Cinse il brando, e tricolore
La coccarda in sull' elmetto
Di sua man gli collocò,
Poi, suffusa di rossore,
Con un bacio il congedò.
Ma indiscreta sul bel volto
Una lagrima pur scese;
Ei la vide; al ciel rivolto,
Diè un sospiro, e impallidì,
E la vergine cortese
Il guerriero inanimì.

* * *

Quì Gismondo il dì fatale
Scansò l' ira dei tiranni,
Quì Clarina il tristo vale
Sotto i pioppi a lui gemè,
E quì a pianger vien gli affanni
Dell' amante che perdè."

Clarina.

under the poplars of the Dora, in its most lonely recesses, is Clarina, the betrothed of an exile and his widow; here, when he started to join the standards of the insurrection of 1821, when she adorned the helmet of her warrior with the national colors, in the midst of her terrors she had still for him a word of encouragement; here, when all was lost, when she met him once more to exchange a last farewell, she had still for him a word of consolation and hope; here now she sits alone and deserted, and none has for her a word of sympathy or encouragement. — There, a man of the north, a foreign visiter, hastening to breathe the air of sweet Italy, is accosted on the summit of the Alps by one of the hermits of Mount Cenis, who points out to him the vale of the Po lying at their feet, smiling like a garden, outspreading like an ocean. Before that bewildering sight, the venerable old man covers his face with both hands, and a tear steals from his eyes. Pressed by the stranger, he talks of his private chagrins; he tells of the sorrows of those hundred cities glittering on the plain; and, on the threshold of Italy, the desire of Italy dies in the heart of the stranger. To the fair hills and vineyards, saddened by tears, to the fair cities, crowded with the victims of tyranny, he prefers the gloomy pines of his forests, the fogs and the dismal blast of the east wind of his own shores.*

Such is the poetry Italy is in need of; and while such verses are sung in England, or Egypt, or Barbary, or in any land that may offer the exile a shelter, the echo of millions of

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* "Non è lieta,
Non può stanza esser di giubilo,
Dove il pianto è al limitar.
Non è lieta, ma pensosa,
Non v' è plauso, ma silenzio,
Non v' è pace, ma terror.
Come il mar su cui si posa,
Sono immensi i guai d' Italia,
Inesausto è il suo dolor.

* * * *

Tal sull' Itala frontiera,
Dell' Italia il desiderio
All' estranio in sen morì;
Ai bei colli, ai bei vigneti,
Contristati dalle lagrime
Che i tiranni fan versar,
Ei preferse i tetri abeti,
L' ardue nebbie, ed i perpetui
Aquiloni del suo mar."

Il Romito del Cenisio.

hearts answers at home ; and those verses repeated, copied, smuggled, elude all precautions, evade all persecutions, until they appear with open face, in full daylight, secure in the patronage of popular enthusiasm.

But, independent of the patriotic feelings, that dictated these ballads, they will pass to posterity as a fine specimen of taste and elegance. Their principal charm resides peculiarly in the style. The Italian language had, during the course of five centuries, strangely deviated from the original simplicity of the age of Dante. Antiquated by the Latinists of the fifteenth century, diluted by the prating *Cinquecentisti*, distracted by the raving *Seicentisti*, adulterated by the *Gallomaniacs* of the last century, cramped by the *Academia della Crusca*, soiled by flattery and servility, that noble language lay down overcome and prostrated, an artificial construction of empty words ; cumbrous, not rich ; pedantic, not correct ; with none of its original beauties, except its ever-fascinating melody. The revival of Dante has admirably coöperated to restore the Italian to its native energy and simplicity. Manzoni, and his school, form a new epoch in the style, as well as in the taste, of Italian literature. Till lately, poetry, in that country, had always been a different language from prose. Nature had suggested plain constructions, art had adopted elaborate inventions ; all that was simple and natural the poet rejected as vulgar. The poet never called things by their names. All objects had a name among gods, a name among mortals. Hence, an infinite number of ideas found no place in verse for want of expression, and poetry sounded like Greek to the ears of the multitude.

The romantic school have made vigorous efforts to strip Italian poetry of its tinselled frippery. They have gained vigor and purity in proportion as they have adopted ease and simplicity ; they have enriched the language, by renouncing pomp and magnificence. Grossi and Berchet have their share in the good success of this fortunate innovation. The first a master of the elegiac, the second, of the lyrical style, they possess, in common, that rapid and concise fluency, that natural correspondence between thoughts and words, that make one feel, that an idea cannot have more than one expression.

In giving a short account of a few of the living poets of Italy, our object has been rather to point out what is to be ex-

pected from that country, than what she can actually boast of. If we were to lay such productions by the side of the dramas of Schiller and Goethe, or of the poems of Byron and Moore, we know, the balance would not be in favor of Italy. But such a comparison would be a manifest injustice. The fortunes of Foscolo, Pellico, Mazzini, Giannone, Berchet, show how dangerous it is in that country, to raise one's head above the common level; how the doom of a martyr often awaits the success of a genius. True, Manzoni, Grossi, and a few others, have hitherto escaped uninjured; but suspicion and espionage, hovering above their heads, leave little to be envied by their brothers abroad.

Let such works be offered as a proof, that Italian literature is not dead. Classicism is dead, that ever-lifeless literature, that cultivated art for the sake of art, the corrupting luxury of an enslaved age, is dead there, as everywhere else. But Italian literature has, in the same manner, languished and revived in other periods. And it has never sunk from its glories, without rising younger and greater. — The phœnix has been consumed upon her funeral pyre. Her last breath has vanished in the air with the smoke of her ashes; but the dawn breaks; the first rays of the sun are falling upon the desolate hearth; the ashes begin to heave; and from their bosom the new bird springs forth, with luxuriant plumage, displaying her bold flight, with her eyes fixed on that sun from which she derived her origin.

Art. X. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *Life and Select Discourses of the Rev. Samuel H. Stearns.* Boston. Josiah A. Stearns. 1838. 8vo. pp. 420.

This volume, though diversified by no remarkable adventures, is full of interest. Mr. Stearns, whose recent death in Paris has disappointed many hopes, was a man of singular purity of character and refinement of intellect. He carried into the sacred office the most ardent zeal, the most single-hearted devotion to its severe and laborious duties. He was educated at Harvard University, where the modesty of his character and the correctness of his literary taste were highly appreciated. His feelings towards that institution, and his views of the obligations of its students, are thus expressed by his biographer.

"Mr. Stearns felt a deep interest in Harvard College. He venerated, he loved, that institution with filial affection. Painfully sensible of what he conceived to be its errors in Christian doctrine, he could not fail to appreciate its thorough course of literary and scientific studies, its numerous and superior lectures, its large and invaluable library, its intellectual and classic atmosphere, and, opinion to the contrary notwithstanding, its general standard of morality, which, it is thought, would suffer much less in comparison, with the other colleges of New England, than is sometimes imagined. He looked upon it as the noble offspring of the Pilgrims, consecrated by many a prayer to the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, and designed by God, to afford important aid in accomplishing the destinies of the New World, and sooner or later, in rolling the wave of salvation, by a crucified Saviour, over the Old.

"July 14th, 1823, just before he graduated, he writes to a brother, who at that moment was in great doubt as to the choice of a college, but afterwards entered Harvard; 'Oh, how pleasant it would be, if I might indulge the hope that ——— was coming here, to take my place with my books, furniture, and every little article of convenience, &c. How much more pleasure I should take in visiting this seat of learning, the first-born of our enlightened and pious forefathers, — the mother of almost all their worthy posterity, — the nursery of *our own fathers*, — the object of their kindest regard, — of their warmest gratitude, — of their highest veneration, — of their most fervent, importunate, and acceptable prayers. * * * * * * God bless the sons of Harvard, and preserve our Alma Mater from the open attacks of enemies, the secret treachery of hypocritical friends, and from the baleful influence of every wrong principle to be found in her own heart.'

"Mr. Stearns was much tried while a member of college, as to the duties which he owed, *relatively*, to himself, to his fellow-students, and to the officers of the institution. According to sentiments of honor which prevail in every generous breast, he despised the meanness of those who seek preferment, by the wilful exposure of another's faults. At the same time, neither his self-respect, nor his principles of religion, would allow him to shield himself or his friends, by the greater meanness of equivocation and untruth. The maxim of conduct which he chose was, *never to stoop*, in *any emergency, to falsehood*, but always to save the character of his associates, when he could do it, without contravening his conscience. He reverenced, in students, as well as in citizens, that manly independence which respects itself as a being accountable chiefly to God; but he looked upon the bravadoes of assumed consequence, and the miserable ambition of notoriety in wickedness, as beneath his contempt. It was a principle with him, while a member of the university, that a college rebellion *is never wise or right*. If the laws of an institution, or the executors of those laws, he argued, become so oppressive that I can no longer submit to them, let me, honorably, withdraw from their authority, and seek to correct abuses and redress grievances, by such means as the members of a free community, in common enjoy. But let me not, recklessly, resist 'the powers that be,' or, without counting the cost, commence a controversy, in which order and discipline must triumph, and discomfiture and mortification to myself will certainly ensue.

"Though a member of the university, at a time of unusual commo-

tion, he passed its ordeal without censure, and without injury to his morals or to his Christian character. He was known as a professor of religion, a full believer in the doctrines of the cross; — as such, his sentiments were treated with delicacy, and his habits of devotion and rigid adherence to principle, with respect." — pp. 26 – 29.

Mr. Stearns's physical constitution was feeble, and he was able to devote only an interrupted attention to the labors of the ministry, for several years after he had completed his professional studies. At length, in 1834, his health was so far restored, and his anxiety to engage in active duties had become so great, that he consented to accept an invitation from Boston, and was settled over the Old South Church, as their pastor. The ceremonies of the ordination, are described as peculiarly interesting and affecting. The discourse was delivered by Dr. Skinner, with whom Mr. Stearns had been long and intimately associated; the consecrating prayer was offered by his predecessor Dr. Wisner; the charge was given by his venerable father, the minister of Bedford; and the right hand of fellowship, by a younger brother, who had already been several years engaged in the duties of the clerical profession. The following passage is taken from a letter addressed to his parents shortly after his ordination.

"I cannot tell with what feelings I awoke, on the morning after you left me, in the consciousness that I was an ordained minister of the gospel, the authorized and responsible pastor of a numerous flock, appointed to care for their souls. Recollections of the past, and anticipations of the future, came rolling over me in strange combinations, and waves of emotion rolled through my heart, like a sea after a storm. I rose and dressed myself, and sat down at my window to muse, in silent astonishment, on the scene that lay before me. It was all enchantment. Directly under my eye was a wide field of the dead, covered with the monuments of generations past. There lay some of my own kindred. There lay one who was the companion of my infancy and childhood, who has often borne me in her arms, and led me to school, and amused me in my sports. There lay some of my predecessors, in the care and service of the church, — Huntington and Eckley, — and I know not how many of those who were before them. The green grass was springing up among their tombs, and over their graves, in the freshness of the morning, and the dew lay upon it, and the rising sun glittered on the drops, and the tombs and thick grave-stones threw their long shadows over the dead, as if to veil them from excessive brightness. In the corner opposite, Park Street Church, where I preached my first sermon in Boston, stood in its grandeur, and lifted its tall spire into the skies. Along the outer edge, a row of lofty elms spread out their venerable branches. Then the thronged street displayed itself, and the noise of wheels and hoofs had begun, incessant for the day. And next the crowded dwellings of the city rose in massy piles. Among them, and directly opposite my window, was to be seen in modest retirement, and almost shouldered into obscurity by more recent and im-

posing structures, what was probably the mansion of some great one a century ago. The towers and steeples of ten or twelve churches or meetinghouses might be discerned at a glance, and among them the spire of my own, just rising over the top of the Tremont. Beyond them lay the harbour in full display of its beauty and glory, its islands and ships, — the *Castle*, the very spot with which is associated the most fascinating portion of the history of one of my grandfathers, the House of Industry and its companion, and near them the famous Heights of Dorchester, now included within the limits of the city. Around to the right, in one continued line, rising above all the building, were distinctly seen the hills of Dorchester, Roxbury, and Brookline. My eyes glanced over the distant and variegated scenery, and then returned, and rested on the pensive spot that lay immediately under my window. I gazed there, fixed in unremembered thought, and was lost, till the summons came for breakfast." — pp. 58, 59.

Mr. Stearns soon found that he had calculated too much on his supposed restoration to health. The duties and excitements of his office nearly prostrated the energies of his sensitive frame, and compelled him to forego them, and seek anew, in travel and repose, a renovation of spirits and strength. He visited, accordingly, many of the most interesting parts of the United States, and finally, in 1836, sailed for Europe, in company with Professor Stowe of Cincinnati. He travelled over England, Scotland, Germany, and France, and passed one winter in Italy, from which countries he addressed many agreeable letters to his family and friends. The editor has given, in the volume before us, a judicious selection from the journals which Mr. Stearns kept, of what interested him during his travels. But his constitution had been too far undermined by the advances of the most insidious and flattering of diseases, for any human means to restore it. After his return to Paris, in 1837, Mr. Stearns sunk rapidly, and died July 15th ; and with him perished many high expectations of usefulness to the cause of religion and letters.

The memoir, prefixed to this volume, is written by the Rev. Mr. Stearns of Cambridgeport. It is a pleasing tribute of affection to the memory of a departed brother, and is characterized by great simplicity and natural feeling. The letters of Mr. Stearns, the subject of the memoir, give us a delightful view of his moral and religious excellence, and the delicacy of his literary taste. His journals were written midst the hurry and excitement of travel ; but they abound in beautiful passages, and everywhere show the liveliest sensibility to the beauties of nature and the refinements of art. They were composed without the remotest idea of publication, and present to us, therefore, the fresh and unstudied expressions of the author's feelings, amidst the novelties of European capi-

tals, and the historical monuments, which appealed to the most interesting associations of his early classical studies. The following passage was written the day after his arrival in Rome.

"*Sabbath morning, Jan.* 15. — Awoke this morning in Rome, with a full sense and consciousness of being really in Rome. What a deep, full tide of thoughts, recollections, and emotions! Nothing but weariness and lassitude, such as I felt too, could repress the flood. I sat down and read of Paul, and thought of Paul and the Cæsars. It was Paul, however, that now filled my mind; every thing around me, every monument, obelisk, column, portico, tower, dome, seemed associated with Paul. After meeting, returning to our hotel, I spent an hour or two in reading of Paul, in meditation and devotion, and then walked out upon the terrace upon the Pincian Hill, directly back of my lodgings, to indulge my eye and heart in solitary views and musings. Before and around me arose towers and columns and domes, — telling of the magnificence which has been, by the magnificence which still remains among ruins, and survives the wreck of conflagrations and wars and violence and rapine and earthquakes and floods. Above all, rose the majestic dome of St. Peter's, from which deep, full, solemn tones of vesper bells swelled on the ear like sounds from unearthly temples. The whole aspect of Rome is of fading greatness, — yet of greatness still imposing, — and still putting forth anew something of its pristine strength and splendor. It is as an 'archangel fallen, noble though in ruins.'

"Oh that I were free from the lassitude and depression and weakness and pains and encumbrances of disease, that my free spirit might go forth through this land of enchantment, and treasure up its rich remains! One singular impression has seemed to possess me more than all others, ever since my arrival, — an impression of being *at the centre of the world*, — the source of every thing great, — of good and of bad, — the *centre* and the *source!*" — pp. 134, 135.

A part of the volume is occupied with a selection from Mr. Stearns's Discourses. They are excellent specimens of pulpit eloquence, and breathe the purest spirit of the Christian religion. In point of style, they are remarkable for chasteness and elegance of expression, and methodical arrangement in the discussion of topics. They show careful study, and an almost fastidiously delicate taste, and prove clearly the author's conviction, that the graces of art were by no means out of keeping with the sacred subjects which he was called upon to illustrate. But these discourses have a higher value than their worth as literary compositions. They show us how natural it is for an enlarged and cultivated mind, however strong its own conviction of truth may be, to treat others who hold different opinions, with a delicate regard for their individual rights.

Take the volume together, it furnishes us with a portrait of a character, remarkable for fortitude, grace, and sweetness. The long protracted agonies of lingering disease, and deferred

hope, were borne by Mr. Stearns with the most submissive spirit, and the final sentence was received with Christian heroism. The book which records his trials, and labors, and virtues, will be read with pleasure and profit, not only by the sect of Christians with whom he was particularly united, but by all to whom purity of mind, and refinement of intellect are dear.

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2. — *Second Report on the Geology of the State of Maine.* By Charles T. Jackson, M. D., Member of the Geological Society of France ; of the Imperial Mineralogical Society, St. Petersburg ; of the Boston Society of Natural History, &c. &c. Augusta, (Me.) : Luther Severance. 8vo. pp. 168.

Dr. Jackson's first Report on the geology of Maine was noticed in a former Number of our Journal.* We are happy to meet him again in a field in which he is eminently qualified to labor. We congratulate him and the States to which he is devoting his services, on the success which attends his labors in that most interesting science, which he has so much contributed to advance and adorn.

He resumed the survey early in June of 1837, assisted by Mr. James T. Hodge, on the part of Massachusetts, — which State, it will be recollected, made provisions for a geological examination of her public lands in Maine, — and by Mr. William C. Larrabee for the latter State; and prosecuted it through the season, with zeal, and, as the Report before us shows, with great ability and success. Mr. Hodge, a young gentleman of high promise as a geologist and chemist, who was employed as an assistant the preceding year, was commissioned by Dr. Jackson to make a tour through the State wild lands to the river St. Lawrence. Having set out from Oldtown in a *bâteau*, he proceeded up the Penobscot to Moosehead Lake, and thence through the long chain of lakes which supply the Allagash stream, and down that river to the St. John ; whence he ascended the Madawaska, crossed into Canada, and then returned by the St. François and down the St. John River to Woodstock. This route was one of danger and hardship, as well as of interest. While Mr. Hodge was engaged in this expedition, Dr. Jackson and Mr. Larrabee devoted themselves to an examination of the settled portions of the State, and subsequently Dr. Jackson spent two months on the wild lands belonging to the two States in common.

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* Vol. XLV. pp. 240 - 243.

Embracing a wide extent of territory, based upon so many different rock formations, Maine possesses great mineral wealth, so far at least as the more useful minerals are concerned. It abounds in granite of a most excellent quality, of every variety of color and shade required for architecture; and it enjoys extraordinary facilities, afforded by the numerous bays, deep inlets, and estuaries of large navigable rivers, for the ready transportation of the stone to market. Consequently, the granite of Maine is destined to find a market along the whole Atlantic coast of the United States, and in the West Indies. It is already shipped in great quantities to New York, as well as Boston, and is beginning to be carried to Havana. Many of the quarries, says the Report, can furnish regular dimension stones, of excellent granite, on board ship, for $ 1,12 per ton, and the expense of transportation to New York is rarely more than $2,50 per ton. There are few cities where this will not sell for at least $ 7 per ton; and for columns, and other stones of large dimensions, 90 cents per cubic foot has been paid.

Limestone and marble are also found in Maine, in exhaustless abundance. Of the numerous quarries of limestone beginning to be wrought, those of Thomaston are perhaps the most celebrated. The Report estimates, that there are "no less than fourteen million dollars' worth of limestone within twenty feet of the surface, in Thomaston"; and states, that already, while but a trifling proportion of the stone is exported, nearly half a million of dollars are annually realized from the sales of lime."

Roofing slate, as we also observed in our notice of Dr. Jackson's former Report, can be furnished by Maine in sufficient abundance, to supply, to any conceivable demand, the whole United States. Bangor, in Wales, has hitherto enjoyed the exclusive privilege of supplying the world with roofing-slates; but it is certain, according to the Report, that she will find a powerful rival in the Bangor of our sister State. The slate of Maine is said to be equal to the best Welsh slates, and can be furnished in Boston at $ 11 per ton, while the latter sell at $ 27 per ton.

"We observed," says the Report, "that most of the houses in Bangor, and other cities of the State, are covered with Welsh slates, that were first imported into New York or Boston, and there purchased and transported to Maine. A few years hence this will appear equally absurd with the fact, that our fathers used to send to Wales for grave-stones, and the good Dutchmen of New York to Holland for brick. Indeed, we need not go so far from home; for, less than twenty years ago, I am told, that it was customary to send from Hallowell to Quincy for granite or sienite, to make underpinnings to the houses in that town, and to this day Quincy supplies Maine with tombstones!"—p. 117.

On Deer Isle, occurs an enormous mass of serpentine, which has been thrown up through the granite. This rock, says the Report, is identical with the highly prized marble, known under the name of *verd-antique*. It is of a deep olive green color, with many lines of asbestus and spots of yellow diallage.

Hone slate, or novaculite, we learn from the survey, useful for oilstones, is extremely abundant in Maine, equal in quality with that brought from the Mediterranean, known under the name of Turkey oilstone, which sells in Boston for fifty cents a pound.

Felspar, suitable for the manufacture of fine porcelain or china ware, is abundant in Maine, and is stated to be much more pure than the kind used at the porcelain works of Sèvres, in France.

Horn-stone, which may be used for flints, occurs in various parts of the State.

"The largest mass of this stone known in the world, is Mount Kineo, upon the Moosehead Lake, which appears to be entirely composed of it, and rises seven hundred feet above the lake level. This variety of horn-stone I have seen in every part of New England, in the form of Indian arrow-heads, hatchets, chisels, &c., which were probably obtained from this mountain by the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. It breaks with a sharp cutting edge, and appears well adapted to the uses for which it was employed." — p. 125.

Valuable ores of iron are found in different parts of Maine, in great abundance and extent. As a specimen of these, we would refer to the one discovered by Dr. Jackson at Woodstock, which we noted in examining his Report of the preceding year. This one, which is the red hæmatite, he has since analyzed, and found to contain 53 per cent. of iron. A similar bed has been discovered on the Aroostook river, thirty-six feet wide, and of immense and unknown length. This latter ore, in the opinion of Dr. Jackson, will yield iron equal in quality to the best Swedish, and capable of being wrought into the finest steel.

Agricultural geology, a subject which was commenced in the preceding Report, has received a very great share of attention in the one before us. Dr. Jackson is, we believe, the first geologist in this country, who, in making a geological survey, has given any considerable attention to this subject, so important to a correct knowledge of the science of agriculture. He has made an extensive collection of soils, illustrating their geological origin, their distribution, chemical composition, and capabilities. This is a subject of much practical importance, and one which should never be overlooked in an agricultural country.

Many facts highly interesting in a scientific point of view are given in the Report, two or three of which only we have room to allude to. Among these, we would instance the diluvial grooves, noted on pages 28, 50, 59, 65, 91, 95, and 96, observed on the surfaces of rocks in different parts of the State, all running in a direction nearly parallel, from northwest to southeast; the interesting tertiary formations, mentioned on pages 24–27, 76, 95, and 98; the remarkable trap-dikes, noticed on pages 55, 71, 72, 87, &c.; and also the discovery of bituminous coal, detected, as it were, in the very process of formation. This last mentioned discovery is one of so much importance in explaining the origin of coal, that we cannot forbear quoting the whole paragraph relating to it.

"In Limerick, we examined the peat bogs on the estate of Mr. Ebenezer Adams, where a very remarkable substance is found resembling exactly the Cannel coal. It is found at the depth of three feet from the surface of the peat bog, amid the remains of rotten logs and beaver sticks, showing that it belongs to the recent epoch. The peat is twenty feet deep, and rests upon white siliceous sand. This recent coal was found while digging a ditch to drain a portion of the bog, for the sake of obtaining peat as a manure. About a peck of it was saved, and served to supply us with specimens. On examination, I found, that it was formed from the bark of some tree allied to the American fir, the structure of which may be readily discovered by polishing sections of the coal, so that they may be examined by the microscope. It contains, in 100 grains, bitumen 72, carbon 21, ox. iron, 4, silica 1, ox. manganese 2.

"This substance is a true bituminous coal, containing more bitumen than is found in any other coal known. I suppose it to have been formed by the chemical changes supervening upon fir-balsam, during its long immersion in the humid peat.

"The discovery of the recent formation of bituminous coal, cuts the gordian knot which geologists and chemists are endeavouring to unravel, and shows that the process is still going on."— pp. 80, 81.

Dr. Jackson has resumed the survey this season, and we shall look with interest for the result of his labors. The geological survey of Maine, completed in the masterly manner in which it has thus far been prosecuted, will be a monument to the honor of science, and must confer lasting benefits on the States under whose authority it is accomplished.

3.— *Romanze*. 1838. Cambridge. Folsom, Wells, e Thurston, Stampatori dell' Università. 18mo. pp. 47.

Italian verses from a Yankee press,— and not only published, but actually produced, among us! Tender exotics these, for our bleak atmosphere; and their appearance must

be allowed to imply a considerable degree of literary refinement in a people who can supply a market for them. This little volume modestly comes into the world without the name of its author. We understand this, however, to be Signor Mariotti, an Italian gentleman, already favorably known here by a course of lectures, which are considered as exhibiting a nice discrimination of the beauties of his native literature. The poems before us are mostly in the form of ballads, or rather lays, compounded somewhat of the Provençal style and that of the old Norman *fabliaux.* Their subjects are borrowed in part, indeed, from these Norman themes; and one, not the happiest among them in its execution, from our own history, being dedicated to the Lady Arabella Johnstone, of Pilgrim memory. We select a few stanzas from the first poem in the book, in which Richard Cœur-de-Lion's squire, Blondel, discovers the place of his master's confinement, by chanting the verses of a favorite song.

"Tutto tace, la pace discende
Colle tenebre sull' universo;
La man stanca le corde riprende,
Si rinfranca la lena del verso;
E sugli occhi del bardo disperso
Si diffonde di lagrime un vel;
'Donna, negli occhi vostri
Tanta virtude ardea,
Sì tenero, sì puro
Il labbro sorridea,
Che un primo sguardo, un riso,
Conquiso a voi mi diè.'

"Era il canto che il pianto solea
Trar dall' imo del Cor-di-Leone,—
Era il canto che al bardo valea
Dalle dame sorrisi e corone;—
Della Croce non havvi campione,
Cui quel canto non costi un sospir.

"Ma ecco, accetto al cospetto Divino
E' salito del bardo il dolore;—
Non è l' eco del monte vicino,
Non è il suon che sul lago si muore;
E' una voce ben nota al suo core,
Dalle torre la voce del Sir;
'Deh! se così si mostri
Benigno il Cielo a vui,
Voi pur pietosa cura
Muova de' mali altrui,
Dei lunghi miei martiri
V' inspiri amor mercè!'

"Lieve, lieve, sul greve aer fosco
Suona il carme del re prigioniero;
Ai suoi giorni pasciuti di tosco
Il futuro traluce men nero;
Di speranza un balen passeggero
Dio clemente gl' invia nel martir." — pp. 7, 8.

Another *chanson* is occupied with the subject, if we recollect aright, of one of the ancient *fabliaux*; in which, the Crusader, Raoul de Couci, having ordered his heart after his death to be carried to his mistress, the messenger unfortunately falls into the hands of the lady's husband, who causes the said heart of her true knight to be regularly dressed, and served up to her, whether as a *pâté de foie gras*, or what other savoury mess, the minstrel doth not say. The lady's lament on the discovery, concludes with a stanza striking enough;

"Dio vincente, Tu vieni; conosco
Questa calma foriera di morte;
Ecco, l' alma omai libera e forte
Ogni senso d' affanno perdè.
Oh! nel mar del perdono infinito
Tu ricovra uno spirto smarrito,
Di gran pianto riscatto ti reco,
Egli è teco, — m' accogli con Te!" — pp. 26, 27.

There are several other pieces, suggested by passing topics, executed with much grace and facility, and discovering, apparently, much skill in the management of the versification. This is a point, however, on which it would be perilous for a foreigner to decide. But it is obvious to any one, that there is a rich vein of poetic sensibility in the author, which we trust will not be suffered to lie neglected. We may add, that his turn of thinking has, to our apprehension, an air of originality quite pleasing, from a certain English coloring, mixed up with the Italian in these little pictures, and derived, no doubt, from his familiarity with good English models.

The volume is very beautifully got up and printed at the press of the University in Cambridge, the uncommon accuracy of which, in foreign languages, as well as the vernacular, may well be a subject of congratulation to every scholar.

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4. — *The Principles of Political Economy*, by Henry Vethake, LL. D., one of the Professors in the University of Pennsylvania, a Member of the American Philosophical Society, &c. Philadelphia: P. H. Nicklin and T. Johnson. 8vo. pp. 415.

Professor Vethake's treatise gives a very comprehensive view of the topics embraced by the science of political econo-

my. He arranges them in a distinct method ; and the space and importance assigned to each topic specifically treated of is, generally, in sufficiently just proportion. We say *generally*, for there are exceptions. The tariff question and banking, for instance, occupy very great space, owing no doubt to the special interest excited by these subjects at the present time. Other exceptions also grow out of the author's particular views and theories. The all-important and decisive influence of the national genius and habits of thinking and action, and prevalent maxims and principles of conduct, whereby the impulse given to affairs triumphs over disturbing causes from without and within, is not presented in its just magnitude. Where the concerns of a nation are conducted in a deep, strong, favorable current of the national energies and impulses, progress may be made notwithstanding the mismanagement of the sails, oars, and rudder. This is precisely and preëminently the case in the United States, where the spontaneous, productive, onward energies are in greater activity than in any other country.

Though the author does not wholly overlook this part of his subject, he does not, it seems to us, exhibit it in sufficiently bold relief. Some writers on economy, as our readers are aware, maintain, that the natural current of industry and action is so precisely in the right direction, that any attempt to shape the course and accelerate the progress, retards the navigation ; in other words, that there is in every community a sort of divine, unerring, economical instinct, which is to be respected as sacred, and which never can be assisted by effort or science, the truest science being to regard it as *tabooed* mystery, not to be touched or approached without profanity. Now we do not find fault with Mr. Vethake, for not falling more into a blind worship of what is mysteriously and unintelligibly called, the *natural state* or *course*, that is, *rest* or *motion, of things*. To this he is sufficiently inclined. On the contrary, whatever the doctrine adopted may be, whether the writer maintains, on the one hand, that all the beautiful fabric of civilized society is a spontaneous growth from the instincts and unguided and unassisted propensions of individuals, and that any attempt to direct or stimulate these instinctive tendencies only embarrasses them ; — or, on the other hand, that all that civilized man is, and does, and has, is artificial, forced, invented, the result of design, of nature working according to art and science ; that the artificial state of man is his natural state ; and that, in regard to economy as well as morals, there is no possibility of the *Let me alone* policy, in the extreme sense, since the *not doing* is as positive an *act*, and fraught with as positive consequences as the *doing*, and that all the acts and

neglects of the legislature, the judiciary, the executive, the police, the municipal corporations, the religious, charitable, commercial, agricultural and economical, scientific and literary associations, have a direct or remote, and never remitting influence upon the productive faculties and economical well-being of the community ; — whichever of these general views a writer on economy may adopt, it is incumbent on him to go on and trace out the operation of the causes, whether originating in instinct or reason, in the conduct of individuals, or combinations of men, or governments, and show how they bear upon the general welfare. Now we apprehend that it will be found, that, what are sometimes in a loose phraseology called the *moral* causes, that is, the character, in other words, habits, opinions, maxims, principles of action, prejudices, tastes, antipathies, and predilections, of the inhabitants of a country, will have a powerful, and usually a predominating influence upon the general welfare. Here is the power, the *steam* if you please, on which the whole progress depends ; and the functions of the fireman and engineer, are no less essential than those of the pilot and the captain. The pilot may carry you out of the course, or run you aground ; but if he direct the helm so as to preserve the course, it will be to no purpose, unless the propelling power is maintained. Now in economy, it is the great propelling power, the individual, national *man*, that has been too little considered; and, though Mr. Vethake has given him more attention than a majority of authors on the same subject, still he occupies too little space.

Mr. Vethake adopts many of the leading free-trade doctrines, and the whole of the argument, which he considers to be a demonstration. He, however, dissents from the dogmas of the straitest sect in some particulars. He is in favor of duties on imports sufficient to give stability to the national industry, so that it may not be alternately established and broken up on the succession of war and peace ; and he thinks, if a discrimination is made in levying duties, it ought to be so made, as to favor the production of articles of necessity and for national defence. He also thinks literature and science should be encouraged. This is opening a common ground, from which the tariff party, and the free-trade party, may start; and, such a common ground being once established, the animosity between the two parties will soon cease, though they should not precisely agree. This is a most desirable result, no less for the quiet and welfare of the country, than for the progress of political economy.

Again, on the subject of the poor-laws, Mr. Vethake dissents from the school with which he most generally coincides in

doctrine, their creed being, that all compulsory provision for the poor is radically and totally pernicious. They eulogize private charity, and of course mendicity, the school of vice and crimes, and the most baneful canker of a community. The practical doctrine of this school is, that only the humane shall be saddled with the support of the distressed. Mr. Vethake thinks some public provision may be expedient, though with an apparently hesitating deference to the shallow dogma just mentioned, which grew out of the abuses in the administration of the English poor-laws. It is the usual effect of a flagrant public abuse, when once detected, to give rise to a very extravagant, and often absurd, opinion in the opposite direction.

We began to note what appeared to us to be erroneous or inconsistent positions and doctrines of the author, for the purpose of expressing our dissent in noticing the work ; but our list swelled too fast. Many of these are the common-place standard forms of words, that float down the dull current of political economy again and again, with each successive explorer of this Niger of the sciences ; such as, that a regulation of government cannot create capital, but only divert it from one course to another ; that the capital of a country is a fixed quantity ; that the value of the circulating medium, whether greater or less in quantity, and whatever in kind, always bears a certain proportion to the whole capital of the community ; that population has a natural tendency to increase more rapidly than food and clothing ; that banks can *expand*, that is, *augment*, circulating medium at pleasure, though Mr. Vethake says, not indefinitely ; that facility of credit is identical with augmentation of the amount of currency ; that one employment is as useful to the community as another ; that there is a *natural* period for introducing the useful arts into a community. Most of these will be esteemed to be obviously erroneous, we think ; some will hesitate at the first, namely, that a legislative act cannot create capital, which seems plausible and is often repeated, and yet clearly erroneous ; for not only legislative acts, but the judicial administration of the laws, the invention of a useful machine, and a thousand other influences that work through the community, *create* capital by increasing or giving greater effect to industry.

There are not wanting inconsistencies in the positions and doctrines ; the most glaring of which is, the condemnation of government bills of credit, or what used to be called *continental* money, and yet very much extolling the Sub-treasury project. It is palpable, that a treasury bank, and a treasury circulating medium, is nothing more nor less than government paper money. And no doctrine is better settled, than that govern-

ment paper money is by all means to be eschewed, as long as the wind can be raised in any other way. Mr. Vethake's notions upon this subject shake our confidence in his conclusions generally.

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5. — 1. *Report on a Reëxamination of the Economical Geology of Massachusetts.* By Edward Hitchcock, Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in Amherst College. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 139.
2. *Reports of the Commissioners on the Zoölogical Survey of the State.* Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 107.

In the month of April, of the last year, nearly at the close of a long session, a resolve was passed, and an appropriation made by the Legislature of Massachusetts, for the continuation of the Geological Survey of the State, and for a Botanical and Zoölogical Survey. The general object, as expressed, not very definitely, in the resolve, was the agricultural benefit of the State. The special object of the continuance of the Geological Survey was the discovery of coal, marl, and ores, and the analysis of the soils. This part of the work was therefore committed to the eminent geologist, whose "Report on the Geology of Massachusetts" has been so long and so favorably known.* It is executed in such a manner as might have been expected, from the practical good sense and scientific habits of Professor Hitchcock. Abandoning, after a great number of unsatisfactory trials, the modes of analysis that have been in use since the time of Sir Humphrey Davy, and which have been felt, probably, by nearly all who have used them, to fall far short of the ends in view in the analysis of soils, Professor Hitchcock adopted methods, the object of which was to ascertain the amount of soluble or insoluble *geine* in the soils; that is, the amount of "decomposed organic matter" existing in the soil, in such a state as to be directly absorbed by plants, or to be absorbed after being combined with the alkaline earths, alumina, or the metallic oxides, and acted on by air and moisture. For these methods of analysis Professor Hitchcock gives credit to Dr. Dana, of Lowell, to whose practical skill and experience they are almost entirely due. We venture to predict, that the striking and original observations of Dr. Dana, upon the substance and action of *geine*, and his clear and sim-

* For a notice of that work, see *North American Review*, Vol. XLII. pp. 422 et seq.

ple rules of analysis, will be better known hereafter ; indeed, that they will modify, at least to a very considerable degree, every work on economical geology which shall hereafter be produced. Their strong practical bearing, and the marks which they exhibit, of being the deductions of one profoundly familiar with chemical science, and accustomed to verify his conclusions in the laboratory, and to look also for their verification in the great operations of nature, cannot but strike any person, however superficially acquainted with the elements of chemical philosophy.

The greater part of the Report is occupied with the conclusions, drawn from a laborious application of these methods to a very large number of specimens of soil from various parts of the State. There are also several valuable notices of minerals brought to light since the publication of the First Report.

The Reports on the Zoölogical Survey, are all professedly incomplete. They are short communications to the Executive, or to the Chairman of the Commissioners, from the several individuals to whom was committed the Zoölogical Survey ; apparently printed for the information of the Legislature, not in a shape to be made public, and, seemingly, not prepared in the expectation that they would be.

The greater part of the first, the Report of Dr. Emmons, seems to have been made expressly to satisfy the requisition of the resolve of the Legislature, that the work should be for the "agricultural benefit of the State." It is a pretty full natural history of the ox. This is followed by very exact and scientific descriptions of several of the more remarkable native quadrupeds. Taken as a specimen of what may be expected in a final report, these are very satisfactory. Indeed, they are precisely what is wanted and looked for from our naturalists. The accounts that have usually been given of our native animals are entirely vague and popular ; so that, in regard to very many of them, the foreign naturalist has no means of knowing whether they are identical with the animals of Europe or not.

"It is to the resident American naturalist," says Dr. Richardson, in a Report on North American Zoölogy, read before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1836,— "it is to the resident American naturalist, that we especially look for a correct history of the animals which surround him." — "The American zoölogist will do good service to the branch of science which he cultivates, if, like the immortal Cuvier, trusting solely to his own power of observation, he sits down, on his own shore, to dissect, examine, and reason for himself."

This is just what Dr. Emmons has done with the few animals he describes in this Report ; and if he will do the same some-

what at length for all the native quadrupeds, he will accomplish a work much needed, and of course most acceptable to the general naturalist. While engaged in his explorations in the northern region of New York, where he is now employed as geologist, he will find opportunities of studying the habits of the native animals, rarely enjoyed.

Dr. Storer, in his Report, takes "a glance at those fishes in our waters, which are of value to this people," but gives no descriptions. He has collected, at some length, the statistics of the fisheries, and proved their very great importance to the State; and, by the survey he gives, shows how diligently he is employed in collecting materials for a scientific history. This very interesting and most neglected department seems therefore likely to receive the attention it deserves, and we shall look eagerly for the completion of the work he has begun.

Dr. Harris confines his attention to the history and habits of those insects, of the order *coleoptera*, which are injurious to vegetation in Massachusetts. So far as he has gone, he has left nothing to desire. Nothing can have a more direct bearing upon the "agricultural benefit," than this reconnoitring of the enemy in his own quarters; and Dr. Harris has given descriptions, which will be at the same time satisfactory to the entomologist, and intelligible and available to the farmer.

What is called Mr. Peabody's Report is only a letter, a very interesting one, certainly, from that gentleman to the Chairman of the Commission, on what he conceives to be the practical objects of the Survey on Ornithology. In regard to the last of them which he enumerates, we will let Mr. Peabody speak for himself.

"But a more important object of the Survey is, to ascertain, with respect to many birds which man pursues with unrelenting vengeance, whether they are really as injurious as is commonly supposed. The crow, the grakles, and other birds of that description, do certainly make havoc with the corn. The cedar birds, robins, cat-birds, and others make large demands upon the garden; but it is certain, that the grubs which they devour, would, if suffered to live, destroy all the promise of the year; and, while we have nothing but the birds to protect us from these destroyers, there are some means already known, and many others will be discovered, to prevent the birds from taking more than their share.

"If any one will consider the subject, he will see, that insects are by far the most formidable enemy man has to contend with. The moscheto, for example, occasions far more suffering, and is actually more feared than the lion. Other enemies, equally contemptible, are busy throughout the summer, torturing our beasts to madness, and destroying the comfort of man. The birds are the instruments commissioned to keep down their numbers; and, if they are exterminated, how is this work to be done? It may be said, that, if the injurious

birds are destroyed, harmless ones will still labor in that vocation; but the misfortune is, that all together are not sufficient for the purpose, and, if any are exterminated, the evil will grow.

"It is well known, that the cultivation of fruit is regarded as hopeless by many, and found discouraging by all who attempt it. And the reason is, not that the birds plunder the trees, but that insects destroy them. The insects then, and not the birds, are the proper subjects of extermination. Means may be found to prevent the birds from taking more than their portion of the fruit, but it is not probable that human agency can contend with the millions of the insect race. If so, we are taking the part of our enemies against our friends; and it may be our persecution of the birds, which has caused the insects to increase in numbers to such an extent, that many doubt, whether, under present circumstances, the more delicate kinds of fruit are worth the trouble and expense of cultivation." — pp. 32, 33.

Dr. Gould's Report, also, is only a letter, containing a catalogue of the additions made to the known shells of Massachusetts, within two years, by himself, Couthouy, and others, and serving as an indication of what is doing in that department.

The Commissioners for the Botanical Survey have made no Report.

We are glad to learn, that the continuance of the Survey is authorized for another year, and we hope it will be carried on, from year to year, until it shall be completed.

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6. — 1. *Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society. Vol. IV. — An Historical Discourse on the Civil and Religious Affairs of the Colony of Rhode Island. By John Callender, M. A. With a Memoir of the Author, Biographical Notices of some of his distinguished Contemporaries, and Annotations and original Documents, illustrative of the History of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, from the first Settlement of the Country to the End of the First Century.* By Romeo Elton, M. A. Providence: Knowles, Vose, & Co. 1838. 8vo. pp. 270.

2. *Act of Incorporation and Constitution and By-Laws of the Kentucky Historical Society, organized March, 1838, at Louisville, Kentucky.* Louisville: Prentice & Weissinger. 12mo. pp. 12.

The Rhode Island Historical Society, though among the youngest of a somewhat numerous tribe, is, with the single exception of the parent society of Massachusetts, the most vigorous and prolific of the number. The last-named society now issues regularly an annual volume, having just reached the twenty-sixth; and its sister of Rhode Island, though instituted

only a few years since, has already published four volumes, of considerable value and interest, containing, among other papers, "Roger Williams's Key to the Indian Languages"; Groton's book, entitled, "Simplicity's Defence against the Seven-headed Policy"; and "The early History of Narragansett," by Elisha R. Potter, Esquire. The fourth volume, which has just appeared, and the title of which we have given at length, at the head of this article, yields in importance to none of its predecessors. Though a brief work, being, in fact, nothing more nor less than a century sermon, delivered one hundred years ago, it is remarkable, as being the only history of the State that has yet been written. Never having been reprinted since its first appearance, in 1739, copies of it had become exceedingly rare; and the Society have therefore done wisely in incorporating it in their Collections, and thus putting it within the reach of that rapidly increasing class of students among us, who are investigating the early history of the country.

The Reverend John Callender, the author of the "Historical Discourse," was born in Boston, in the year 1706, where his grandfather and uncle had been successively ministers of the First Baptist Church. He entered Harvard College at the age of thirteen, and graduated in 1723. In the same year he was baptized, on a profession of faith, united himself with the church of which his uncle had the pastoral charge, and, in June, 1727, was licensed by that church to preach. After supplying, for a year and a half, the pulpit of the Baptist Church in Swansey, the oldest in Massachusetts, he was ordained, in October, 1731, pastor of the First Baptist Church in Newport, the second of that denomination in America, where he continued till his death, in 1748, in the 42d year of his age.

Mr. Callender's "Historical Discourse," which he published at the age of thirty-three, is distinguished by the greatest merit, which such a work can have, namely, its entire accuracy. The editor of this volume, with all his sharp-sightedness and pains-taking, has been able to detect but a single error, and that of a very trifling nature, relating to the Christian name of an individual, (p. 97,) and which, after all, is merely the typographical substitution of an E for a T. Mr. Callender is likewise one of the fairest and most impartial of historians. Even in relating the real or fancied wrongs of the first settlers of Rhode Island, he does it with entire freedom from passion or resentment, and is willing to admit, that there may have been faults on both sides. Though standing up stoutly for the brave little colony of his adoption, he is not blind to the substantial

merits and claims of the good old colony of Massachusetts Bay. In his statement of religious opinions, he is singularly candid, and is full of charity towards opposing sects. "Let us study," says he, "for peace, and to promote mutual love among Christians of every denomination. We should love all of Christ we see in them." (p. 166.) Again; "It is a grief to a Christian, as it is a scandal to the whole world, to see Christians (so called) full of envy and malice, hating and reviling one another, and smiting with the fist of wickedness. This, when all is said and done, is a more full and just argument, that such have no part in Christ, than any supposed orthodoxy of opinion can be of their interest in him." (p. 168.) And in another place he says, "It is certainly a reproach to Christians, that they can be so zealously affected about the things which are peculiar and distinguishing to each sect respectively, and yet be so cold and negligent of those wherein they all agree. It is reasonable to suppose those doctrines and duties, which all agree in, are the most important and essential." (p. 170.)

Upon the whole, the volume, with its accompanying documents and illustrations, is well worthy of perusal, and deserves a place in every library of American history.

In the establishment of the Kentucky Historical Society, we are glad to welcome a new laborer into the common field; and, from our knowledge of the youthful ardor and perseverance of some of its associates, we anticipate, in coming years, a rich harvest of antiquarian and historical information. We hope, that it will meet, in the great valley of the West, with the co-operation and encouragement which so useful and commendable an enterprise deserves.

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7. — *Statistical Tables, exhibiting the Condition and Products of certain Branches of Industry in Massachusetts, for the Year ending April 1st*, 1837. Boston. 8vo. pp. 212.

This pamphlet is the fruit of the first systematic attempt, which has been made by the government of Massachusetts, to ascertain the annual amount of the products of manufacturing industry within the State. It embraces also the products of two or three other branches of industry, viz. wool, which is usually classed among the products of agriculture; and fish, and oil, the products of the fisheries. The other productions of agriculture, and of the collateral branches of labor, such as the dairy, and many household manufactures, and those of navigation and commerce, are not included. The fruits of the various me-

chanic arts employed in building, the labors of the saw-mill and grist-mill, and various other branches of productive industry, are also excluded from the enumeration. It therefore falls far short of affording a full view of the productive industry of the commonwealth; but, as far as its professed scope extends, it appears to be full, and nearly complete.

This interesting addition to the statistics of the country, consists of an abstract of the official returns made by the assessors of the cities and towns of the State, in conformity with a prescribed form, in obedience to a special law assigning to them this duty. The returns having been made to the Secretary of State, John P. Bigelow, Esquire, the abstract and digest of the mass of materials has been prepared and published under his direction, in a very clear and satisfactory form. The example of this publication, both in its object and mode of execution, is deserving of imitation by the other States.

The most extensive branch of industry in Massachusetts, and that which employs the greatest number of hands, is undoubtedly agriculture. The fruits of this branch of labor are appropriated, in the first place, to the subsistence of those immediately employed in it; and the greater part of the surplus is demanded for consumption either within the immediate neighbourhood of its production, or for the supply of the large towns within the State. Large quantities of beef and pork, and considerable quantities of certain other kinds of agricultural produce, have heretofore been exported from the State, and the export has not yet entirely ceased. Large quantities of grain and flour are annually brought into the State for consumption; and, of the latter article, a very large proportion of the farmers themselves obtain their supplies from abroad; but of most of the other species of agricultural produce, for which the climate is adapted, the State of Massachusetts produces nearly an adequate supply for the subsistence of all its inhabitants. Large quantities of these productions, however, are brought from the neighbouring States, but, at the same time, large quantities are exported. Of the extent and productiveness of this great branch of industry, — the amount of capital invested in it, — the number or proportion of the population which it employs, — the amount of its produce demanded for home consumption, or of the surplus which is exchanged for the other means of living, — this volume affords us no information. These are statistics which the Legislature did not attempt to obtain, probably from the difficulty, and perhaps impossibility, of obtaining them with accuracy.

The next important branch of industry in Massachusetts is its navigation. The statistics of this branch, being accurately

furnished by the reports of the National Treasury Department, derived from the Custom House returns, it was not necessary to embrace them in the inquiries ordered by the State government. It appears from these sources, that the amount of shipping owned in the ports of the State of Massachusetts, is 490,588 tons; of which 214,093 tons are employed in foreign trade; 104,323 in the whale fishery; 96,095 tons in the coasting trade; and the residue, in nearly equal proportions, in the cod and mackerel fisheries. Of the whole tonnage of the United States, employed in the foreign trade and whale fishery, more than a third part is owned in Massachusetts ; and of the whole tonnage, Massachusetts owns more than a quarter part.

Another important branch of industry in Massachusetts, is commerce. Of the number of persons and amount of capital employed in foreign commerce, in commerce with the other States, and in the various branches of domestic trade, there are no means of forming an accurate estimate. The amount of capital employed in the trade between one foreign country and another, and in importing foreign products for reëxportation, is less than at some former periods. Our domestic manufactures have absorbed a portion of the capital formerly thus employed, and the state of universal peace which has prevailed for many years, has afforded less opportunity for American enterprise abroad, than was presented to them during the long previous period of European war. Still, a very large amount of capital is employed in foreign commerce, and the trade with the other States of the Union is every year increasing. The capital and industry thus employed, and that employed in the strictly domestic trade, is not embraced within the scope of the present volume.

There is another description of industry, embracing the manufacture of a variety of articles for the immediate use, either of the manufacturers or their employers, a great part of which appears not to be embraced in the returns in this volume. The products thus manufactured do not become articles of merchandise, and are not produced in such quantities, as to be readily made the subject of an accurate general estimate. They nevertheless constitute, in the aggregate, a large amount of valuable products of industry, which, in an accurate estimate of the whole productive labor of the State, ought not to be overlooked.

With these exceptions, the volume now under consideration embraces an enumeration, with the estimated quantity, of the various fruits of labor in the State of Massachusetts ; with the number of persons employed, and the amount of capital invested in producing it ; the quantity of the several articles in each

city and town being distinctly specified. Of this enumeration and estimate the following is a condensed general statement, the articles being classified for the sake of brevity.

ARTICLES MANUFACTURED.	ANNUAL VALUE.	PERSONS EMPLOYED.	CAPITAL INVESTED.
Anchors, chains, axes, scythes, iron castings, nails, &c.	$ 4,625,846	2,829	$ 3,767,463
Brass, copper, Britannia, tin, and silver ware, buttons, cards, cutlery, jewelry, machinery, muskets, ploughs, shovels, tools, &c.	5,435,637	4,766	2,852,304
Carriages, casks, chairs, and cabinet ware, lumber, organs and pianos, window-blinds, wooden ware, &c.	2,885,231	3,915	595,090
Candles, soap, cordage, drugs, combs, brushes, beer, &c.	3,318,148	1,927	1,634,765
Clothing, bonnets, hats, caps, umbrellas, and upholstery,	4,903,338	5,253	1,041,838
Boots, shoes, leather, and saddles,	18,248,506	41,624	2,143,248
Cotton goods, cotton printing and batting,	17,409,001	21,565	15,986,719
Woollen goods and wool,	10,939,496	7,097	8,613,528
Fisheries, whale, cod, and mackerel,	7,592,290	20,126	12,484,078
Oil, salt, spirits, refined sugar, snuff, cigars, and varnish,	4,727,824	1,349	2,281,212
Books and stationery, paper, types, and stereotype plates,	2,749,370	2,411	2,217,500
Stone, glass, gunpowder, looking-glasses, gold leaf, spectacles, India rubber, engravings, &c.	2,083,741	2,172	1,253,002
Ship-building,	1,370,649	567	
Total,	$ 86,289,011	115,521	$ 54,870,747

The last item, ship-building, is given as the average of five years. The rest are stated as the produce of the year ending April 1, 1837. A like return of the succeeding year would exhibit a sad decline, many of the manufactures having been suspended, or the work greatly reduced, in consequence of the failure of demand for the articles produced.

The number of persons employed in these branches of industry, according to the return, was 115,521. Had the returns been as complete in this particular, as in the amount of produce, the number would have amounted to probably 120,000. Of this number probably near 50,000 were females, although only about 35,000 are designated as such in the returns, leaving 70,000 for males. Of the females, 14,757 are returned as employed in the cotton manufacture, 3,611 in the woollen, 15,361 in the manufacture of shoes, and 605 in that of paper. The number of 50,000 may be considered as embracing nearly the whole number of females, who are employed in the various branches of productive industry, exclusive of those which are

strictly domestic, and connected with the duties of the household. The 70,000 males embraced in the above estimate, probably constitute about a third part of the industrious male population of the State, including men and boys past the age of attending on the schools. On this supposition, there are 140,000 male persons in the Commonwealth, employed in other branches of productive industry than those embraced in these returns.

8.—*History of Kennebunk Port, from its first Discovery, by Bartholomew Gosnold, May 14th, 1602, to A. D. 1837.* By Charles Bradbury. Kennebunk: James K. Remich. 1837. 12mo. pp. 301.

This is the largest and most important town history that has appeared in Maine, with the exception of Willis's "Portland," and Folsom's "Saco and Biddeford." It appears to be the result of much original investigation, and minute and laborious research; and its execution is highly creditable to the author. Although the records of the place, for nearly a century after its first settlement, are lost, yet Mr. Bradbury has been enabled, from the observations of early travellers and journalists, and the scattered notices in the colonial and provincial records, to compile a chronicle abounding with incidents full of interest to the citizens of that State, and which will be of essential service to any one who shall presume, after the excellent History of Judge Williamson, to write its annals. He has also gathered many facts from the fading memories and vanishing traditions of the oldest inhabitants, and gleaned much from time-worn and almost illegible manuscripts. The work was originally prepared and presented to his townsmen in a series of lectures; and they have given the strongest proof of their sense of its correctness and value, by authorizing the selectmen to subscribe for five hundred copies of it, to be distributed among the families of the place.

Mr. Bradbury is of opinion, that Bartholomew Gosnold, who discovered New England, and named Cape Cod, in 1602, first made the land near Cape Porpoise, which was the original name of Kennebunk Port. This, however, is mere conjecture, unsupported by any evidence. He also says, that the name of Cape Porpoise was given to it, in 1614, by the famous John Smith, "probably, from seeing a shoal of porpoises in its neighbourhood." This assertion, too, we regret to say, is wholly gratuitous. Captain Smith makes no mention of any such cape, either in his "Description of New England," or in his "Ad-

vertisements for the unexperienced Planters of New England."

There can hardly be a doubt that, from its favorable position, the place was soon occupied as a fishing station. It is impossible, however, to ascertain how early a settlement was made. Mr. Bradbury is disposed to believe, that it might be dated as far back as 1623 or 1624. It is certain, that the first permanent settlement took place in 1629, and Governor Winthrop speaks of Cape Porpoise in 1630, as a well-known landmark. It was incorporated by the government of Massachusetts as a township in 1653. In 1690, and again in 1703, it was laid waste by the Indians and French, and it was not till 1714 that the inhabitants ventured to return to their deserted settlements. In 1719, it was reincorporated under the name of Arundel, and, in 1821, it received its present name of Kennebunk Port, being at that time the second town in the State in wealth, ranking next to Portland in valuation.

Such are the prominent landmarks and dates in the history of the place. Religion and education seem to have been for a long time at a very low ebb in Cape Porpoise and "Poor Arundel." The great object of the inhabitants appears to have been, to obtain those commodities at the lowest possible rate. Thus, in 1719, a committee was appointed "to agree with John Eveleth, minister, for to carry on the work of the ministry with us, *for a quarter of a year next.*" The next year, they gave him "the sum of £50 for to dispense the word of God unto them for *one whole year*"; having previously "made his house comfortable for him to live in, and the people to meet in a Sabbath days." In 1729, being advanced in years, he asked a dismission, much to the regret of his parishioners, as he was not only their minister and schoolmaster, but a good blacksmith and farmer, and the best fisherman in the town. This versatile "working-man" graduated at Harvard College, in 1689.

The second minister of the town, Mr. Thomas Prentice, seems also to have been a practical and useful person; for he was the first to introduce potatoes into the town. As he declined, however, to pursue the multifarious callings of his predecessor, the town was compelled to incur the additional expense of an instructer; and it was accordingly "voted to have a schoolmaster for the year ensuing"; and "the selectmen employed Mr. Hicks for £2, 8s. 10d. for the year."

On the settlement of their third minister, Mr. John Hovey, he stipulated, "that the town keep up a contribution, and all money contributed and unmarked, to be his, over and above the salary; and what is marked, he will give credit for, towards the rates." In order to understand this, it is necessary to

mention a somewhat singular custom prevalent at that time in Maine. It was usual, when strangers attended church, to take up a contribution. The usage, instead of being considered an imposition, was deemed a compliment by said strangers, and the omission of it was sure to give offence. The money collected on such occasions, even if chiefly contributed by members of the parish, was considered as "strangers' contribution," and was generally given to the minister. But Mr. Hovey was only to have what was really given by strangers, allowing his parishioners to mark the pieces put in by themselves.

Mr. Hovey kept a diary from the time of his settlement, to his death, a period of thirty-three years, in which he noted every event that occurred in the town, the state of the weather, business, politics, news, births, deaths, marriages, affairs of the town, and matters relating to the church. It must have been a curious document, and would have furnished a complete history of the town during that period. But, unfortunately, the greater part of it is lost. In 1763 Mr. Hovey's church was set on fire, and entirely consumed. For some time it was considered an accident. There had been a lecture the afternoon previous, and Deacon Robinson was supposed to have set it on fire with his pipe.

Such are the simple annals of Cape Porpoise, "Poor Arundel," and Kennebunk Port. The village chronicler has done his work so faithfully, that we hope he will reconsider the resolution which he has avowed in his Preface, never to appear in the character of an author again. There are other portions of the early history of Maine, which need to be elucidated by the same sort of minute inquiry, and we trust, that ere long we shall meet him in the same field again.

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9. — *An Address delivered before the Adelphi Union Society of Williams College, on Commencement Day, August 16th,* 1837. By Edward Everett. Amherst. 8vo.

This is another of those beautiful discourses by Mr. Everett, which would be enough to make quite a reputation for any other man, though it adds but little to the ample harvest already gathered by him. The inexhaustible fertility, which enables him to pour out, year after year, these admirable specimens of deliberative eloquence, the last, apparently, as fresh and vigorous as the first, gives one a new illustration of the wonders which may be accomplished by a human mind, in which great native power has been developed by a life of min-

gled study and action. The subject of this address is the trite one of Education, and the speaker does not attempt the exposition of any new theories or plans of his own, but confines himself to the expansion and illustration of truths already received; but this is done with so much eloquence, so much taste, such wealth of allusion, and such grace of language, that every thing seems to wear the bloom of originality, and every paragraph appears the revelation of newly discovered truth.

After some very appropriate introductory remarks, Mr. Everett presents a brilliant and vivid summary of the results to which education has guided the well-trained mind, especially in the science of geology, and speaks of the great importance of education in its relation to the culture of the common mind. He then observes, that there are two distinct offices to be performed by education; one regarding the discipline and training of individual minds to the highest point of intellectual excellence, and the other, the diffusion of useful knowledge among the community at large.

In the discussion of the first part of his subject, Mr. Everett contends, with great strength of argument and beauty of expression, that, under more perfect systems of education, higher degrees of intellectual power and excellence may be attained, than have ever been witnessed among men; and, however one may be disposed to doubt the truth of the position, no one can help admiring the ability with which it is maintained. His remarks upon the favorable influence, which the progress of scientific truth is likely to exert upon poetry, seem to us as true as they are beautiful. We had marked them for extracting, but our exhausted space forbids.

Mr. Everett's observations upon the second part of his subject will be read with unalloyed pleasure. He presses home upon his audience, with unaffected eloquence, the duty incumbent on them, of thoroughly educating their children, whatever be the sacrifice and the cost; and, in the observations which he makes upon the duty of our State governments doing more for this great cause than they have heretofore done, he but expresses the views of all intelligent men who have reflected upon the subject. We wish, that this part of the address could be read by every legislator and every father in our country.

NOTE.

A passage occurring in the review of American Histories, in our last Number, bestows commendation on a work by the author of that article. He wishes to have it stated, that he had no agency in the insertion of that passage.

Several articles prepared for the department of Critical Notices of this Number are unavoidably deferred.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

AGRICULTURE AND GARDENING.

The American Flower Garden Companion. Adapted to the Northern States. By Edward Sayers, Landscape and Ornamental Gardener. Boston: Joseph Breck & Co. 12mo. pp. 179.

The Book of Fruits; being a descriptive Catalogue of the most valuable Varieties of the Pear, Apple, Peach, Plum, and Cherry, for New England Culture. With Plates. By Robert Manning. First Series, for 1838. Salem: Ives & Jewett. 12mo. pp. 120.

ANNUALS.

Register of the Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the Navy of the United States, including Officers of the Marine Corps, for the Year 1838. Washington: Langtree & O'Sullivan. 8vo. pp. 79.

ARCHITECTURE.

Rural Residences, &c., consisting of Designs, original and selected, for Cottages, Farm-Houses, &c., with Explanations and Estimates. By Alexander Jackson Davis, Esq., and other Architects. New York: A. J. Davis.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D. D., Pastor of the West Church and Society, in Boston, from June, 1747, to July, 1766. By Alden Bradford. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 484.

Life of Timothy Dexter; embracing Sketches of the Eccentric Characters that composed his Associates. By Samuel L. Knapp. Boston: G. N. Thompson. 18mo. pp. 108.

Lives of Baron Steuben, Sebastian Cabot, and William Eaton. Being Vol. IX. of Sparks's American Biography. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 16mo. pp. 358.

Memoirs of Mrs. Sarah Louisa Taylor; or, An Illustration of the Work of the Holy Spirit in awakening, renewing, and sanctifying the Heart. By L. Jones, A. M. New York: J. S. Taylor. 12mo.

The Unpublished Letters and Correspondence of Mrs. Isabella Graham, from the year 1767 to 1814, exemplifying her Religious Character in the different Relations of Life. Selected and arranged by her Daughter, Mrs. Bethune. New York: John S. Taylor. 12mo. pp. 314.

Memoir of Hannah Hobbie; or, Christian Activity and Triumph in Suffering. By the Rev. Robert Armstrong, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Fishkill. New York: John S. Taylor.

Memoir of the Rev. E. P. Lovejoy, who was murdered in Defence of the Liberty of the Press, at Alton, Nov. 7th, 1837. By Joseph C. and

Owen Lovejoy; with an Introduction, by John Quincy Adams. New York: John S. Taylor. 12mo.

The Life of Joseph Brant, (Thayendanegea,) the Great Captain of the Six Nations. By William L. Stone. New York: George Dearborn & Co. 8vo. 2 vols.

EDUCATION.

Mental and Practical Arithmetic. Designed for the Use of Academies and Schools. With a Key. By C. Davies. Geneva (N. Y.): I. & I. N. Bogert. 18mo. pp. 288.

The Girl's Reading Book, in Prose and Poetry. For Schools. By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. New York: J. Orville Taylor. 18mo. pp. 242.

A New French Manual; comprising a Guide to French Pronunciation. By Gabriel Luzenne. From the 4th Edinburgh Edition, revised and enlarged, by A. Pestiaux, Professor of the French Language. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 18mo.

M. T. Ciceronis ad Quintum Fratrem Dialogi tres de Oratore. Ex Editionibus Oliveti et Ernesti. Accedunt Notæ Anglicæ. Curâ C. K. Dillaway, A. M. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 2 vols. 18mo.

A System of Universal Geography, Popular and Scientific; comprising a Physical, Political, and Statistical Account of the World and its various Divisions; embracing numerous Sketches from recent Travels; and illustrated by Engravings of Manners, Costumes, Curiosities, &c., &c. By S. G. Goodrich. Second Edition. Boston. Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 8vo. pp. 975.

Cheever's Latin Accidence. An Elementary Grammar for Beginners in the Study of the Latin Language; compiled by Ezekiel Cheever, who was Seventy Years a Teacher of Latin; and used in the Schools in this Country for more than a Hundred and Fifty Years previous to the Close of the Last Century. Carefully revised, corrected, and stereotyped, from the Eighteenth Edition. Boston. For Sale by the Booksellers. 18mo. pp. 72.

Analytical Geography; a System of Teaching by Single Topics. By J. U. Parsons, Author of "The Analytical Spelling-Book," &c. Framingham: Boynton & Marshall. 16mo. pp. 86.

Questions adapted to Emerson's North American Arithmetic, Part Third. By Wm. D. Swan. Boston: James Loring. 16mo. pp. 33.

Lectures on Language, as particularly connected with English Grammar. Designed for the Use of Teachers and advanced Learners. By William J. Balch. Providence: B. Cranston & Co. 12mo. pp. 252.

Town's Spelling-Book. New York. Robinson, Pratt, & Co.

Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic War, and the First Book of the Greek Paraphrase. With English Notes, Indexes, &c. By Charles Anthon, LL. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo.

A Philosophical Grammar of the English Language. By Jos. W. Wright. New York: 12mo.

The Philosophy of the Moral Feelings. By John Abercrombie, M. D., F. R. S. E. An Introductory Chapter, with Additions and Explanations, to adapt the Work to the Use of Schools and Academies; and also Analytical Questions for the Examination of Classes. By Jacob Abbott. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 12mo. pp. 250.

Elements of Trigonometry, Plane and Spherical. Adapted for the Use of Colleges in the United States. With a Treatise on Navigation, Tables of Logarithms, &c. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 8vo.

HISTORY.

History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent. By George Bancroft. Third Edition. Vol. I. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 469.

Discourse, on the History and General Character of the State of Ohio, before the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society. By Timothy Walker. Columbus: 8vo. pp. 27.

LAW.

Trial for Libel before the Supreme Judicial Court, April 25th, 1838, Chief Justice Shaw presiding. Azell Snow, vs. John Ford and J. S. Sleeper. Boston: Cassady & March. 8vo. pp. 32.

A Popular Essay on Subjects of Penal Law, and on Uninterrupted Solitary Confinement at Labor, as contradistinguished to Solitary Confinement at Night and Joint Labor by Day, in a Letter to John Bacon, Esquire, President of the Philadelphian Society for alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons. By Francis Lieber, Corresponding Member of the Society, Professor of History in South Carolina College. Philadelphia: 8vo. pp. 94.

Trial of Winthrop S. Gilman, who was indicted, with Others, for the Crime of Riot, while engaged in defending a Printing Press from an Attack made on it by an Armed Mob, &c. &c. By W. L. Lincoln, a Member of the Alton Municipal Court. New York: J. F. Trow. 12mo. pp. 158.

An Act for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors and for the more Equal Distribution of their Effects, passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts, April 23d, 1838; with an Outline of the System thereby introduced, and Forms of Proceeding under the same. By L. S. Cushing. Boston. C. C. Little & James Brown: 12mo. pp. 93.

A Treatise on the Medical Jurisprudence of Insanity. By I. Ray, M. D. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 480.

Commentaries on Equity Pleadings, and the Incidents thereto, according to the Practice of the Courts of Equity of England and America. By Joseph Story, LL. D., Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 743.

Supplement to the Revised Statutes; being the General Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Session of 1838, and the Twelfth Article or Amendment of the Constitution, passed March 24th, 1837. Prepared and edited by Theron Metcalf. Published annually. Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, State Printers. 8vo. pp. 114.

The Blue Laws of New Haven Colony; usually called Blue Laws of Connecticut; Quaker Laws of Plymouth and Massachusetts; Blue Laws of Virginia and South Carolina; First Record of Connecticut; Case of Salem Witchcraft; Charges and Banishment of Roger Williams, &c.; and other interesting Antiquities. Compiled by an Antiquarian. Hartford: 12mo. pp. 336.

The Tree of Legal Knowledge, designed as an Assistant to Students in the Study of Law, &c. By an Attorney at Law. Raleigh: Turner and Hughes.

A full and arranged Digest of Cases decided in the Supreme Court and District Courts of the United States, from the Organization of the Government of the United States. By Richard Peters, Counsellor at Law, and Reporter of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. In Two Vols. Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait, & Co. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 722.

A Digest of the Cases Decided and Reported in the Superior Court of the City of New York; the Vice Chancellor's Court; the Supreme Court of Judicature; the Court of Chancery; and the Court for the Correction of Errors, of the State of New York; from 1823, to October, 1836, with Tables of the Names of the Cases, and of Titles and References; being a Supplement to Johnson's Digest. Philadelphia: E. F. Backus. 8vo. pp. 666.

MEDICINE, ANATOMY, AND SURGERY.

Lectures on Lithotomy, delivered at the New York Hospital, December, 1837. By Alexander H. Stevens, M. D. New York: Adlard & Saunders. 8vo. pp. 93.

Popular Medicine, or Family Adviser; consisting of Outlines of Anatomy, Physiology, and Hygiene, &c., &c. By Reynell Coates, M. D., Fellow of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, &c. &c., assisted by several Medical Friends. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 641.

The Medical Formulary; being a Collection of Prescriptions, derived from the Writings and Practice of many of the most eminent Physicians in America and Europe. By Benjamin Ellis, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica and Pharmacy. Fifth Edition, with Additions. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 231.

Transactions of the Medical Society of the State of New York. Vol. IV. No. 1. Albany: 8vo. pp. 24.

The Institutes and Practice of Surgery; being the Outlines of a Course of Lectures, by Wm. Gibson, M. D., Professor of Surgery in the University of Pennsylvania, &c. Fifth Edition, enlarged. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 469 and 444.

The Annual Report of Dr. Francis Stribling, Physician of the Western Lunatic Hospital, &c. Stanton, (Va.): 8vo. pp. 19.

MISCELLANEOUS.

An Inquiry respecting the Self-determining Power of the Will, or Contingent Volition. By Jeremiah Day, President of Yale College. New Haven: Herrick & Noyes. 12mo. pp. 200.

Letters from the West Indies, relating especially to the Danish Islands of St. Croix, and to the British Islands, Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica. By Sylvester Harvey, Late Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Amherst College. New York: Gould & Newman. 12mo. pp. 212.

Humbugs of New York; being a Remonstrance against Popular Delusion, whether in Science, Philosophy, or Religion. By David Meredith Reese, M. D. New York: John S. Taylor. 12mo. pp. 267.

Etiquette for Ladies; with Hints on the Preservation, Improvement, and Display of Female Beauty. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 18mo. pp. 224.

Hints on the subject of Interments within the City of Philadelphia; addressed to the serious Consideration of the Members of Councils, Commissioners of Districts, and Citizens generally. By Atticus. Philadelphia: 8vo. pp. 22.

Phrenology Vindicated, and Anti-Phrenology Unmasked. By Chas. Caldwell, M. D. New York: Samuel Coleman. 12mo. pp. 156.

The Young Housekeeper, or Thoughts on Food and Cookery. By W. A. Alcott, M. D., Author of "The Young Wife," "Young Mother," &c. &c. Boston: G. W. Light. 16mo. pp. 424.

Scenes in a Mad House. By John B. Derby, Author of "Political Reminiscences." Boston: S. N. Dickinson. 8vo. pp. 24.

Home Scenes, or Progress made Easy. Boston: Joseph Dow. 16mo. pp. 80.

The McCarthy Family; or a Tale for "Our Sunday School." By the Author of "Rose Graham." Boston: B. H. Greene. 16mo. pp. 35.

An Inquiry into the Moral and Religious Character of the American Government. New York: Wiley and Putnam. 8vo. pp. 208.

The Young Man's Book of Classical Letters, consisting of Epistolary Selections, designed to improve Young Ladies and Gentlemen in the Art of Letter-Writing. By the Author of "The Young Man's Book." Philadelphia: Thomas Cowperthwait & Co. pp. 320.

Practical Phrenology Simplified. By Theodore Foster. Philadelphia: Orrin Rogers.

Hints for the Young, on a Subject relating to the Health of Body and Mind. From the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, with Additions by the Author. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. Worcester: H. J. Howland. 18mo. pp. 60.

Catalogue of the Library of the Theological Seminary in Andover, Mass. By Oliver A. Taylor, A. M. Andover: Gould & Newman. 8vo. pp. 531.

Atlantic Steam Ships. The Origin, Progress, and Prospects of Steam Navigation across the Atlantic. Illustrated by Engravings. New York: Wiley & Putnam.

The Works of Benjamin Franklin; containing several Political and Historical Tracts not included in any former Edition, and many Letters official and private, not hitherto published; with Notes, and a Life of the Author. By Jared Sparks. Vol. VII. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 8vo. pp. 568.

A Pickle for the Knowing Ones, or Plain Truths in a Homespun Dress. By the late Lord Timothy Dexter, with an Introductory Essay on his Life and Genius, and Explanatory Notes, by Peter Quince. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 16mo. pp. 42.

The American Democrat, or Hints on the Social and Civic Relations of the United States of America. By J. Fennimore Cooper. Cooperstown: H. & E. Phinney. 12mo. pp. 192.

Remarks on Literary Property. By Philip H. Nicklin, A. M., Member of the American Philosophical Society; of the Ashmolean Society, Oxford; and of the Natural History Society, Hartford. Philadelphia: P. H. Nicklin and T. Johnson. 12mo. pp. 144.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Crania Americana; or a Comparative View of the Skulls of various Aboriginal Nations of North and South America; to which is prefixed an Essay on the Varieties of the Human Species, and on the American Race in particular. Illustrated by sixty Plates and a colored Map. By Samuel George Maston, M. D. Philadelphia: published for the Author, by J. Fuller. Folio.

Peter Parley's Cyclopedia of Botany, including Familiar Descriptions of Trees, Shrubs, and Plants; with numerous Engravings. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 16mo. pp. 104 and 330.

NEW PERIODICAL WORKS.

The Hesperian; or, Western Monthly Magazine. Edited by Wm. D. Gallaher and Otway Curry. Columbus (Ohio): John D. Nichols. 8vo. pp. 94. Vol. I. No. 1. May, 1838.

Boston Musical Gazette; a Semi-Monthly Journal, devoted to the Science of Music. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 4to. pp. 8.

The Musical Review, and Record of Musical Science, Literature, and Intelligence. Conducted by an Association of Gentlemen. New York: Firth & Hall. Weekly. 8vo. pp. 12.

The Olio, or Rarities of Knowledge. New York: Origen Bachelor, Editor and Publisher. Weekly.

The Buckeye Democrat. Edited by Le Grand Byington. Ravenna (Ohio): Weekly.

Tales of the Day, selected from the Works of the most distinguished English Authors, as they issue from the British Periodical Press. Boston: H. P. Nichols & Co. Weekly. 8vo. pp. 48.

Our Globe; a Universal Picturesque Album, Edited by J. Meyer. Philadelphia: published by the North American Bibliographic Institution. Weekly.

NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

A Blossom in the Desert, a Tale of the West. Founded on Fact. New York: Scofield & Voorhies. 18mo. pp. 32.

The Motley Book; a Series of Tales and Sketches, with Illustrations. By the late Ben. Smith. Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4. New York: James Turney, Jr. 8vo.

Hoaryhead, and the Valleys below, or Truth through Fiction. By Jacob Abbott, Author of "The Young Christian." Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 18mo. pp. 308.

Cromwell; an Historical Novel. By the Author of "The Brothers." New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. 2 vols. pp. 267 and 275.

The Victims of Gaming; being Extracts from the Diary of an American Physician. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 16mo. pp. 172.

The Mother in her Family; or Sayings and Doings at Rose Hill Cottage. By the Author of "The Young Wife," "The Young Housekeeper." &c., &c. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. New York: John S. Taylor. 16mo. pp. 391.

ORATIONS AND ADDRESSES.

Annual Address, delivered before the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, December, 1835; containing Strictures on the prevailing Systems of Education. By John H. James. Columbus (Ohio): 8vo. pp. 13.

Address, delivered before the Graduates of the Union Literary Society of Miami University. By Samuel Galloway. Springfield (Ohio): 8vo. pp. 28.

On the Importance and Best Method of cultivating the Moral Faculties; delivered before the Education Convention of Indiana. By Andrew Wylie, D. D. Indianapolis: Douglas & Noel. 8vo. pp. 19.

Annual Address before the New York State Medical Society, Feb. 6th, 1838. By James McNaughton, M. D., President of the Society. Albany: 8vo. pp. 32.

A Succinct View of Mental Cultivation on the Destinies of Louisville; an Introductory Lecture, delivered at the opening of the Louisville Medical Institute, Oct. 31st, 1837. By Charles Caldwell, M. D. Louisville: 8vo. pp. 34.

An Address on the Utility of Astronomy, delivered before the Young Men's Society of Lynchburg, Sept. 26th, 1837. By Professor Landon C. Garland, of Randolph-Macon College. (Originally published, by Request of the Society, in the Southern Literary Messenger.) Richmond. T. W. White. 8vo. pp. 8.

An Eulogy on the Life and Character of Nathaniel Bowditch, LL. D., F. R. S., delivered at the Request of the Corporation of the City of Salem, May 24th, 1838. By Daniel Appleton White. Office of the Gazette. 8vo. pp. 72.

Annual Address delivered before the Albany Institute, April, 1838. By James Ferguson. Albany: Alfred Southwick. 8vo. pp. 34.

An Address, delivered before the Penobscot Association of Teachers, and Friends of Popular Education, at Levant, Dec. 28th, 1837. By E. G. Carpenter. Bangor. 8vo. pp. 26.

POETRY.

The Deserted Bride, and other Poems. By George P. Morris. New York: Adlard & Saunders. 8vo. pp. 80.

A Poem, on the Use of Tobacco, delivered before the Temperance Society of Orleans, Dec. 25th, 1837; and before the Anti-Tobacco Society of Harwich, Jan. 8th. By the Rev. Charles S. Adams, A. M. Boston: Torrey & Blair. 8vo. pp. 24.

St. Jonathan, the Lay of a Scald. New York: Thomas J. Crowen. 12mo. pp. 48.

Buds of Spring. Poetical Remains of Augustus Foster Lyde. With Addenda. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 12mo. pp. 150.

THEOLOGY AND SERMONS.

"A Man of Sorrows;" or, The Providence of God displayed. By William Jackson, S. S. B., Minister of the Gospel at South Boston. Second Edition, enlarged. Boston: C. D. Strong. 12mo. pp. 360.

Proof of the Genuineness of the Writings of the New Testament. For Intelligent Readers of all Classes. Translated from the German

of Dr. H. Olshausen, with Notes, by D. Fosdick, Jr. Andover: Gould & Newman. 12mo. pp. 216.

Letter to a Sunday School Teacher. By a Superintendent. Second Edition. Boston: Whipple & Damrell. pp. 27.

Newcomb's First Question Book. Vol. 2. Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. 18mo. pp. 116.

A Scripture Text Book; comprising a concise View of the Evidences and Design of Divine Revelation, of the leading Events and Doctrines of the Bible, and of the Consistency and Harmony of its Parts. Designed for Bible Classes and Schools. By a Teacher. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 12mo.

Notes, Critical and Practical, on the Books of Joshua and Judges. Designed as a general Help to Biblical Reading and Instruction. By George Bush, Prof. of Hebrew and Oriental Literature in New York University. New York: E. French. 12mo.

The Voluntary System. A Discourse, delivered in St. John's Church, Brooklyn, on Sunday Afternoon, April 15th, A. D. 1838, the Day previous to the Annual Election of Wardens and Vestrymen. By Evan M. Johnson, Rector. Brooklyn: Arnold & Van Anden. 8vo. pp. 14.

"The House of the Lord." A Sermon, preached at the Consecration of St. Paul's Church, Randolph, April 18th, 1838. By the Rt. Rev. James Hervey Otey, D. D., Bishop of Tennessee.

Christ the Theme of the Home Missionary. An Argument for Home Missions. By Octavius Winslow, Pastor of the Second Baptist Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. New York: John S. Taylor. 18mo. pp. 124.

A Leaf from the Tree of Life. No. 1. The Spirit and the Law of Christianity. New York: John S. Taylor. 18mo. pp. 66.

Advice to a Young Christian, on the Importance of aiming at an elevated Standard of Piety. By a Village Pastor. With an Introductory Essay, by the Rev. Dr. Alexander, of Princeton, N. J. New York: John S. Taylor. 18mo. pp. 196.

A Manual of Prayers, designed to assist Young Christians in learning the Subjects and Modes of Devotion. With an Introduction, by the Rev. Albert Barnes. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. 18mo. pp. 256.

Observations on the Growth of the Mind; with Remarks on some other Religious Subjects. By Sampson Reed. Boston. Otis Clapp. 12mo. pp. 19.

Traits requisite in the Character of Modern Reformers. A Sermon, delivered on the Annual Fast, April 5th, 1838. By Theophilus P. Doggett, Pastor of the First Church in Bridgewater. Published by Request. Boston: Isaac R. Butts. 8vo. pp. 19.

A History of the Corruptions of Christianity. By Joseph Priestley, LL. D. In some Parts abridged, with Appendixes, by A. A. Livermore. Keene: J. & J. W. Prentiss. 12mo. pp. 312.

The Varieties of Human Greatness. A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Hon. Nathaniel Bowditch, LL. D., F. R. S.; delivered in the Church on Church Green, March 25th, 1838. By Alexander Young. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 119.

Characteristics of the Times. A Sermon, preached in Bangor, on the Day of Annual Fast, April 12th, 1838. By T. Maltby, Pastor of the Hammond Street Church. Bangor: E. F. Duren. 8vo. pp. 30.

The Antidote; or, The Ministry worth Preserving. By Parsons Cooke. Boston: Whipple & Damrell. 18mo. pp. 84.

Union; or, The Destinies of the World in the Hands of the Church. By J. F. Halsey. New York: John S. Taylor.

Efficiency of Primitive Missions. A Discourse, delivered before the General Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States, at its Ninth Triennial Session. By Baron Stow, Pastor of the Church in Baldwin Place. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 8vo. pp. 39.

The Convert's Guide, and Preacher's Assistant. In Two Parts. By the Rev. T. Merritt, Author of "The Christian Manual." Boston: D. S. King. 16mo. pp. 246.

Papal Rome identified with the Great Apostasy predicted in the Scriptures; the Substance of three Discourses, addressed to the First Presbyterian Church in Albany, January, 1838. By J. N. Campbell, D. D., Pastor of the Church. Second Edition. Albany: E. H. Pease. 18mo. pp. 105.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CI.

OCTOBER, 1838.

ART. I. — 1. *The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Chapter Fifth.*

2. *The Revised Statutes of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, passed November 4th, 1835, *Chapter Twenty-third.*

3. *An Act authorizing the Establishment of District School Libraries.* April 12th, 1837.

4. *An Act to establish a Board of Education.* April 20th, 1837.

5. *An Act concerning Schools.* April 13th, 1838.

6. *First Annual Report of the Board of Education, together with the First Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board. Printed Document of the Senate, No.* 26. February 1st, 1838. pp. 75.

7. *Report of the Secretary of the Board of Education, on the Subject of School Houses, supplementary to his First Annual Report. Printed Document of the Senate, No.* 80. March 29th, 1838. pp. 64.

8. *Report on Elementary Public Instruction in Europe, made to the Thirty-sixth General Assembly of the State of Ohio. December* 19, 1837. By C. E. STOWE. *Reprinted by Order of the House of Representatives of the Legislature of Massachusetts.* March 29th, 1838. *Printed Document of the House, No.* 64. pp. 68.

9. *Report and Resolves relative to qualifying Teachers of*

Common Schools. Printed Document of the House, No. 57. pp. 8.

10. *Abstract of the Massachusetts School Returns, for* 1837. January 1st, 1838. pp. 302.
11. *Resolves relative to qualifying Teachers for Common Schools.* April 19th, 1838.

Perhaps no people on the face of the earth were ever more deeply imbued with a sense of the necessity of providing for all the children of the community a wholesome education, than the Pilgrims who landed on the rock of Plymouth, and their immediate descendants and successors, the founders of the New England States. They indeed seem, like that Eastern monarch who excelled the age in which he lived in the homely wisdom of common sense, as much as in all the learning of his time, to have regarded the training up of the rising generation in the way they should go, as the only effectual preparation to fit them to walk in the path of virtue. They were not the men to neglect any known duty ; and, accordingly, their conduct evinces an anxious determination, from the very first, to bequeath to their posterity, wisdom, knowledge, and virtue, generally diffused, to be the stability of their times, their trust and stay amid all coming dangers. No one who reviews their early legislation can fail to perceive that they regarded Education as the sheet-anchor of the public welfare, the essential security of the highest temporal and eternal interests of the mighty family of nations ; in whose majestic march, conquest, and occupation, over this newly discovered continent, God's Providence had ordained them to be the pioneers.

If an undertaking, commenced upon the principles of Anglo-American colonization had totally miscarried, if the various obstacles which the adventurous fathers of the Western world were destined to encounter had for ever frustrated and extinguished their enterprise, it would still have interested us intensely as an object of philosophical curiosity. But, when we know that it has succeeded, and consider the consequences of its success, it stands out in prominent relief above all other facts, the original, peculiar, heaven-directed phenomenon of human history. Love to God and man, freedom, light and progress were the guiding and governing motives of their holy work. When we look back upon

those chosen instruments of our redemption from the fetters which yet bind speech and action, nay, thought and conscience, in the world from which they came out, their magnanimous purpose, carried into effect as it was, with the stern inflexibility of an abiding conviction of duty, kindles in our hearts a glow of admiration and gratitude. But when we view their great design accomplished, and regard the immensity of its results, the moral grandeur of the spectacle rises to a character of sublimity that can never be surpassed, and can scarcely be paralleled.

A refined civilization, and a superior political organization, at, or near, the close of the present century, will have peopled the States of the American Union with one hundred millions of inhabitants, and children are already born who will live to be the fellow countrymen of more than double that number. Why is it impossible that these hundred, or two hundred millions of human beings should be doomed to live slaves? Because their fathers were educated in freedom. Why is it impossible that they should grovel in sensuality, or debase themselves into a sordid selfishness? Because their fathers were educated in Christianity. Why is it impossible that they should groan in want, dragging out their existence in pauperism and misery? Because their fathers have been educated in the application of the sciences to the useful arts, and in the prudent and wise economy of public and private duty, of social and domestic life.

If confidence animates our anticipations, and hope gilds our prospect, it is because we are educated to the capacity of enjoyment. If a doubt sometimes overclouds the future, it is when the fear steals upon us, — may it prove an idle apprehension, — that we shall not hold true to the trust confided to us, and that the cause of education may suffer in our hands. Should our fortunes come to that issue, we should be left without excuse; the whole world would cry out against us, and we should condemn ourselves, degenerate sons of noble ancestors.

The foundation of the College, and the instruction of all the children in the English tongue, the capital laws, and the grounds and principles of religion, were among the first objects of attention in the Massachusetts colony. In the Colony Laws, under date of 1642, we find the following enactment;

"Whereas, through the good hand of God upon us, there is a college founded in Cambridge, in the county of Middlesex, called Harvard College, for the encouragement whereof this court hath given the sum of four hundred pounds, and also the revenue of the ferry betwixt Charlestown and Boston; and that the well ordering and managing of the said college is of great concernment; It is therefore ordered, that the Governor and Deputy, and all the magistrates within the jurisdiction, together with the teaching elders of Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester, and the president of the college, shall have power to establish statutes and constitutions for the instituting, guiding, and furthering of the members thereof in piety, morality, and learning, and also to manage the revenues."

In May 1650;

"Whereas, through the good hand of God, many well devoted persons have been, and daily are, moved and stirred up to give and bestow sundry gifts, legacies, lands, and revenues for the advancement of all good literature, arts, and sciences, &c. * * * and for all necessary provisions that may conduce to the education of the English and Indian youth of this country in knowledge and godliness; It is therefore ordered for the furthering of so good a work, that the college shall be henceforth a corporation, &c."

The act went on to grant sundry exemptions of their lands from taxes, their goods from tolls, customs, and excises, and their servants and officers from civil and military services, watchings, and wardings.

In 1654;

"Whereas we cannot but acknowledge the great goodness of God towards his people in this wilderness, in raising up schools of learning, and especially the college, from whence there hath sprung many instruments, both in church and commonwealth, both to this and other places, * * * fearing least we should show ourselves ungrateful to God, or unfaithful to posterity, if so good a seminary of knowledge and virtue should fall to the ground through any neglect of ours; It is therefore ordered, that one hundred pounds be yearly added to the country rate, to be paid to the college treasurer for the behoof and maintenance of the president and fellows of the college."

Since that time the bounty of the Colony, Province, and Commonwealth, has been extended to our ancient University, in donations of land and money, to an amount far beyond the patronage of any other State of our Union, to any other seminary.

In May, 1642, the legislature gave their attention to domestic education ;

"Forasmuch as the good education of children is of singular behoof and benefit to any commonwealth, and whereas many parents and masters are too indulgent and negligent of their duty in that kind ; the selectmen of every town, in the several precincts and quarters where they dwell, shall have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbours, to see, first, that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families, as not to endeavour to teach, by themselves or others, their children and apprentices, so much learning, as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue, and knowledge of the capital laws ; upon penalty of twenty shillings for each neglect therein.

"Also, that all masters of families do once a week (at the least) catechize their children and servants in the grounds and principles of religion ; and if any be unable to do so much, that then, at the least, they procure such children and apprentices to learn some short orthodox catechism without book, that they may be able to answer unto the questions that shall be propounded to them out of such catechism, by their parents or masters, or any of the selectmen when they shall call them to a trial of what they have learned in that kind.

"And, further, that all parents and masters do breed and bring up their children and apprentices in some honest lawful calling, labor, or employment, either in husbandry or some other trade, profitable for themselves and the commonwealth, if they will not or cannot train them up in learning to fit them for higher employments.

"And if any of the selectmen, after admonition by them given to such masters of families, shall find them still negligent of their duty in the particulars aforementioned, whereby children and servants become rude, stubborn, and unruly ; the said selectmen with the help of two magistrates, or the next county court for that shire, shall take such children or apprentices from them, and place them with some masters for years, (boys till they come to twenty-one, and girls eighteen years of age complete,) which will more strictly look unto, and force them to submit unto government, according to the rules of this order, if by fair means and former instructions they will not be drawn unto it."

And in 1654 ;

"Forasmuch as it appeareth by too much experience, that divers children and servants do behave themselves disobediently and disorderly towards their parents, masters, and governors, to the disturbance of families and discouragement of such

parents and governors; It is ordered, that any magistrate may sentence the offender to corporal punishment, by whipping or otherwise, not exceeding ten stripes."

Meanwhile other securities had been found necessary. In 1647, was adopted the following provision;

"Whereas, sundry gentlemen of quality, and others, oft-times send over their children into this country to some friends here, hoping (at least) thereby to prevent their extravagant and riotous courses, who notwithstanding (by means of some unadvised or ill affected persons, which give them credit, in expectation their friends either in favor to them, or prevention of blemish to themselves, will discharge their debts) they are no less lavish and profuse here, to the great grief of their friends, dishonor of God, and reproach of the country; it is, therefore, ordered, that credits given to minors should be forfeited, and penalties incurred by minors, by means of their creditors, beyond their own ability to discharge, should be paid by their creditors."

And in 1651;

"Upon information of divers loose, vain, and corrupt persons, both such as come from foreign parts, as also some others here inhabiting or residing, which insinuate themselves into the fellowship of the young people of this country, drawing them both by night and day, from their callings, studies, and honest occupations, and lodging-places, to the dishonor of God, and grief of their parents, masters, tutors, guardians, and overseers; It is ordered, that whoever shall entertain children, servants, apprentices, scholars belonging to the college, or any Latin school, and shall not discharge and hasten all such youths to their several employments and places of abode or lodging, shall forfeit forty shillings, on conviction before a magistrate, or commissioner authorized to end small causes."

The peculiar glory of Massachusetts is, that she led the way in establishing a system of common schools. Not to keep and maintain the schools required by law, has been an indictable offence in Massachusetts, since 1647. The following is an act of that year;

"It being one chief project of Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scripture, as in former times keeping them in unknown tongues, so in these latter times by persuading from the use of tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded and corrupted with false glosses of deceivers; to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers, in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavours;

"It is therefore ordered by this court and the authority thereof, that every township within this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their towns to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint; provided that those who send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in other towns.

"And it is further ordered, that where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university; and if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, then every such town shall pay five pounds per annum to the next such school, till they shall perform this order."

The religious qualifications of teachers were not overlooked.

"Forasmuch as it greatly concerns the welfare of this country, that the youth thereof be educated, not only in good literature, but in sound doctrine, the court therefore commends it to the serious consideration and special care of the overseers of the college, and the selectmen in the several towns, not to suffer in the office of instructing youth, any that have manifested themselves unsound in the faith, or scandalous in their lives, and have not given satisfaction according to the rules of Christ."

In May, 1671, the court upon weighty reasons judged meet to double the penalty upon towns of one hundred families neglecting to keep a grammar school. In October, 1683, the court ordered every town consisting of more than five hundred families to set up and maintain two grammar schools, and two writing schools. The Province Law of 1692 reënacted the Colony Laws, except that of 1683.

All these laws were found to be less effectual than the legislators had hoped, and from time to time measures were taken to enforce them. A colony law, reciting the requisition that all children and youth be taught to read perfectly the English tongue, knowledge in the capital laws, some orthodox catechism, and some honest employment, — "the neglect whereof, as by sad experience from court to court abundantly appears, doth occasion much sin and profaneness

to increase among us, to the dishonor of God, and the encnaring of many children and servants, and is a great dissouragement to those family governors, who conscientiously endeavour to bring up their youth in all Christian nurture, as the laws of God and this commonwealth require ;" — orders that it be notified to the selectmen in every town, that the former laws must be obeyed, and directs lists to be made out, and returned to the next court, of all young persons who live from under family government.

In 1702, it was recited, that the school law was shamefully neglected by divers towns, tending greatly to the nourishment of ignorance and irreligion, and the penalty for non-observance of the law was fixed at twenty pounds per annum. It was enacted, that the grammar school-master should be approved by the ministers of the town and the two next adjacent towns, that no minister of any town should be the school-master of the town, and that the grand jurors should present all breaches and neglect of the school laws.

In 1712 ;

"Forasmuch as the well educating and instructing of children and youth in families and schools are a necessary means to propagate religion and good manners, and the conversation and example of heads of families and schools having great influence on those under their care and government to an imitation thereof; it is enacted, that none shall keep school, but such as are of sober and good conversation, with the allowance of the selectmen, and, if any person shall be so hardy as to set up a school without such allowance, he shall forfeit forty shillings to the use of the poor of the town."

In 1718, it being found by sad experience that many towns, very able to support a grammar school, chose rather to pay their fines, the penalty was raised to thirty pounds on towns of one hundred and fifty families, forty pounds for two hundred families, and in the same proportion for two hundred and fifty or three hundred families.

In 1767, "whereas, the encouragement of learning tends to the promotion of religion and good morals, and the establishment of liberty, civil and religious," school districts were authorized to levy taxes to defray the charges of supporting schools, in addition to the taxes levied by the towns.

In framing the constitution of 1780, the fifth chapter of that instrument was devoted to the University at Cambridge and

encouragement of literature. The second section of that chapter is in these words.

"Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties; and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people; it shall be the duty of legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this Commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them; especially the University at Cambridge, public schools, and grammar schools in the towns; to encourage private societies, and public institutions with rewards and immunities, for the promotion of agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trades, manufactures, and a natural history of the country; to countenance and inculcate the principles of humanity and general benevolence, public and private charity, industry and frugality, honesty and punctuality in their dealings, sincerity, good humor, and all social affections, and generous sentiments among the people."

Under this Constitution our common school system has continued to command the frequent attention of the State Government. June 25th, 1789, an act was passed, consisting of twelve sections, and entitled "an act to provide for the instruction of youth, and for the promotion of good education." This act sets forth, that,

"Whereas the Constitution of this Commonwealth hath declared it to be the duty of the General Court to provide for the education of youth; and whereas a general dissemination of knowledge and virtue is necessary to the prosperity of every State, and the very existence of a Commonwealth; it is enacted, that schools be kept in all towns according to the number of families; and in towns of two hundred families, a grammar school; and it is enjoined on all instructers of youth to take diligent care, and to exert their best endeavours, to impress on the minds of children and youth committed to their care and instruction, the principles of piety, justice, and a sacred regard to truth, love to their country, humanity and universal benevolence, sobriety, industry and frugality, chastity, moderation and temperance, and those other virtues which are the ornament of human society, and the basis upon which the republican constitution is structured, and to endeavour to lead those under their care into a particular understanding of the tendency of the before-mentioned virtues to preserve and

perfect a republican constitution, and to secure the blessings of liberty, as well as to promote their future happiness ; and the tendency of the opposite vices to slavery and ruin."

Several additional acts were passed, from time to time, the essential provisions of which were consolidated, with some alterations, into the Act of 1826, Chapter 143 ; and afterwards embodied in the Twenty-third Chapter of the Revised Statutes, on which, with a few short subsequent acts, and the original constitutional provision, the school system of Massachusetts now depends.

It is not to be disguised, that the progress of our Common Schools since the Revolution has not kept pace with the advancement of society generally ; but, before proceeding to discuss the present state of the system, its defects and the requisite reforms, we trust our readers will indulge us in a few remarks upon the all-important subject of Education itself ; upon which, to avoid tediousness, we promise to be brief.

What is education, such education as deserves the name ? Not the getting by rote set forms of words which may be altogether barren of profitable fruit ; no, nor barely storing the memory with the information of facts, however extensive and useful. An abundant stock of these, judiciously laid in, may doubtless prove of wonderful advantage in the after occasions of life. But education, truly and faithfully accomplished, is the full and well-proportioned developement of all a man's physical, intellectual, and moral capacities ; such as sends him into the conflict of his earthly probation, a sound mind in a sound body, to fulfil the dictates of a sound heart. Training, aptly administered to this end, fosters and confirms all virtuous dispositions, checks and finally eradicates all unworthy propensities. The scholar learns to scorn ignoble objects of pursuit, and wisely bends his undivided energies, with an ingenuous ardor, to effect the liberal purposes of a comprehensive benevolence. He places his supreme happiness in the solid satisfaction of duty well performed. He knows how to choose the right ; and, having made his election, his understanding and all his corporeal faculties, operate in their several functions in due subordination to realize his will. He is nerved for the fight, he can breast himself manfully against every assault, he will triumph victoriously over all opposition, for he feels himself strengthened to every

good word and work, both in the inner and outer man. "I call, therefore, a complete and generous education," says Milton, "that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously, all the offices both private and public, of peace and war."

Under such instruction he will grow up to understand and realize his position in the universe, and his relations to his fellow creatures, and what it is incumbent on him to be and to do, by virtue of their mutual dependencies. Society has done much for him. It has raised him above the level of the brutes, and he owes to society a return, — a large return, — vastly more than he can ever pay, though he were a Bacon or a Newton, a Lafayette or a Washington ; but his inability to repay all does not release and cancel the debt of gratitude.

There is an indefeasible obligation upon every man to do something for the world he lives in. He should ever bear it on his conscience to discharge this duty. With the blessing of God, he should say to himself, "The world shall be somewhat better that I have lived in it." He who does not say this, in sincerity and truth, is no nobler than the beasts that perish. Morally he is beneath them ; for they act up to their light, and feel no responsibility for which they are not ready to give an account, while he lives in the daily sense that his part in the world's work is unperformed. While he yields no fruit, he only cumbers God's vineyard ; and, when he is cut down, but few will mourn over him.

Far otherwise is it with him in whose daily meditations philanthropy is ever present as a governing principle. Who are the truly useful ? To whom is the world indebted for those magnificent benefactions, which have blessed millions and generations, — improvements in government, advancement in religion, and in civilization ? To whom are mankind indebted for the noiseless but resistless progress of good principles, whereby greater changes are effecting in the condition of the whole human family, than have grown out of the efforts of the mightiest conquerors, or than have followed the most renowned revolutions of empire ? To those whose moral education has fixed in their hearts permanent and actuating principles of conduct. There have been men of erudition, whose memories were libraries for the singular benefit of their associates, but whose learning died with them. There have been men of forecast and sagacity unsurpassed,

— our own times have witnessed some of them, — who, having no rule of action except their own immediate advantage, have been governed by circumstances, instead of subjecting circumstances to their own control. But those who are widely and lastingly useful, are the men upon the stability of whose moral character reliance can be safely reposed. With such the sense of duty is habitual ; and, therefore, even if they cannot boast of uncommon talents, extensive acquirements, or a broad field of action, still, as all their acts have the same tendency, their influence is always in the same direction ; and, operating silently and unseen, is the cause of meliorations in the moral tone of society, perceived after a few years by all, but understood while they are going on only by a few reflecting observers. With such, the performance of duty is pleasant, because all their desires are trained to accordance with the moral sense ; and they, therefore, do good naturally, and as of course, with less effort and internal struggle than the bad experience when they do evil.

It has sometimes been strangely questioned, whether a popular sound morality might not be the natural offspring of ignorance and delusion, and whether a refined education did not weaken in the soul the sanctions of religion, and relax those bonds which hold together the compact of society. But were it not blasphemy against the God of truth to doubt, that the illumination of the intellect with the radiance of wisdom infuses into the heart the love of virtue ? Goodness is the imprint which the sense of truth stamps indelibly upon the character. All noble thoughts are types of noble action. From the contemplation, to the imitation of ideal excellence, the transition is natural and easy. The divine light of moral science sheds a clear distinctness over our true interests, and shows the path of duty marked in a bold outline. Before its purifying beams, all evil thoughts and low desires vanish as the noonday splendor dissipates the mists of the valley. The well-educated man stands before the world the image of his Maker, having attained as nearly as may be to the perfection of his moral nature. He exhibits not merely a speculative but an active virtue, and all beholders are constrained to confess that wisdom is justified of her children.

If indeed the security of the public morality reposed on the public ignorance, if delusion were the palladium of our well-being, miserable would be the condition of humanity ;

for ignorance is of the earth, earthy, and must soon pass away. But the progress and prosperity of our race rest on no temporary and precarious reliance. When delusion has died of old age, truth will still flourish in eternal vigor. She renews her youth like the eagle. When to mortal eyes she appears vanishing for ever, behold, like the young sun rejoicing in his course, she rises again. She is not of created things, and is therefore exempt from their destiny. God's well-beloved daughter knows neither age nor decay. Before the work of creation began, she was with the Father of all things; and, when Time shall have ceased to be, she will stand before his throne, and still bask in the living light of the ineffable presence.

It is not merely poetry, but the ultimate result of all moral argument, that "true self-love, and social, are the same." "This is the foundation of all human wisdom," says Le Père Buffier, "the source from which all virtues, purely natural, flow, the general principle of all morals, and of all human society, that while I live with other men, who equally with myself desire to be happy, I must try to discover the means of increasing my own happiness, by augmenting that of others." Cicero regarded it as the basis of ethics, "ut eadem sit utilitas uniuscujusque et universorum." A higher authority than Cicero has established a whole code of duty upon the maxim, "Do ye therefore unto others as ye would that others should do unto you."

It is impossible therefore that the study even of temporary interests should derogate from the just influence of moral principles, at least while conducted on broad and comprehensive views; since there is no contrariety between them, but rather a strict conformity, the more evident as those interests are better understood.

But it is not to be forgotten, that the cultivation of the intellect is but a part, and not the most important part of a good and perfect education. The preëminent worth of moral cultivation should be strongly impressed on every parent and teacher. With a little care, many salutary precepts may be instilled into the minds of youth, such as shall deserve to be treasured up among the guiding maxims of their lives, and meditated upon as the fundamental principles of practical wisdom. These, being firmly rooted in their memories, will help them to form solid and substantial characters, which in

after life will stand the test of every trial. Correct habits must be acquired, the sovereignty of conscience over the whole man must be established, the power of self-reliance must be gained, and the sentiment of independence nourished. Imbued with virtuous principles, and having learned to prize above all price and to preserve at every hazard the testimony of an approving conscience, the youth goes into the world armed at all points. To gird him with this panoply should be the endeavour of his moral education.

Almost the best defence, at least one of the strongest safeguards of morality, is the feeling of independence. If the world thinks that to be right which you think to be wrong, follow your own opinion, and preserve your self-respect. Consider that you would rather be honorable and despised, than be honored and despicable. If the world holds you in light esteem because it misunderstands your character, every mark of disrespect which it bestows upon you is a certificate of the beauty and excellence of those virtues in which it erroneously supposes you to be deficient. But if the world, while it knows your character, disesteems you, because the principles that regulate your conduct are above the received standard of morality, and it is incapable of appreciating them, retire within your own bosom and enjoy that serene consciousness of rectitude, which can sustain undisturbed the hoarse clamor of popular invective. He who has the fortitude and the constancy to do this, and to go on steadily in the path of duty visible to his eyes alone, experiences not merely that tranquil satisfaction which a sense of obligation fulfilled brings always with it, but a loftier, nobler, prouder pleasure, even the most exalted of which our nature is susceptible here on earth, that unalloyed felicity which is the prerogative of integrity invincible amid allurement or peril. The stern and solemn joy which bore the martyrs triumphant and exulting through their trials, which supported them and gave them the victory over shame and anguish and death itself, is the due reward of original and peculiar virtue, of virtue manifested in spite of temptation, — in spite of what is still harder to be resisted, ridicule, opprobrium, and scorn.

He who is educated as all the youth of a Republic should be, his virtuous dispositions corroborated into fixed habits, his knowledge of his own powers and capacities perfected into a modest but confident self-reliance, his heart steeled

with the inflexible determination to guard and preserve unviolated the sanctity of his own self-approval, while an enlightened conscience with a distinct and unequivocal bidding calls him onward and upward in the path of a purer morality, though the blandishments of fashionable example draw him backward and downward with the witchery of sympathy, will never yield to the seduction, nor be disobedient to the dictates of that monitor whose precepts are not set at nought without punishment. He will not follow the multitude to do evil against light and conviction. The mean and cowardly abandonment of principle for precedent, the despicable dereliction of that course, straight though solitary, in which the very instinct of a noble spirit urges him on, never suggests itself to his contemplation as within the range of possible alternatives. He will not sacrifice that pure delight which neither the smiles of the world can give, nor their frowns take away. He will not surrender himself an unwilling and a miserable slave to the tyranny of custom, a servitude which becomes every day more and more intolerable, which exacts compliances still more and more degrading, which never loosens its hold till it has reduced the spirit, created to be free, to a grovelling dependence on the decisions and caprices of others.

With youth so educated, we should have none of that dissipation, without relish, endured, under a secret disgust, for fashion's sake ; none of that servility of manners, the corruption engendered in the dotage of feudalism, preposterously imported into the wholesome simplicity of a vigorous republic ; no prevarication in business, no equivocation in professions, no cant in criticism, no shuffling in politics, no temporizing in morals, no hypocrisy in religion. We should live in an honest and straight-forward world. Far distant though the dawning of this millennium may be, it is none the less desirable to hasten it onward ; and though it were taken for certain, that neither we nor our children should ever enjoy the full fruition of so blessed a state, we should none the less strive for the nearest approach that we can attain to it.

What we may reasonably hope from the diffusion of education may in some degree be estimated by observing what it is that education has done for us already. It has constituted the essential differences between different men, and also between different nations. It is the correct understanding of

his own true interests that makes one man happily virtuous, and it is because he is not thus enlightened that another becomes miserably vicious. In one nation, brutalizing superstition, abject poverty, and veneration for ancient abuses, forbid improvement, and keep the people stationary in the first stages of their natural progress; so that generation after generation drags out its wretched existence, toiling barely to support life and to secure a few of the baser animal gratifications, because no ray of knowledge has pierced the thick darkness which envelopes them, to discover to them any more substantial good, or to enlarge the narrow horizon which limits their experience, their desires, their hopes, and their pleasures; while, in another nation, each succeeding generation, inheriting the full capacity for happiness which its predecessors possessed, opens for itself new sources of enjoyment, till it reaches the most refined and exalted, diffuses their blessings till they become accessible to countless multitudes, and thus purifies their passions, advances them in virtue, and raises them in the scale of moral and intellectual being, because divine science has illuminated their minds, and has shown them the inducement, the means, and the practicability of being happy. One nation grovels in slavery, because it does not know its rights; another preserves but a small portion of liberty, because it knows not how to defend what it has obtained, or to regain what it has lost; while another exults in the unrestrained exercise of its energies, because it knows what freedom is, and knows how to value and to guard it. We have seen, from their legislative declarations, that our fathers were duly sensible of this great truth, and that therefore, anticipating the evils which ignorance would inevitably bring upon their posterity, they established the common-school system, — an institution singularly well calculated to perpetuate general information, — in the hope that we should not suffer the flame of knowledge to expire, but rather keep alive the sacred torch, and hand it down from age to age with undiminished lustre.

To show the whole extent of the change produced by education, and to exhibit it in the most striking light, we might take that bare, forked, unsophisticated animal, the human savage, examine his condition, and mark the slow degrees by which he rises. His instincts are less clear, his senses less acute, his strength, and swiftness, and vigor less extraordi-

nary than those of several of the quadrupeds. Necessity drives him to observe the qualities of things, and to take advantage of such as he can make serviceable to his purposes. Nature seems at first sight to have treated him like a step-son. She sets him down upon the barren waste, naked and houseless, yet needing clothing and shelter; without swiftness to overtake the herds that wander over the pastures, or force to conquer, or weapons to defend himself against, the fierce monsters that prey upon them; in short, destitute, weak, and helpless. Knowledge gives him clothing, shelter, food, and tools. With tools he constructs machines, with machines he manufactures comforts and luxuries, and with all these he accumulates wealth, for his own future enjoyment, and to bequeath to his children after him. He establishes governments to protect his life and wealth; under whose wing he prosecutes his researches and improvements, till he considers him ignorant whom earlier ages would have called wise, and him poor whom the first stages of society would have styled rich.

But, without insisting upon so broad a contrast as that between man sunk in the brutal stupor of absolute ignorance, and man elevated to the highest refinement of Christian civilization, let us consider the effect of the sudden diffusion of information in the latter part of the fifteenth century.

So soon as knowledge began to shed her beams over benighted Europe, the beneficial effect of her influence was apparent. A spirit of innovation, a spirit full of hope, though sometimes ill directed, was abroad before the breaking out of the Reformation. That great convulsion, though it did not free faith, at once, from all its absurdities, and though it, at first, only restored reason to a divided empire, yet delivered the intellect from shackles more galling than any that remain; from venerable superstitions and inveterate prejudices. Those which remain are shaken, and totter, now that so many collateral errors which supported them are overthrown. Those, which have sprung up since, are temporary and scarcely to be feared.

The excitement, which the discussion of questions, in which every man felt himself so deeply concerned, was naturally calculated to generate, the political considerations with which they were complicated tended still more to heighten. The impulse, which the intellect then received, carried it far be-

yond the intention or expectation of the movers. We can form some idea of its influence by tracing out its ramifications into all the controversies, theological, metaphysical, moral, and political of the present day. We shall not overrate its importance, if we ascribe to it all the superiority which the Protestant nations, as a body, may claim over the Catholic. In learning and in refinement, in wealth and in enterprise, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, in the latter half of the fifteenth century, were in advance of Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and the other now Protestant states of Germany. But how stands the comparison subsequently? Their history since that time has been that of the rise of the Protestant, and the decline of the Catholic nations; and for this no other sufficient reason can be assigned than the comparative freedom of thought and of speech in the one, and the repose and constraint of the faculties in the other. But the contrast, startling as it is, does not exhibit the full measure of what we owe to the Reformation. Even the Catholic nations have been compelled in self-defence to cultivate literature and the sciences; even they have been led to reform abuses, and finally, in a most praiseworthy degree, to practise tolerance; so that we must pass to the credit of the Reformation not only the superiority of the Protestant nations, but also much that is excellent in the conduct of the Catholics; and whatever good the Reformation may have effected is to be primarily attributed to the diffusion of knowledge among the people.

If we examine the progress, which those occupations on which the greater part of mankind depend for their subsistence have made in modern times, we shall find the same cause operating here. Not merely the increase of knowledge, but the diffusion of knowledge generally among the people, has produced most of the phenomena of our present situation.

Agriculture was formerly carried on in so slovenly and improvident a manner, that terrible famines frequently devastated countries, which then contained not half the population they now support in plenty. Those who tilled the soil had no immediate personal interest in the profit or loss of the harvest. The land was in the hands of the hereditary nobility, and there it would have remained, if what, in Europe, are called the lower classes, had continued in ignorance. But, since the diffusion of knowledge has brought

about the Reformation, the independence and freedom of America, the French Revolution, the downfall of the feudal system, and the consequent improvement in the condition of the laboring classes, agriculture is carried on, in several nations of the world, by those who reap the benefit of the product. It is no longer monopolized by lords, nor cultivated by slaves. In those countries where the land is in the possession of an intelligent and independent yeomanry, it has become a garden of fertility. The dense population of England and of Holland, and the thirty millions of France, import but little food, and yet are better fed in years of scarcity than the scanty and beggarly population of the same countries three centuries and a half ago.

Manufactures also owe their developement to the growing importance of the new classes, to whom knowledge has given wealth, and to the influence they have had in altering the habits and wants of the old exclusive proprietors. While the feudal baron lived in his castle, consumed the harvest of his domains to maintain state in his hall, and devoted his surplus revenue, if he had any, to service in the wars, or to quarrels with his neighbours, manufactures were few and simple ; but since the class, having numerous wants and ample means of gratifying them, has been so vastly increased, Philosophy has employed herself in the service of the useful arts, the whole force of chemistry has been brought to bear upon the processes of manufacture, and ingenuity now invents more machinery for cheapening and perfecting operations, in a single year, than formerly would have sufficed to be the boast of a whole century. The consequence of this change has been the amazing facility and rapidity with which manufacturing industry multiplies its productions ; so that articles, which, fifty years ago, were esteemed luxuries, are now ranked among the ordinary comforts of life, and the daily labor of a working man will now earn for him a reasonable supply of many accommodations and pleasures, which, before the mechanical age commenced, were only within the reach of the wealth of princes.

Internal intercourse, the convenience of travel and transportation, are almost altogether of modern growth. Savages have no roads, and yet without roads it is impossible to make any great progress in civilization. You may have mines of coal in one county, mines of the best iron ore in

the next county, and both be useless for want of vehicles and means of transportation. A bad road, such as the roads in Poland at the present day, or such as the best roads in England two hundred years ago, doubles the price of a bulky article, like wheat, in thirty or forty miles' carriage. Of course, with such roads, there could be little traffic. Now, thanks to the genius of Clinton and Fulton, bulky articles, such as pork and flour, are furnished to the consumer, more than a thousand miles from the producer, cheaper than they could be raised in his immediate neighbourhood; and the cost is equalized over a whole vast continent. The improvement in travelling is not the least of the miracles which steam has wrought. In 1703, Prince George had occasion to go from Windsor to Petworth, about forty miles. An attendant describes the journey. "We set out at six in the morning, by torch light, to go to Petworth, and did not get out of the coaches, save only when we were overturned or stuck fast in the mire, till we arrived at our journey's end. 'T was a hard service for the Prince, to sit fourteen hours in the coach that day, without eating any thing, &c." The rest of the account is equally dismal. Now, by the potent urgency of steam, one rushes from London to Liverpool almost with the speed of the wind. Before the Revolution, the journey between New York and Boston was quite a serious undertaking; now you take your tea in New York, enjoy a night's sound sleep, and breakfast in Boston the next morning.

The transmission of intelligence by letters and newspapers is one of the most remarkable results of modern information. Nothing important takes place in Arkansas or Wisconsin, that is not known, as fast as steam can carry it, from Georgia to Maine. Nearly three thousand newspaper establishments disseminate it, and more than thirteen thousand post-offices forward and distribute it, receiving more than four millions of dollars a year for the postage of letters. These facts could not exist except where the power of reading and writing is universal. Alfred the Great complained, that, from the Humber to the Thames, there was not a priest who understood the liturgy in his mother tongue, and from the Thames to the sea they were still more ignorant. As late as the fourteenth century, Du Guesclin, constable of France, the greatest man in the state, and one of the greatest men of his age, could neither read nor write. Of course, neither Alfred, nor Du Guesclin,

nor their countrymen, patronized either newspapers or post-offices ; yet how much of civilization is due to the prompt and general intercommunication of ideas, it would be difficult to determine. It is in fact the application of steam to the process of thought, transmitting a train of reasoning commenced in one mind, to be completed in another, though a continent may intervene. The effect of this division of labor, and multiplication of laborers, in the intellectual world, can hardly be over-estimated.

While ignorance confined men's views within narrow limits, they scarcely dreamed of appropriating, and bringing into common use, any thing which they must resort to distant countries to obtain. Before science had brought navigation to a higher state of perfection than it ever obtained among the ancients, it could not have ventured across pathless oceans ; since the discovery of America, it has changed the condition of the world. It has been the chief source of the great accumulations of capital in modern times ; it has been the great promoter of civilization, and has done more than any other agent to bring about that community of interest and of feeling, which is beginning to unite nations in bonds more durable than the fragile treaties framed by jealous politicians. Through its benignant power, the blessings, which Providence had allotted to one region, are participated in by all ; and climates, soils, and countries have not been diversified in vain.

The New World has received from the Old the invaluable gift of a noble race of men, more civilized and better informed than ever were colonists before. They came in the fulness of time ; they have established here, where they were unembarrassed by the obstacles, which still retard the progress of their brethren left behind, those free institutions which are the admiration of mankind, and which keep alive the hope of the almost desponding patriot, who, on the other side of the Atlantic, sends up his ardent aspirations to Heaven that he may enjoy such liberty with such protection. The New World is repaying to the Old, richly repaying, the debt she owes her, by the example she holds out for imitation ; an example whose value cannot now be estimated, but which the future philosopher and historian will discuss, as well as record. Not the least brilliant trait in this example is our common-school system, which ensures the perpetuity of that

wisdom and virtue, which are the only safe foundation of republics, an institution which the Prussian monarchy has not hesitated to adopt, and in some respects improve. Let Massachusetts take heed, that Prussia does not leave her behind in the career of improvement.

The aggrandizement of the whole society, as a body politic, is not now so much the object of good government as to afford the fairest opportunities for the perfection of the individual character. Having observed those momentous revolutions, which the dissemination of knowledge has effected through the world at large, let us study the influence of education upon the individual.

The laws of hygiene having been first obeyed, the objects of education are twofold; to enlighten and instruct the understanding, and to perfect the moral sense and form the heart. The first of these is subordinate in importance, and subsidiary in purpose, to the second, because the intellect is only the agent for carrying into effect the determinations of the will. If these determinations are righteous, it will be well for mankind when vigorous and cultivated mental powers are subservient to their sway; if, on the other hand, they are iniquitous, it is a deplorable and a wide-felt calamity, that talents and information should be employed to accomplish them. A bold bad man is an enemy to be feared, and watched, and hedged in on every side. A man possessing and abusing the highest order of faculties, natural and acquired, should be shown less countenance, and command less respect, than an ignoramus or an *imbecile;* for all the deference paid to his formidable eminence is so much homage to the power of evil. Whatever degree of influence is yielded to him, so far the social interests and the public and private virtues are endangered, or, it should rather be said, must necessarily suffer. Knowledge, then, like all other power, may prove a blessing or a curse to him who wields it, and to those who experience its pervading, overcoming strength, operating upon their condition, circumstances, and character.

Knowledge is good or bad, according as it is well or ill used; and how it shall be used depends upon the moral sense, the product mostly of the moral education. We cannot say of a confirmed morality that it is good or bad, according to the amount of knowledge one possesses with it. Morality is good of itself, whether one be well-informed or

altogether unlearned. One may hold all the truth in unrighteousness, and deserve the more to be condemned because he holds it; but, if any one does the will of his Maker, if he does always what is just and right, though ignorant and humble and despised, he has chosen that good part of a complete education, which cannot be taken away from him, and without which all the rest of the most finished education that genius could conceive, would be only the worthless adorning of a base, superficial, unsubstantial hollow-heartedness, covered with an outward show of false pretences, but destitute of any fixed, internal, permanent principle of conduct. It follows, that morality is to be regarded as the basis and foundation of the character, and that, to instil into the youthful breast sound moral principles, — principles of benevolence, uprightness, justice, and honor, — and to confirm and guard these principles with such belief, impressions, and habits, as shall make their stability through all possible vicissitudes of life almost infallibly certain, should be the primary object, the grand end and aim, of a well-directed education. In accordance with this design, and as contributing most effectually to secure it, intellectual cultivation should not be neglected; but it must never be forgotten, that the means are valuable only in so far as they conduce to the end, and that knowledge, a treasure above all price in the service of philanthropy, becomes an inexhaustible fountain of woe, when, pressed into the employment of vice, its natural tendency is perverted, and its mighty, effective energies are devoted to the infliction of evil.

These general considerations are quite sufficient of themselves to satisfy us with what fundamental views we ought to set about the education of our children. But perhaps the conclusion to which we have already arrived will be impressed more deeply on our minds, if we examine a little in detail into the ordinary consequences of moral character. Let us cast a penetrating glance through the innumerable varieties of moral disposition and of external circumstances in the world about us, and inquire whose lot and situation are on the whole desirable, and whose are earnestly to be deprecated. It will be easy to decide, whether happiness, usefulness, and genuine wisdom are not uniformly to be found associated with a pure morality. If it is apparent, undeniable, that they are so, let us then ask ourselves, whether we can begin

too early, or labor too assiduously, to establish broad, solid, and lasting foundations for a virtuous character.

Who are the truly happy? Whatever be the enjoyments in which we make happiness to consist, it will still be a demonstrable truth, that morality furnishes the only plain and certain road to its attainment.

If we wish to derive from the indulgence of our senses the greatest aggregate of satisfaction they can afford, wealth supplies the means. How can wealth be accumulated? Various as are the expedients of different men, one general rule applies to them all, a rule so universally recognised that it is condensed into a proverb, never doubted by any man endowed with common sense, the rule that "honesty is the best policy."

In the infancy of society, when the right of property was but little respected, the advantage of honesty as a matter of policy merely, to the few who practised it, must have been small, compared to the benefit of a strict adherence to that virtue in times when it is generally practised and universally professed. Still, in the rudest savage state, a code of virtue originates in the necessities of men's situation; simple, yet soon, from its obvious utility, approved by all, and enforced by public opinion. The necessity of good faith in the world was a fact felt to be real as soon as human intercourse began. The heathen nations, though they abandoned themselves to the practice of many gross vices, were so sensible of the beauty and excellence of virtue, that they applauded philosophers who taught a morality almost as strict as that of modern Christendom; and so correct were the decisions of their consciences, as to draw from an Apostle the observation, that the Gentiles, being without law, were a law unto themselves. In the Roman commonwealth, during the earlier period of its history, the sterner, and what may properly be called the more republican virtues, were more severely practised and held in higher honor than they have ever been among any modern nation, from the strong conviction rooted in the breasts of that people of their expediency, or rather their necessity for the gratification of the master-passion, the desire of aggrandizing the Roman power. As society has become more civilized, it has been seen more plainly, that mutual confidence is the only tie that can bind mankind together in communities; and that a general observance of the

laws of morality is the only basis upon which mutual confidence can be durably established.

He who acts in defiance of these principles is treated as a common enemy. Such being the consent of all men in civilized society, while they all agree in the grand outlines of general morality, and not only believe, but feel, each one, a personal and immediate interest in their binding obligation, he who contravenes them sets himself in controversy with the rest of his species. He sets himself at war also with universal interests, and with immutable principles. He might as well oppose the order of physical nature, and think to evade the law of gravitation, as attempt to move counter to the elements of civil society; in either case, and just as infallibly in the one as in the other, the result must be his entire discomfiture.

Compare the general results of opposite systems of conduct. Of the artificers of their own fortunes, rarely can one be found who has built himself up by the force of a superior intellect in defiance of the obligations of morality. If here and there you may meet with a single unprincipled and profligate example of undeserved success, who seems to be basking in the sunshine of prosperity, suspend your judgment awhile, and mark well the issue. Almost invariably, some sudden catastrophe, the consequence of his violation of the principles of rectitude, arrests him in his brief career, and overwhelms him with calamity. But of the same class of self-made men, fortunately under our republican institutions a very numerous class, thousands and tens of thousands have risen, not by strength of talents, but by an unexceptionable course of direct and upright dealing in all their concerns. Turn to the other side of the account, and who people our prisons and houses of correction? Men not wanting in talents, but of unbalanced minds, and irregular and defective developement of character. Men born with capacities for greatness and goodness, but wrecked and ruined in the outset, because their moral education has been neglected or conducted on false principles. Men mighty to perpetuate evil, to corrupt and to contaminate others, but imbecile for virtuous action, because their vilest passions, left unchecked when they should have been subdued, have acquired a vigor and energy which conscience cannot curb nor prudence restrain, and have assumed the complete mastery over their

whole nature. The inmates of prisons make rapid progress in all the mysteries of wickedness ; yet the ablest of those pupils of sin, once discharged from their dismal abode, are the soonest to return ; so little do tact and skill avail an individual in a struggle with the universal interests of society, and so surely do vicious habits and propensities, fastening upon him like an incubus which cannot be shaken off, bear down their victim with a pressure under which he cannot rise. These men employ talents, oftentimes, and exercise an ingenuity and an application, the tenth part of which would have been sufficient to insure success in any prudent course of virtuous enterprise, but which, misdirected by the impulses of a bad heart, earn for them nothing but poverty, wretchedness and just contempt, and only sink them deeper in the abyss of despair.

Thus much of the influence on our condition in life of moral character, the product of moral education, treating only of extreme cases ; yet the majority, who occupy intermediate stations, are subject to the same laws. Among us, few are absolutely destitute without some fault of their own, though multitudes suffer under privations, if not extreme want, who are honest and worthy citizens, or, at least, never guilty of any heinous crime. The distress of far the greater number of these may be justly attributed to the neglect of what some consider to be moralities of lesser obligation, — such as industry, punctuality, and frugality. Though idleness, habitual procrastination, and prodigality, do not ordinarily pass under the denomination of crimes, yet they are morally wrong, and always bring after them heavy punishments. They are, moreover, the most prolific sources of intemperance, and intemperance is the parent of every woe and crime. A correct moral education, therefore, would remove most of the causes of poverty, as well as of much greater evils, by making men industrious, prompt, punctual, frugal, and temperate.

When we speak of the beneficial effect of such an education on the pecuniary circumstances of the next generation, we are far from intimating that there are not other interests involved of much more momentous importance. Heaven forbid, that morality should ever be dissevered from religious motives, and debased to a sordid calculation of profit and loss ; bereft of that life-giving spirit, which elevates and en-

nobles it, which extends its sphere beyond the narrow confines of self, and pushes its prospective vision farther than time can limit or than space can bound.

Wealth is not only fleeting ; it is neither the sole, nor the best foundation on which to rest our hopes of happiness, even while it lasts. Respectability of character is of far higher value, and much less likely to be lost through the caprices of fortune. It would be a waste of words to show, that an unspotted moral life must confer respectability, and that respect derived from whatever qualities, without this, must be short-lived and of little worth. Equally self-evident is it, that those who live in the constant practice of moral duty, though wealth and respect should both desert them, have internal resources for consolation of which they cannot be deprived. He who possesses a conscience void of offence is passing rich, whether he has much or little of this world's goods. He who is not afraid to be alone with his Maker, is independent of the smiles or frowns of the world. The sunshine of prosperity, the tempest of adversity, neither seduce nor terrify his steadfast soul. The basis on which his happiness is fixed, the immovable, imperturbable basis of a good conscience, he owes to a good moral education.

For the purposes of such an education as we have described, our common schools are as yet, it must be confessed, lamentably deficient. The virtuous impulses which swell the heart of this great nation were hardly imparted there. The schools have done much for the intellect, furnishing the rudiments of knowledge, which their pupils have improved afterwards. Indirectly, they have done much for sound morals, because all good learning has a wholesome influence ; but their direct action upon moral character has never been all that it should be. Parental instruction and guidance have formed the hearts of this generation ; and, where these have been wanting, youth have been left to be the sport of casual associations and accidental circumstances. Of course, in the forming period of life, much must always depend on right beginnings ; our reliance is mainly, in the first instance, upon maternal care, and afterwards on both the parents. But the school must not stand neutral ; it must be brought forward, and made to fulfil its part, as the most powerful auxiliary.

Universal education, a higher education, such as shall put to shame not past ages only, but the present, must be provided for. The want is felt, and will not longer be endured

without a strenuous effort to meet it. The philanthropist, the patriot, and the Christian feel the urgent need of a generous developement of the noblest powers and faculties, and the richest affections of our common nature, through that dull mass of humanity in whom they now slumber inert and almost lifeless. The refinement of taste, which, without intellectual and moral cultivation, ends only in elegant imbecility ; financial prosperity, which, if not pressed into the service of virtue, may be prostituted to engender corruption ; absorbing political interests, which convulse the Union to its centre, and which unhallowed ambition may pervert to the destruction of freedom, all these are insignificant, are as nothing and less than nothing, compared with this paramount necessity. The cry of the age is for true education. Its advent is longed for, and prayed for, and believed in. It seems just bursting above our moral horizon, radiant with knowledge and virtue, shedding light into the understanding, and pouring warmth into the heart, a genial sun whose beams are for the healing of the nations. Glorious visions of future progress, and blessed omens of their coming consummation throng upon the soul, and fill it with comfort and joy, when the evidences of the earnest awakening of mankind, under the vivifying and quickening influences of this bright-dawning era, present themselves to our view.

How is the great work to be accomplished ? What are our means of levelling the fortifications, impregnable since the creation of the world, in which ignorance and vice have entrenched themselves ? Hope, which was Cæsar's only portion when he went into Gaul ; faith in man's high nature and destiny ; the ardent enthusiasm which the grand object to be attained inspires ; the unquenchable zeal already active, and which will never rest, nor pause, till the victory is achieved, and darkness abdicates her narrowed empire.

It is manifest, that the people themselves must be the immediate agents in the revolution. Impressed with its usefulness, aware that the time has come for a seasonable effort, prepared to submit to sacrifices, and determined to overcome difficulties, it is in their power to begin and complete in a few years a wonderful change, extending to the entire regeneration of society. The humblest laborer in the undertaking will reap, in his own personal share of the benefit, an adequate remuneration for all his toil ; while the loftiest ambition may well be allured to earn and win the enduring honor of so

brilliant and dazzling an enterprise. Ignorance will not fall an easy prey ; he has survived many attacks, he has grown old in dominion, he will die with harness at his back ; but perish he must, if history teaches any sure lesson, if there be any thing certain in philosophy, if the steady march of improvement be not a dream, if the omnipotence of truth be not a fable, if our kind Father did not create us to be from age to age the bondmen of error. None doubt it, save the stony-ground hearers of nature's teachings, in whose minds the experience of the world is barren of consequences.

When the enlightened and the virtuous fully realize their responsibility in this matter, as the signs of the times convince us they do in some good degree already, public opinion will imperatively demand a more elevated standard of youthful education. A legislative expression of this demand, even if government went no further, would carry with it great weight. Such an expression emanated from the legislature of Massachusetts in the Act of April 20th, 1837.

By that act a Board of Education was established, having the general superintendence of the common-school system of the State, and required to report to the legislature all their doings, with such observations as their experience and reflection may suggest, upon the condition and efficiency of our system of popular education, and the most practicable means of improving and extending it. Their first Annual Report was submitted on the 1st of February last, and is now before the public, including the first Report of their Secretary, in a pamphlet of seventy-five pages.

Individuals may contribute to raise the popular standard of education, by their direct personal influence in society, by written discussions of the subject, in the newspapers and other periodical as well as occasional publications, and through the reports of school committees, which are, by the Act of April 11th, 1838, required to be made annually, "designating particular improvements and defects in the methods or means of education, and stating such facts and suggestions in relation thereto, as in their opinion will best promote the interests and increase the usefulness of said schools," and to be read in open town-meeting, or printed and distributed for the use of the inhabitants. By delivering or promoting public lectures, and by assisting in the formation and management of associations for collecting and diffusing information on the

subject, or by coöperating with the Board of Education in its efforts for this purpose, or, though last, not least, by furnishing pecuniary means, the good work may be hastened on.

The Act of 12th April, 1837, authorizes an expenditure of thirty dollars for the first year, and ten dollars for every subsequent year, by each school district in the Commonwealth, for the purchase of a district school library. These sums, small as they are, will be found, in the present economy of printing, amply sufficient for the object. In a very few years, they will command a library of more than two hundred volumes, which, if judiciously selected, may be made to contain more profitable and instructive reading than is now to be found within the limits of the district, in at least four-fifths of the whole number now in the State. We speak advisedly upon this point. We have at this moment beside us, a pile of from sixty to seventy volumes, selected with a view to this object, mostly duodecimos, of two or three hundred pages; and we know many gentlemen in the learned professions, of good estate, and residing in our large towns, whose libraries do not include half the amount of really valuable matter. It is understood, that a neat edition of fifty volumes, approved by the Board of Education as suitable for common-school libraries, is about to be published and sold at a very moderate rate, plainly and substantially bound, and placed in cases well adapted for convenient transportation, and afterwards to serve as the permanent place of deposite.

It is highly desirable that every school district should avail itself of this provision of the law. These books, being fitted for common use, would pass from the scholar into the family, and increase the interest of parents in the better education of their children, by giving them new views of its value.

Much good might unquestionably be effected by the publication of a periodical journal, of which the exclusive object should be to promote the cause of common-school education. Such a journal, devoted to collecting and diffusing information on this subject, to the discussion of the numerous important questions which belong to it, to the formation of a sound and intelligent public opinion, and the excitement of a warm and energetic public sentiment, might render incalculable service. The Board of Education are decidedly of opinion, that a journal of this description would be the most valuable auxiliary which could be devised to carry into exe-

cution the enlightened policy of the government in legislating for the improvement of the schools, and they indulge a sanguine hope that it will shortly be established, under such auspices as will go far to insure its success.

After all, the great work of reformation is to be effected in the schools themselves, and in the qualifications of the teachers more especially. One serious obstacle in the way of this improvement is, the little interest taken by the most enlightened part of the community, we speak it with regret, in the condition of the common schools, from the circumstance that their own children are receiving education in private schools at their own expense. This naturally leads to a remissness and neglect, which can by no means be justified, on the part of those who are most strongly bound by every consideration to concern themselves in the improvement of education. The number of scholars in private schools appears by the returns to be twenty-seven thousand two hundred and sixty-six, while the whole number of children in the State, between the ages of four and sixteen years, stands in the returns, one hundred and seventy-seven thousand and fifty-three. From the nature of our political institutions, these thirty thousand will not control the political destiny of the hundred and eighty thousand, thirty years hence, but just the reverse. The five-sixths will fix the standard of taste, of morality, and of general conduct, to which the one-sixth will conform, and above which very few only, with infinite labor, can raise themselves. The five-sixths will possess the legislative authority, elect the executive, and thereby fill the judiciary, according to their own notions of expediency and right. They are to have, then, the disposal of property, life, and liberty for their generation, and are so to mould and modify the institutions of their country as powerfully to influence, for good or evil, the generation that shall come after them. Could they be left, as happily they cannot be, to grow up in political and moral profligacy, in the unrestrained indulgence of their bad passions, an individual, or a class of men, of superior wealth and education, would be merely at their mercy, a feather upon a stormy sea. No man is independent of the public immediately about him. He is elevated by its good influences, even though his early education was defective. He is debased by the daily spectacle and contact of debasement, and, though fitted for better things, generally

sinks into the surrounding mass of corruption. If there be any who are deaf to the voice of patriotism, philanthropy, and duty, let them at least regard the welfare of their own offspring. The public opinion of our times is the moral atmosphere which we all breathe in common. If it be wholesome, it invigorates and sustains us ; if poisonous, we all languish, and the feeble perish. How imperative the obligation, and grateful the task to preserve its purity ; how fatal its contamination, and how censurable is their supineness through whose fault we are put in peril.

We are all embarked in one bottom, and must sink or swim together. Will not the sharp-sighted look to it, that the ship be sea-worthy, and preclude betimes avoidable dangers ?

The amount paid for tuition in private schools, for one-sixth of the children of the State, is three hundred and twenty-eight thousand dollars ; while the amount raised by taxes for the education of the other five-sixths in public schools is four hundred and sixty-five thousand, and the amount voluntarily contributed to the public schools is forty-eight thousand dollars. If these sums were added together, and the whole eight or nine hundred thousand dollars were judiciously applied to common-school education, it cannot be doubted, that all the children might receive a higher order of instruction than now falls to the lot of the favored sixth part.

The value of the annual products of the industry of Massachusetts is about one hundred millions of dollars, of which less than one per cent. is appropriated to the education of children, and less than ten per cent. is saved at the end of the year to be added to previous accumulations which form the permanent capital of the State. If two per cent. of this annual product were devoted to education, is it not probable, that the product itself would be greatly enlarged, and a better economy introduced into the expenditure of it, so that this addition to the permanent capital might be much more rapid ? We do not doubt, that the best education within the power of every town in this Commonwealth would in thirty years' time double the rate at which wealth increases.

If private schools were discountenanced, and those who now support them would turn their attention to the improvement of our common schools, the additional funds turned into this channel would be but a small part of the benefit derived

from the alteration. Those who set the highest value on education, and are determined at all costs to secure its blessings to their own children, instead of standing aloof from the general concerns, as too many of them now do, would be foremost in their zeal for the district schools, acting on committees, visiting the schools, selecting the teachers, advising and assisting them, contributing to their support, and to the erection of better houses, and the purchase of better furniture, apparatus, and libraries. There would also be thrown into the district and town schools a class of scholars more thoroughly educated already at the private schools, whose example would give a quickening impulse to emulation ; and, as those parents who have been willing to pay for private tuition are generally those who take most pains with their children at home, these children would continue to impart a good influence to the rest of the school, even after the immediate effect of the first infusion. A combined effort will produce a wonderful improvement. The district school in the central village of the town will no longer be, as it often is, the poorest in its whole territory, but it will be elevated to the rank of a model for the rest, and they will all gladly profit by the opportunity for imitation.

As soon as those who have withdrawn their children, because they were dissatisfied with the character of our common schools, come again to take a personal interest in their prosperity, there will be an active demand for better teachers. As soon as the fund now diverted to private schools is restored to this legitimate purpose, the means will be at hand for commanding the services of a higher order of teachers. It is notorious, that the small compensation paid in our public schools will not, as a general fact, induce men of talents and learning to take charge of them. The best instructers seek higher salaries in the private schools. But additional compensation will draw them back into the public service. The private schools, which would be surrendered for an energetic reform in the whole system, would in part supply the demand for better teachers. But there are in Massachusetts only eight hundred and fifty-four private schools and academies, while the aggregate number of teachers, male and female, employed in the public schools, either in summer or winter, is five thousand nine hundred and sixty-one. Besides, academies for the instruction of such youth as wished to

pursue the higher branches of learning, after completing the first stages of their education in the common schools, would not be diminished in number, though they would certainly be increased in excellence and efficiency, by the proposed reformation. Nor is it to be disguised, that many private teachers are no better qualified than those now employed by the public, so that there still remain considerably over five thousand instructers to be properly qualified for their task. It is obvious, that an extensive demand for well-educated teachers cannot at present be satisfied ; there is no supply ; but there must be a supply provided, and that forthwith.

We most cordially concur in the remarks of the Reverend Dr. Channing, in his address at the Odeon, on the 28th of February, 1837.

"We need an institution for the formation of better teachers ; and, until this step is taken, we can make no important progress. The most crying want in this Commonwealth is the want of accomplished teachers. We boast of our schools, but our schools do comparatively little, for want of educated instructers. Without good teaching, a school is but a name. An institution for training men to train the young would be a fountain of living waters, sending forth streams to refresh present and future ages. As yet, our legislators have denied to the poor and laboring classes this principal means of their elevation. We trust they will not always prove blind to the highest interest of the State.

"We want better teachers, and more teachers, for all classes of society, for rich and poor, for children and adults. We want that the resources of the community should be directed to the procuring of better instructers, as its highest concern. One of the surest signs of the regeneration of society will be, the elevation of the art of teaching to the highest rank in the community. When a people shall learn, that its greatest benefactors and most important members are men devoted to the liberal instruction of all its classes, to the work of raising to life its buried intellect, it will have opened to itself the path of true glory. This truth is making its way. Socrates is now regarded as the greatest man in an age of great men. The name of *king* has grown dim before that of *apostle*. To teach, whether by word or action, is the highest function on earth.

"Nothing is more needed, than that men of superior gifts and of benevolent spirit should devote themselves to the instruction of the less enlightened classes in the great end of

life, in the dignity of their nature, in their rights and duties, in the history, laws, and institutions of their country, in the philosophy of their employments, in the laws, harmonies, and productions of outward nature, and, especially, in the art of bringing up children in health of body, and in vigor and purity of mind. We need a new profession or vocation, the object of which shall be to wake up the intellect in those spheres where it is now buried in habitual slumber.

"We want a class of liberal-minded instructers, whose vocation it shall be, to place the views of the most enlightened minds within the reach of a more and more extensive portion of their fellow-creatures. The wealth of a community should flow out like water for the preparation and employment of such teachers, for enlisting powerful and generous minds in the work of giving impulse to their race.

"Nor let it be said that men, able and disposed to carry on this work, must not be looked for in such a world as ours. Christianity, which has wrought so many miracles of beneficence, which has sent forth so many apostles and martyrs, so many Howards and Clarksons, can raise up laborers for this harvest also. Nothing is needed but a new pouring out of the spirit of Christian love, nothing but a new comprehension of the brotherhood of the human race, to call forth efforts which seem impossibilities in a self-seeking and self-indulging age."

The legislature of the present year are fully impressed with the necessity of a provision for the education of school teachers, as appears from the Report of the Committee on Education, read in the House on the 22d of March last, and accepted, carrying with it an appropriation of ten thousand dollars, with the most gratifying unanimity. They thus express themselves, in language becoming our ancient Commonwealth;

"That the highest interest in Massachusetts is, and will always continue to be, the just and equal instruction of all her citizens, so far as the circumstances of each individual will permit it to be imparted; that her chief glory, for two hundred years, has been the extent in which this instruction was diffused, the result of provident legislation, to promote the common cause, and secure the perpetuity of the common interest; that, for many years, a well-grounded apprehension has been entertained, of the neglect of our common schools by large portions of our community, and of the comparative degradation to which these institutions might fall from such neglect; that the friends of universal education have long looked to the

legislature for the establishment of one or more seminaries devoted to the purpose of supplying qualified teachers for the town and district schools, by whose action alone other judicious provisions of law could be carried into full effect ; * * * that, although much has been done within two or three years, for encouragement of our town schools by positive enactment, and more by the liberal spirit, newly awakened in our several communities, yet the number of competent teachers is found, by universal experience, so far inadequate to supply the demand for them, as to be the principal obstacle to improvement, and the greatest deficiency of our republic."

The views of the Board of Education on this point are substantially those of the legislature. They remark in their Report of February last, that it is matter of too familiar observation to need repetition, that there are all degrees of skill and success on the part of teachers; nor can it be deemed unsafe to insist, that, while occupations requiring a very humble degree of intellectual effort and attainment demand a long-continued training, it cannot be, that the arduous and manifold duties of the instructer of youth should be as well performed without, as with, a specific preparation for them. In fact, it must be admitted, as the voice of reason and experience, that institutions for the formation of teachers must be established among us, before the all-important work of forming the minds of our children can be performed in the best possible manner, and with the greatest attainable success.

In those foreign countries where the greatest attention has been paid to the work of education, schools for teachers have formed an important feature in their systems, and with the happiest result. The art of imparting instruction has been found, like every other art, to improve by cultivation in institutions established for that specific object. New importance has been attached to the calling of the instructer by public opinion, from the circumstance, that his vocation has been deemed one requiring systematic preparation and culture. Whatever tends to degrade the profession in his own mind, or that of the public, of course, impairs his usefulness ; and this result must follow from regarding instruction as a business which in itself requires no previous training.

A well-timed act of noble, public-spirited munificence on the part of an individual, in the donation of ten thousand dollars towards the establishment of Normal Schools, led to the appropriation, on the part of the State, of the same sum, for

the same purpose, by the Resolves of the 19th of April, 1838, resolves fit for the anniversary of the battle of Lexington. It is understood that the Board of Education, at their annual meeting in the last week of May last, determined to take immediate measures for the establishment of one or more Normal Schools ; and we are happy to learn, that measures are now in train with every prospect of success, and that the most liberal spirit of coöperation is manifested in more than one section of the State ; so that a beginning will no doubt soon be made in the great enterprise of preparing adequate teachers for our common schools.

"Wherever the discharge of my duties has led me through the State, with whatever intelligent men I have conversed, the conviction has been expressed with entire unanimity," says the Secretary of the Board, "that there is an extensive want of competent teachers for the common schools." School committees allege, in justification of their approval of incompetent persons, the utter impossibility of obtaining better for the compensation offered. Yet it is often urged, that it would be useless to attempt to educate teachers, because the compensation is too small to induce young men of talents into the profession, or to justify an expense of time and means in preparing for it. This objection is, to some extent, plausible ; yet there are some obvious considerations which serve for an answer.

1. Educate teachers, and the compensation will be increased. If you furnish better teachers for the public schools, private schools will be discontinued, and leave at liberty a fund for public teachers. The average wages per month of the public teachers, including board, are for males, twenty-five dollars and forty-four cents, and for females, eleven dollars and thirty-eight cents. Subtract board at two dollars and fifty cents a week for males, and one dollar and fifty cents a week for females, and we have fifteen dollars and forty-four cents, for the male teachers, and five dollars and thirty-eight cents for female teachers, exclusive of board. If one half of the private schools were discontinued, and the expenditure of one hundred and sixty-four thousand dollars transferred to the public schools, this addition would raise the wages of teachers, exclusive of board, to twenty-five dollars for the males, and nine dollars for the females per month, unless the time of keeping school were lengthened.

2. If female teachers can be educated in the most perfect manner, they would be employed with great advantage in many of the schools now kept by men. There are two thousand three hundred and seventy male teachers employed in the public schools. Suppose females, at nine dollars a month, exclusive of board, to take the places of one half this number, a fund will remain sufficient to raise the wages of the remaining twelve hundred teachers, from twenty-five to forty-one dollars per month, exclusive of board, or at the rate of four hundred and ninety-two dollars a year, which we do not hesitate to say, as an average price for the whole State, is quite high enough to secure the services of gentlemen every way competent, in the business of teaching as a permanent profession. It is not necessary, then, that the public should raise a dollar more than they now do, unless they wish the schools to be kept a longer time. What the public now pay will enable them, by returning patronage from private to public schools, and by employing a larger proportion of female teachers, to offer such a compensation as will not only procure an adequate supply of well-educated young men and women for the profession, but even cause a competition among them for employment, instead of the difficulty now experienced by committees to find one competent candidate by long and diligent inquiry.

3. The calculation does not stop here. It is true economy to buy an article that is worth your money, and many have been ruined by buying cheap pennyworths in education no less than in trade. A good master will teach and benefit a school more in two months, than a master poorly qualified in a year. It will be found much cheaper to employ the best teachers. A boy kept till he is eighteen in an ordinary district school, and then sent for three years to a common country academy, is not so well fitted for active life at twenty-one, as every boy might be at sixteen in such a school as ought to be kept in every district in the Commonwealth, and well might be, if we had our essential Normal schools in full operation. Whoever, therefore, will be still content to give his son no better education than we have mentioned, may have it at less than the present cost, by employing the best teachers, and his son produce an income, instead of requiring an expense, for the last five years of minority. But he who gives his children a comparatively superior education

in the present state of things, would not rest satisfied till he had educated them in the same degree above the improved standard. And, in so doing, he would not depart from the strictest economy ; for an enlightened community produces and accumulates wealth faster, in a vastly greater ratio, than the proportionate additional cost of their education. A million of dollars a year, judiciously applied to the improvement of young heads and hearts, for the next thirty years, would not merely be refunded, but the State would be much more than thirty millions richer in visible property at the end of the period.

But we are tired of reducing the riches of the soul to a metallic standard. Though in this trading, and banking, and speculating generation, in which even a steam engine ciphers, and keeps its reckoning of loss and gain, such a course of ratiocination may be necessary to gain the good cause a hearing with a class of matter-of-fact philosophers, yet to us it has always seemed to be almost in the spirit of the question of the Adversary, a question full of devilish wisdom, "Doth Job fear God for nought ?" At least, it savours too much of the temper of that member of the British Parliament who said to John Howard, "I don't doubt you get well paid for all your trouble." Is there then nothing worth having, except what is equivalent to money ? Yes, there is much ; but those who realize how much, are strong upon our side already, and have no need to be converted. We join issue, therefore, with those, a part of whose creed it is, that the promises held out by education ought to be redeemable in specie ; and we say to them, if they will pause and lend an ear a moment, that it is not enough that their children should be intelligent and virtuous, even if that were possible in the neglect of all others, but their neighbour's children must possess intelligence and virtue also, or their own children must pay for the deficiency, ay, pay for it specifically in money. The question is, whether it is not both cheaper and pleasanter to pay through the school committee than through the overseers of the poor, to support schools than jails, teachers than executioners, and to build writing-desks than gallows.

The Reverend Dr. B. Forde, for many years the Ordinary of Newgate, remarks, in his hints for the improvement of the police, "The ignorance of the inferior classes of society is

the first and great cause of the multitudinous depredations which are daily and nightly committed. Idleness is the second. 1st. Public schools, under the care, control, and inspection of a zealous parochial committee, ought to be established throughout the whole kingdom, if possible ; in which religion, morality, and a moderate degree of learning, should be taught to the poor, free of every expense. 2d. Work ought to be provided for the industrious."

Sir Richard Phillips, sheriff of London, says, that on the Memorial addressed to the sheriffs by 152 criminals in Newgate, 25 only signed their names in a fair hand, 26 in an illegible scrawl, 101 were *marksmen*, signing with a cross. Few of the prisoners could read with facility, more than half could not read at all, most of them thought books useless, and were totally ignorant of the nature, object, and end of religion.

The same phenomenon presents itself in all American prisons. The Eleventh of the admirable Reports of the Prison Discipline Society gives these facts, which might be multiplied almost indefinitely. In Connecticut, no convict ever sent to the State prison had a liberal education, or belonged to either of the learned professions. One half were unable to write, and one sixth to read. Of the 66 convicts of 1835, the crimes of only four required for their commission ability either to read or write. In Auburn Prison, of 228 convicts in 1835, 3 had an academical education ; 59 could read, write, and cipher ; 56 could read and write only ; 50 could read only ; and 60 could not read. In the New Penitentiary in Philadelphia, of 217 prisoners received in 1835, 63 can neither read nor write, 69 can read only, and 85 can read and write, but most of them very indifferently. The chaplain of the Ohio Penitentiary remarks ; "Not only in our prison, but in others, depraved appetites and corrupt habits, which have led to the commission of crime, are usually found with the ignorant, uninformed, and duller part of mankind. Of the 276, nearly all below mediocrity, 175 are grossly ignorant, and, in point of education, scarcely capable of transacting the ordinary business of life."

Such is the universal testimony of all competent witnesses. "*Poor ignorant creatures, Sir*," said a jailer to Leigh Hunt, in that phrase giving a general description of all his prisoners.

Dr. Forde was right in supposing that good public schools would be the best remedy for the prevalent disposition to crime. A comparison of Scotland with England and Ireland shows this very forcibly. Mr. H. Fielding stated, that "during the number of years he presided in Bow Street, only six Scotchmen were ever brought before him; but the greater part of the persons committed were of the sister island, *where the natural dispositions of the people are quite as good*, but the system of education is neither so strict nor so generally adopted as in Scotland." Mr. Hume stated, "that one quarter sessions for the single town of Manchester sent more felons to the plantations, than all the Scotch judges do for ordinary in a twelvemonth." Lord Justice Clerk, in an address to the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Glasgow, in 1808, took occasion to observe, that the commitments for criminal offences in England and Wales exceeded four thousand a year, a number nearly equal to all the commitments in Scotland since the Union. If his Lordship was astonished at four thousand commitments in a year, for England and Wales, we know not what opinion he would form of the present state of crime there. We have before us the official returns of criminals for 1837, made up at the Home Department on the last day of January, and as this document is not within the reach of most of our readers, we give the facts bearing on this point, prefixing a few years for comparison, to show the progress of crime.

The number of persons committed or bailed in England and Wales, was,

In 1828, 16,564.	1832, 20,829.	1835, 20,731.
1829, 18,675.	1833, 20,072.	1836, 20,984.
1830, 18,107.	1834, 22,451.	1837, 23,612.
1831, 19,647.		

Giving an average for the last four years of 21,944 commitments in a year, — a most melancholy fact.

For a comparison between the three kingdoms we give one year. In 1834, there were committed or bailed,

		Sentenced to Death.	Executed.
In England and Wales,	22,451.	480.	34.
Ireland,	21,381.	197.	43.
Scotland,	2,711.	6.	4.

In Ireland education is most neglected; the gibbet takes account of it. Beccaria, in 1767, predicted, that the punish-

ment of death would not survive that happy period, "when knowledge instead of ignorance shall become the portion of the greater number."

To show the effect of ignorance in the production of these crimes we give the degrees of instruction of offenders for 1837; and, to prove the gratifying fact, that the proportion of educated offenders diminishes, we give the per-centage of each class for 1836, and for 1837.

	Male.	Female.	1836.	1837.
Whole number of commitments,	19,407.	4,205.	—	—
Unable either to read or write,	6,684.	1,780.	33.52.	35.85.
Able to read and write imperfectly,	10,147.	2,151.	52.33.	52.08.
Able to read and write well,	2,057.	177.	10.56.	9.46.
Instruction superior to mere reading and writing well,	98.	3.	0.91.	0.43.
Instruction could not be ascertained,	421.	94.	2.68.	2.18.

Of all the criminal offenders, therefore, be it remembered, less than one half of one per cent. have received any education beyond reading and writing. There were 358 offenders of twelve years or under, and more than half of these young sinners were totally uninstructed.

Lord Justice Clerk, having noticed the inferior number of criminals in Scotland, proceeds to say, that, supposing his calculation to be accurate, it calls upon us for very serious reflection to discover the causes of this proud inferiority.

"I think we have not far to look," says his Lordship, "for the causes of the good order and morality of our people."

"The institution of parochial schools, in the manner and to the extent in which they are established in Scotland, is, I believe, peculiar to ourselves; and it is an institution, to which, however simple in its nature and unobtrusive in its operation, I am persuaded we are chiefly to ascribe the regularity of conduct by which we are distinguished. The child of the meanest peasant, of the lowest mechanic in this country, may, and most of them do, receive a virtuous education from their earliest youth. At our parochial schools, they are not only early initiated in the principles of our holy religion, and in the soundest doctrines of morality, but most of them receive different degrees of education in other respects, which qualify them to earn their bread in life in various ways; and which, independent even of religious instruction, by enlarging the understanding, necessarily raises a man in his own estimation, and

sets him above the mean and dirty crimes to which the temptations and hardships of life might otherwise expose him."

"The early establishment of parochial schools, &c. * * * have unquestionably raised the character and improved the condition of the lower orders in Scotland, have arrested the progress of vice and idleness, and have rendered the maintenance and management of the poor a comparatively easy task, and a work of real benevolence."

In twenty-two years from 1750, there were 116 executions in the Midland counties, 117 in the Norfolk circuit; and in twenty-two years from 1749, there were 678 in London, or about *thirty* per annum; while in Scotland, as near the same period as we can ascertain, they averaged less than *four* per annum.

A great law authority, Chief Justice Fortescue, assigned a very different reason for the disgraceful superiority in number of the English executions in his time. "More men are hanged in Englonde in one year," says he, "than in Fraunce in seven, *because the English have better hartes;* the Scotchmenne likewise never *dare* rob, but only commit larcenies." Upon this, the Reverend Francis Wrangham very fairly remarks, "True; they are taught the terrors of the Lord and eschew evil." We attach more weight to the remark of Dr. Currie, than to that of the old English judge. "A majority of those who suffer the punishment of death for their crimes, in every part of England, are, it is believed, unable to read or write," says Dr. Currie; he might have said, nearly all of them, instead of a majority. "A slight acquaintance with the peasantry of Scotland," says the Doctor, "will serve to convince an unprejudiced observer, that they possess a degree of intelligence not generally found among the same class of men in the other countries of Europe. In the very humblest condition of the Scottish peasants, every one can read, and most persons are more or less skilled in writing or arithmetic, and have obtained a degree of information corresponding to these acquirements."

The Scotch school system was originated by an act of King James the Sixth, of the 10th of December, 1616, four years before the landing of the Pilgrims, and ratified by an act of Charles the First, 1633; but the first effectual provision was by an act of 1646, for the first time compelling the assessment of a tax and payment of a master's salary, in

every parish in the kingdom, for the express purpose of educating the poor; "a law," says the enthusiastic Scotch writer last quoted, "which may challenge comparison with any act of legislation to be found in the records of history, whether we consider the wisdom of the ends in view, the simplicity of the means employed, or the provisions made to render these means effectual to their purpose." This excellent statute was, of course, repealed on the restoration of Charles the Second, in 1660; but it was reënacted in 1696, in precisely the same terms, and is the basis of the present system, the noble legacy of the Scottish Parliament. Its effect on national character may be considered to have commenced about the period of the Union, 1707, and, with the peace and security arising from that event, to have produced the extraordinary change in favor of industry and good morals, which the character of the common people of Scotland has since undergone.

The school system has not operated differently in Scotland from its uniform effect wherever it has been tried. Holland, Prussia, and the Pays de Vaud, the best educated countries in Europe, are also the most moral. Prussia, which has carried her common-school system to higher perfection than any other nation, is remarkably free from crime. For seventeen years, ending in 1834, according to the statement of Herr Von Kampz, the executions in Prussia were 123; in 1832, 1833, and 1834, there were only *two* in each year, and the average number of murders in a year was *seven and one third*. Prussia has a population of 13,566,897, according to the Weimar Almanac for 1837. These numbers, therefore, are much smaller in proportion to population than in Massachusetts; lesser crimes, it is believed, are proportionally rare in Prussia.

To show how great has been the influence of the school establishment of Scotland on the peasantry of that country, it is only necessary to revert to the description given by that true-hearted patriot, Fletcher of Saltoun. In the year 1698, he declared, that, "There are at this day in Scotland, two hundred thousand people begging from door to door. And though the number of them be perhaps double to what it was formerly, by reason of this present great distress (a famine then prevailed), yet in all times there have been about one hundred thousand of these vagabonds, who have lived with-

out any regard or subjection either to the laws of the land, or even those of God and nature." He then ascribes to them abominations too vile to be quoted; and goes on to tell us, that no magistrate ever could discover that they had been baptized, or in what way one in a hundred went out of the world. They lived in promiscuous incest, and were guilty of robbery, and sometimes murder. "In years of plenty," says he, "many thousands of them meet together in the mountains, where they feast and riot for many days; and at country weddings, markets, *burials*, and other public occasions, they are to be seen, both men and women, perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming, and fighting together."

This is no true picture of Scotch life now. In less than half a century from Fletcher's time, common schools had softened this savage race, and in less than a century transformed them into the most moral and orderly people in Europe. There are few beggars in Scotland; there are no poor rates in Scotland; while in England every eighth or ninth man is a pauper, and the poor rate for forty years has consumed some five or six millions of pounds sterling a year. In Scotland the wages of labor maintain the laboring classes; in England they are inadequate by an alarming deficiency. In Scotland they have fewer crimes, and those which occur are less malignant. In 1834, the proportions were as follows.

	Sentenced to Death.	Executed.	Sentenced to Transportation for Life.	14 Years.	7 Years.
In England,	480.	34.	864.	688.	2,501.
Scotland,	6.	4.	30.	47.	195.

These are the points of difference. England saves the expense of public schools, and the saving costs her fifty millions of dollars a year in Courts, Prisons, Penal Colonies, and Poor Rates, not to reckon ruined hopes, broken hearts, blasted characters, and the wretchedness of tens of thousands living in shame and agony, a living death, whom free schools would have brought up to honor and happiness and a useful life. England has left the public morality to take care of itself, and the comment is heard in groans and written in blood.

We will go into no further argument to prove that education is cheaper than ignorance; and that the most rigid economy, so that it be not stone-blind to consequences, would dictate a liberal expenditure for the preservation and eleva-

tion of the public morals, and for the exercise, developement, and wholesome sustenance of the public intellect. Nor will we waste a word upon the self-evident proposition, that our education will operate beneficially in proportion as it is perfected. It must be perfected, and that by providing better teachers.

The Normal school must begin with females, because there is more unappropriated female talent than can be brought into action; because females can be educated cheaper, and, in the first instance quicker, and better, and will teach cheaper after they are qualified; because the primary schools, which properly belong to females, are in the worst condition, and need most to be reformed, and because, by reforming these, we thereby improve all the higher schools. By raising up the foundation we necessarily elevate the superstructure. An improvement in the rudiments of education, among children of from four to ten years of age, would be felt through all the schools as these young scholars passed into higher classes. The public would perceive the benefit, and enter with alacrity into the measures necessary to carry out a thorough reformation.

Let the high work, so auspiciously commenced, go on steadily to its glorious consummation. Let Massachusetts, which for two hundred years has led the way in the cause of good learning, suffer none to go before her now. Let her still bear aloft the torch which others will be proud to follow. While others emulate her bright example, she will have contributed largely to that mighty movement, which is to enfranchise and to bless the world.

ART. II. — *The Writings of* GEORGE WASHINGTON; *being his Correspondence, Addresses, Messages, and Other Papers, Official and Private, selected and published from the Original Manuscripts, with a Life of the Author, Notes, and Illustrations.* By JARED SPARKS. Vols. I. and XII. Boston: American Stationers' Company. 1837.

THE two volumes now before us complete the publication of Mr. Sparks's edition of Washington's writings. The

American press has produced no work of higher value. The character of the Author transcends all vulgar praise. The interest of the events, which form the subjects of his writings, is inferior to nothing in history. The qualifications of the Editor, literary and moral, are of the highest order; and his opportunities, every thing that could be desired for the skilful performance of his work. We may add, that the typographical execution is beautiful; equal to that of any work, which has issued contemporaneously from the British press, except works avowedly of luxury, in which nothing is aimed at but the gratification of the eye.

We consider the publication of a standard edition of the writings of Washington, as a matter of importance in a national point of view. Of the auspicious influence of the principles of Washington over public opinion throughout the country, which happily is still highly operative, much must be ascribed to the unexpended force of his personal ascendency and the freshly-remembered power of his personal intercourse. These, with the lapse of time, must daily grow fainter. His contemporaries are nearly all gone. Of those, who in any way took counsel with him, scarce one remains to counsel us. One solitary eyewitness of his exploits and risks on Braddock's field is known to survive. Occasionally, at a public gathering, a fourth of July assemblage, or a Cincinnati celebration, we have an opportunity of taking the hand, which Washington had taken. That trembling old man, who is groping his way towards a seat, was, at a time when his hands could wield something more formidable than a crutch, one of his body-guard at Brandywine and Germantown; and here is one who saw him, when, pale with indignation, he encountered General Lee on his retreat, at Monmouth. As you come down to the period of his Presidency, the number of course increases of those, who were entering on public affairs toward the close of his career; but the solitary survivor of the first Senate of the United States, and of the company, who broke bread with the Father of his Country on the day of his first inauguration as President, has passed off the stage within a few months. A race has risen up who knew not Joseph, but to whom his revered memory, loaded with the praises of his country and mankind, has descended as a precious legacy. To give to this memory of the greatest of heroes, and the most prudent of statesmen, its

fullest force and abiding perpetuity with coming generations, — to supply the place of that influence which flowed from personal intercourse, — to dispute with oblivion the possession of any part of this august compound of high principle, ripe wisdom, spotless patriotism, and happy fortune, is the province of literature. He must speak directly to posterity from the printed page. This impress of his mind and character must be perpetuated in the volumes of his works, for the guidance of all succeeding generations. If the task of preparing his works for publication be negligently, unskilfully, or faithlessly performed, it is not merely a wrong done to his literary character, which, however respectable it might be deemed in a common great man, is the faintest ray in Washington's crown of praise, but it tends to impair his rightful influence with posterity, and to defraud the country of a portion of its precious heritage.

For this reason, we consider Mr. Sparks as having rendered a public service greatly beyond performing, in a finished style of excellence, a highly important literary task. He has contributed to place Washington's character beyond the reach of accident, and to insure to his principles and to his example the most abiding influence on affairs. He has offered to the good and patriotic of other countries an authentic collection of his writings in an attractive form ; and thus done all that can be done to extend their rightful sway into other political societies. Not least, by thus judiciously performing his great task, he has prevented it from falling into incompetent and ill-qualified hands, and spared the country the shame and sorrow of seeing low passions, and mean prejudices, and party biases of any kind incorporated into a work which of all others should be beyond their reach.

In addition to the more substantial merits of Mr. Sparks's work, he is entitled to the highest praise for the pains taken with those subsidiary matters, on which the convenience of a book for use essentially depends. It is amply supplied with indexes. The General Index at the conclusion of the twelfth volume exceeds one hundred pages, and enables the reader at once to refer to every prominent fact and name. The work is illustrated with several fac-similes, a variety of topographical surveys, plans of the principal military operations, and several beautiful portraits. In the first volume will

be found Stuart's celebrated head of Mrs. Washington, and in the twelfth a full length portrait of her in her youth, both beautifully engraved by Cheney. The quantity of illustrative matter, original and selected, contained in the Appendixes, exceeds one thousand finely printed pages. This is exclusive of the notes distributed through the body of the work.

We have, on a former occasion, entered with sufficient minuteness into an explanation of the plan pursued by Mr. Sparks in editing this work; and have laid before our readers ample specimens of the most interesting portions of the contents of the earlier volumes. We have also spoken at length of his editorial qualifications, of which the successive volumes of the great publication have confirmed our estimate.* In this way, we have already anticipated a considerable portion of what might properly belong to a review of the complete edition of the Writings of Washington. It may not be improper, however, as the work is now complete, to take a brief glance of the contents of the several volumes, by way of refreshing our memory, and forming an adequate idea of the whole.

Volume the First, which has recently appeared, is devoted to the biography, and contains a condensed narrative of the facts in the life, of Washington. This point is stated with precision, because in some quarters it has been spoken of, as if it were intended for a critical or philosophical discourse on the genius and character of Washington. To regard it in this light would be to take an entirely false view of it, and to bring it to a standard, to which it was never meant to be referred. But on this subject we may have a word or two more to say, in the progress of our article. The Appendix to this volume contains an article on the origin and genealogy of the family of Washington; a minute account of his last illness and death; the proceedings of Congress in consequence of his decease; an anonymous composition designed as a monumental inscription; and Washington's will.

The matter of the remaining volumes, eleven in number, is divided into five parts. The *first* Part contains official letters relating to the old French or Seven Years' War, and private letters before the Revolution. No one volume of the series is richer in new matter than the second volume, in which this first part of the work is contained. The Ap-

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XXXIX. pp. 467 et seqq.

pendix is particularly valuable in this way. It presents us details, ampler than any thing previously possessed by the public, on many interesting topics, and sufficient information on several, concerning which nothing of consequence was known before. This observation will be sufficiently substantiated, by running over the list of the sections of the Appendix. Among them are such articles as the following ; — Washington's early papers ; the death of Jumonville ; battle of the Great Meadows ; Braddock's defeat ; brief extracts from a diary during his attendance at the first Congress in Philadelphia ; extracts from Washington's diary, while residing on his estate at Mount Vernon in 1760 ; and his journal of a tour to the Ohio river, in 1770.

Part *the second* comprehends the largest division of the work, and extends to six volumes, from the third to the eighth, both inclusive. This part contains the correspondence and miscellaneous papers relating to the American Revolution. They form Washington's history of the Revolutionary war ; the great man unconsciously relating the history of the great deed ; rivalling the wisdom, long-suffering, perseverance, and fortitude of the exploits, by the only things in which it could be equalled, the discretion, pertinence, and simplicity of the multifarious communications, orders, reports, and expositions, by which the mighty movement was carried on to its triumphant result. If it be the highest praise of a poet, weaving his studied strains in contemplative ease, to have produced no line which dying he might wish to blot, how much more glorious to come out of the hurry and confusion, the toil and danger, ay, the mortal effort and agony of such a revolution, — the birth-struggle of an empire straining into existence through agony and blood, — without having from surprise, inadvertence, or passion thrown a hasty word upon paper, beneath the dignity of the man or his position. But we are betrayed beyond our present purpose, which is simply analytical. The Appendixes to these volumes also contain the most curious details. Among those best entitled to this character, is the fifth section of the appendix to the sixth volume, entitled, "Lord North's Views at different Stages of the American War." This document consists principally of a series of extracts made by Sir James Mackintosh from the letters and notes of George the Third to Lord North, throwing a new light on the disposition of that minister as to the prosecution of the war. For this very curious

document Mr. Sparks expresses his obligations to Lord Holland, by whom, with characteristic liberality, it was furnished for this work.

Part *third*, contained in the ninth volume, consists of private letters, from the time that Washington resigned his commission as Commander-in-chief of the army to that of his Inauguration as President of the United States; — five or six most eventful years, in which the country, exhausted, feverish at once with languor and irritation, faint with the deferred hope of blessings to spring from independence, fermenting with vast and vague theories of new constitutions, settlements, and enterprises, was kept in manageable condition, and within the reach of the ordinary resources of policy, mainly by what may be called the latent influence of Washington. Though he was at this time a retired chieftain, a private citizen, — Cæsar, when he drove the last cohort of his rival from that field of Pharsalia which fixed the fortunes of the world for a thousand years, did not exercise a more sovereign influence over men and things, than that which was now exercised by Washington, without conscious purpose and without effort. His influence, unauthorized by any office, not expressed in orders, not enforced by troops, insensibly emanating, rather than visibly going forth from Mount Vernon, breathing union amidst the elements of discord, inspiring hope when all hope seemed to have turned to sadness and despair, saved the country, in that fearful interval between the peace and the Constitution. What entirely new combinations of events and influences of characters might have formed and manifested themselves, had the great Washingtonian element ceased to exist at the close of the Revolution, it is of course idle to inquire. But, supposing all other things to have remained as they actually were, it is not too much to say, that it is very doubtful, whether, without him at its head, the federal convention would have commanded enough of public confidence to be sustained in maturing its work; or whether, supposing it matured and submitted to the people, nine States would have ratified it, but for the preëxisting conviction that a chief of the experimental government could be found, in whose pure hands its untried powers, — deemed dangerously large, — would be administered for the sole good of the country; or whether, supposing the constitution to have been adopted, there could have

been a concentration of public opinion sufficiently powerful to carry any other candidate but Washington into the Presidency without dangerous collisions. Even as it was, the languor of the public mind, in reference to the new constitution, is strikingly illustrated by the fact, that, at the first meeting of the first Congress appointed for the 4th of March, a quorum of the House of Representatives did not convene till the 1st of April; nor then, without diligent efforts on the part of those present, by messengers and letters, to induce their tardy brethren to come in.

The *fourth* Part, which occupies the tenth and eleventh volumes of the work, is devoted to letters official and private from the beginning of the Presidency to the end of the life of Washington. The mere annunciation of the subject-matter of this division of the work is for the present sufficient. The Appendixes to these volumes are full of the most curious details of the political history of the times, both public and what is commonly called secret. Among the topics which form the subject of these notices are Washington's visit to the Eastern States; the dissensions in the cabinet, and the differences between Jefferson and Hamilton; the appointment of an Envoy Extraordinary to the court of Great Britain; opinions of the cabinet, advising Mr. Monroe's recall from France; papers relating to the imprisonment of Lafayette at Olmutz; remarks of Washington on Monroe's "View of the Conduct of the Executive of the United States," copied from manuscript notes; and several papers relative to the appointment of officers in the army, in 1798. We name these as a specimen only of the curious illustrative documents, appended to the tenth and eleventh volumes.

The *fifth* and last division of the work is contained in the twelfth volume, and consists of speeches and messages to Congress, proclamations, and addresses. The Appendix to this volume contains a specimen, at considerable length, of Washington's agricultural and business correspondence; a highly interesting discussion of the question of the authorship of the Farewell Address; an essay of great moment on the religious opinions and habits of Washington; and several lists, collected and digested with great care, of public functionaries during his career. The whole work concludes with ample Indexes.

It is due to the important character of this publication, that

some literary notice of the manner in which it has been prepared should be laid before our readers. In our article on the second and third volumes of the work, we stated the most important particulars relative to the plan on which it was projected, and the mode of executing it, as derived from the introduction to the first and second Parts. A few particulars in addition, are given in the preface to the twelfth volume. The great mass of papers which accumulated in Washington's hands, during his long and varied public career, having been carefully preserved by him at Mount Vernon, were at his decease bequeathed with that estate to his nephew Bushrod Washington, who was for more than thirty years one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. While in the hands of Judge Washington, and shortly after the decease of his revered relative, they were consulted by Chief Justice Marshall, in the preparation of his "Life of Washington." Ten years ago they were confided by Judge Washington to Mr. Sparks, for the purpose of being used in preparing the work, which he has now so successfully brought to a close. The original papers, including Washington's own letters, and those received by him, and amounting to more than two hundred folio volumes, were a few years since purchased by Congress of Mr. George C. Washington, to whom they had been bequeathed by his uncle, the Judge, and are deposited in the archives of the Department of State.

It will be readily understood that the present publication, although extending to twelve volumes, contains but a portion of what is embraced in the original papers. Mr. Sparks at one time entertained the idea of publishing in a separate work the entire collection. This eventually no doubt will be done ; but it will be an undertaking too expensive for any but the public resources. Mr. Sparks candidly admits the difficulty of the task of selection, but states it to have been made with care and deliberation, regardless of the time, expense, and labor of examination requisite for the task.

The materials for the notes and illustrations contained in the Appendixes, have been derived from various sources at home and abroad, mostly from unpublished manuscripts, not seldom from sources opened by the good fortune and diligence of Mr. Sparks, and to which it is by no means certain that any future inquirer will have equal access. They pos-

sess the strongest claim to be considered as authentic, and as new contributions to history.

Mr. Sparks acknowledges himself under very great obligations to General Lafayette for the papers and information directly furnished by him, and his services in facilitating the researches made by Mr. Sparks in the public archives of Paris. Among the materials thus placed at his disposal, were numerous papers relative to the American Revolution, and a copy of the entire correspondence of the General with the French government. We are able to vouch, from personal inspection, for the importance of the contributions thus made toward the preparation of this great national work.

The curious and interesting paper, already alluded to, as containing extracts from the correspondence between George the Third and Lord North, was, as we have already stated, kindly communicated by Lord Holland to Mr. Sparks, and is regarded by him, perhaps with justice, "as the most remarkable document connected with the history of the Revolution." This document proves, that from the year 1777, Lord North was decidedly opposed to the prosecution of the war, and for that reason earnestly desirous of retiring from the ministry. He was retained in office by the direct appeals and the urgent entreaties of the king. It is perhaps a solitary instance, in a matter of such moment, that, under a constitutional government, a prince of moderate capacity, of no military experience, and without personal popularity, should, by the simple force of obstinacy, have kept the country at war, against the judgment of his constitutional advisers, for five long years; and equally so, that a minister should be kept in the position of waging a war, "of the success of which he despaired, and the principles of which he in his heart disapproved," from mere "indolent weakness and sense of honor." The document in question throws an unexpected light on a point in our revolutionary history of some curiosity. It will be recollected, that some exception was taken to the mode in which, in the Declaration of Independence, the king is held personally responsible for the oppressive measures, which brought on the war, which measures were necessarily adopted in pursuance of acts of Parliament. Although this coloring was given to the matter, in conformity with the view taken by Mr. Jefferson, and those who thought with him, of the peculiar relation of the colonies to the crown, yet this

correspondence of King George the Third with Lord North proves, that he was with justice, and not merely in theory, to be regarded as personally responsible for the war.

As we do not know, that we shall have an opportunity of reverting to this topic, we present the reader with the following interesting extract of a letter from the King to Lord North, of the month of June, 1779;

"No man in my dominions desires *solid* peace more than I do. But no inclination to get out of the present difficulties, which certainly keep my mind very far from a state of ease, *can incline me to enter into the destruction of the empire.* Lord North FREQUENTLY says, that the advantages to be gained by this contest can never counterbalance the *expense.* I own that in any war, be it ever so successful, if persons will sit down and weigh the *expense*, they will find, as in the last, that it has impoverished the nation enriched [?]; * but this is only weighing such events in the scale of a tradesman behind his counter. It is necessary for those whom Providence has placed in my station, to weigh whether expenses, though very great, are not sometimes necessary to prevent what would be more ruinous than any loss of money. The present contest with America I cannot help seeing as the most serious, in which this country was ever engaged. It contains such a train of consequences as must be examined to feel its real weight. Whether the laying a tax was deserving all the evils, that have arisen from it, I suppose no man could allege, without being thought more fit for Bedlam than a seat in the Senate; but, step by step, the demands of America have risen. Independence is their object, which every man, not willing to sacrifice every object to a *momentary and inglorious* peace, must concur *with me* in thinking this country *can never submit to.* Should America succeed in that, the West Indies must follow, not in independence, but in dependence on America. Ireland would soon follow, and this island reduce itself to a poor island indeed." — Vol. VI. p. 535.

Similar sentiments run through all the extracts, and at the close is the following remark of Sir James Mackintosh;— "1783, *after the peace.* His language proves that his feelings about America were not altered, though circumstances compelled him to change his conduct."

* We suppose the meaning is, "has impoverished even the successful party in the contest." Were it not the King himself, that speaks, we should say, that "*impoverished* the state *enriched*" is at best excusable homicide of his Majesty's English.

Mr. Sparks, after making his acknowledgments to Lord Holland for the communication of the above highly interesting paper, expresses his thanks to Mr. Justice Story for the lively interest manifested in the work, and the benefit derived from his suggestions and advice.

"To Mr. Samuel A. Eliot, also," (he adds,) "I would here make a public acknowledgment of the substantial and valuable aid he has, in various ways, lent to my undertaking, the successful issue of which has been promoted in no small degree by his friendly offices and personal exertions." — Vol. I. p. xii.

In reference to the Life of Washington, which fills the first volume, Mr. Sparks observes, that he has endeavoured to follow closely the order of time, adopting the plan of a personal narrative, and introducing collateral events no farther, than was absolutely necessary to give completeness to this design. Still the public theatre, on which so much of the life of Washington was passed, makes it necessary that his biography should assume in some degree the form of a history of the times in which he lived. Anecdotes have been interwoven by Mr. Sparks, and such incidents of a private and personal nature as are known; but it must be confessed, that these are more rare than could be desired.

"I have seen," he remarks, "many particulars of this description which I knew to be not true, and others which I did not believe. These have been avoided; nor have I stated any fact, for which I was not convinced there was credible authority. If this forbearance has been practised at the expense of the reader's entertainment, he must submit to the sacrifice as due to truth and the dignity of the subject." — p. xiii.

It is to be regretted, that pains were not taken, a generation or more ago, to record the still surviving recollections of Washington, particularly of his early life, before the authentic had become inextricably mingled with the apocryphal and the fabulous. Such anecdotes still unquestionably exist in the neighbourhood of Fredericksburg, and there are collections of them which aspire to credibility, but we fear without certain warrant.* Mr. Sparks has unquestionably pursued a

* We except from this remark, a few interesting traditions which have been collected by Mr. Paulding, in his popular "Life of Washington," which appear to be derived from authentic sources, and contain nothing incredible.

judicious course, in admitting nothing into his narrative which is not sufficiently vouched; but it would well reward the pains which might be requisite, on the part of some one possessing the needful convenience of locality, to gather from living sources, from recent tradition, and from what family memorials exist, all such anecdotes and reminiscences as would throw light on the formation of the character of Washington, or furnish domestic illustrations of its peculiarities.

It is not too late to accomplish this pious work with excellent effect. Almost all that we know of the personal history of Milton and Shakspeare, to say nothing of Dante and Petrarch, and most of the heroes of Plutarch, was gathered up after a greater lapse of time, (in the last named case far greater,) than has yet passed since the death of Washington. It would be worth all the labor and research, which such a work might require, to substantiate, if it is capable of being substantiated, the single anecdote of the care taken by the father of Washington to inculcate upon his son the obligation of veracity.

Justice to this great undertaking requires, that the plan and purposes of Mr. Sparks, in collecting the writings and composing the life of Washington, should be apprehended. With respect to the former, it was his design, as has already appeared, to make such a selection from the great mass, as would comprehend all that was historically important, eminently characteristic, or for any other reason highly interesting. In preparing the Life, which is to be carefully considered in connexion with the Works, it was plainly Mr. Sparks's intention to sketch the principal incidents in the history of Washington as a man, a commander, and a statesman; and to present with them a full developement of his principles of action, and his opinions on all the important questions which presented themselves in his long career, as constituting the aggregate of his character. This has been done in the narrative form as the most usual, the most natural, and the best adapted to the mass of readers. To have engaged at great length in general reflections, in political discussions, or speculations on remote consequences, would have been to change the character, not less than to transcend the necessary limits, of the work. It was the purpose of Mr. Sparks to narrate, and not to discuss, the character of Washington; to write an account of his life, and not an essay upon it. Among other

reasons which might be assigned, were it necessary (which it is not) that any should be assigned, why an author should select that mode of treating a subject which approves itself to his own judgment, we might say, that the plan pursued by Mr. Sparks is the only one, on which he could maintain a philosophical neutrality as to many constitutional controversies. It was highly desirable, that this first authentic edition of the literary remains of the Father of his Country should go forth without prejudice. This could hardly have been the case, had they been accompanied with a biographical introduction of a different character. We must not be understood as being insensible to the fact, that the character of Washington, and its connexion with the destinies of the country, form one of the noblest themes for a philosophical discussion. No power of analysis is too great to master it, no eloquence too lofty to set it forth. As the highest merely human impersonation of all the patriotic virtues, it is a topic destined of course to become more and more important with each succeeding age, and as successive intellects shall have developed its magnitude. Mr. Sparks has proposed to himself in this publication, to draw up the record, and collect the materials, by the aid of which this great task must be performed ; and the service, which he has thus rendered to the cause of constitutional liberty, is of vast importance.

In practical matters, men are mainly taught by example. It is cheap wisdom to proclaim to the world, that ambition ought not to corrupt the heart of the successful chieftain, and that having served, or even saved, the country furnishes no title to enslave it. So long as the universal experience of mankind runs to the contrary, and no one capable of abusing power is found to miss the opportunity, these maxims pass for a kind of ascetic morality, which hypocrites preach and simpletons believe. Each new tyrant and usurper finds his conduct justified, not merely by the example of his predecessors, but by a kind of common understanding among men, that power, as of course, is to be abused. The more splendid the career, and the more dazzling the success, of a conqueror, and the more complete his triumph over the liberties of other countries and his own, the more diffusive and abiding the corruption of his example. Alexander, and Cæsar, and Napoleon have done more to pervert public opinion, and debauch the judgment of the young, than can be undone by

all mere inculcations of principle. The success of the party of Cæsar, after he himself was struck down, drove Brutus at once to the conclusion, that Virtue was but a name ; and who can undertake to say, how much energy of character has been misdirected, how much mad ambition has been awakened, how many wars waged, and how much blood shed, in the lapse of ages, in consequence of setting up before the world the spectacle of an empire coextensive with the universe, and perpetuated through ages, which was founded on the criminal ambition of one man. When the books fail to furnish an effectual counterpoise to this bad influence, and men are ready, like Brutus, in despair to fly to the conclusion, that there is no sphere of activity for Goodness in the province of civil government ; that this world belongs of necessity to a political anti-christ ; a character like Washington arises, like the sun of righteousness, with healing in its wings. Virtue, sneered at and mocked, takes courage. Disinterested labor for the good of others emerges from the humble paths of parochial charity. The intelligence of the mass of mankind, long derided as visionary, and set at nought as impracticable, feels itself vindicated and fortified. The world for a while looks on in incredulous wonder. Distrustful expectation watches the steps of the hero. His gracious words are heard with incredulity ; his generous acts surveyed with doubt. The time is sorrowfully foreboded, when the delusion will be over, the mask be dropped, and the meagre, people-loving Consul, will expand into the sleek and purple Dictator. But, if he persevere in the path of patriotism and of duty ; if he march from victory to victory with unelated brow, and cling to the cause in disaster as well as triumph ; if he consecrate his sword to the protection of the law ; and, when the warfare is ended, if he send his army to their homes and abdicate the power which their devotion confers on him, then, indeed, it is cold praise to say he has served, or even saved, his country. He has served, and, humanly speaking, has saved his race. He has "given ardor to virtue and confidence to truth." He has led forth patriotism from a cell, and placed her on a throne. He has robbed the tyrant of his plea, and shown that it is not necessary that mankind should be enslaved ; and from that time forward, till the voice of history is struck dumb, wheresoever on the face of the globe an effort is made to establish constitutional government, there

his example is present to furnish an ever-ready answer to the ever-ready objection, that, though the theory is good, it is impossible to put it to practice.

It is not too early to perceive the salutary influence of the example of Washington, both in the United States and elsewhere. It is impossible for any President, however popular and however ambitious, to be a candidate for election a third time. There has unquestionably been one instance where the authority of his example has saved the country from this result. It was Washington's ardent wish and purpose to retire after the first term, and thus to give effect to the provision of the Constitution, founded, as it was, in the deepest practical wisdom and prophetic foresight. It would be matter of regret, that he yielded to the importunity of his friends, had not his reëlection been necessary to save us from being drawn into the vortex of the French Revolution. Had he retired after the first four years, he might have created the same necessity of a single term of service, and thus supplied a remedy for one of the great practical defects of our system, — that the incumbent is tempted to employ the patronage of his office the first term, to promote his election to a second. Abroad the example of Washington has already imposed checks upon those, whom the ever-changing, unstable incidents of their crude revolutions is bringing to the head of affairs. We are sometimes perhaps impatient, when a man like Bolivar, for instance, allows himself to be addressed by the title of the "second Washington"; but it is well for his country and the world, that he is willing to wear it. There is virtue in the name. It imposes restraint. The second Washington places himself under obligations not to fall too monstrously and glaringly below the standard of the first. He carries about with him a monitor which rebukes ambition, and enjoins all the duties of patriotic self-denial. It is not easy to overrate the importance of such an influence, at a period when so many experiments of constitutional government are making in the world. It becomes a kind of secular dispensation, designed to exercise not merely its immediate agency, but a continuous, progressive power over human affairs; constraining all men, who want courage wholly to defy and set at nought the awakened opinion in favor of right and liberty, to reduce themselves to some decent conformity with the great exemplar.

Perhaps there never lived a man in respect to whom it was so unimportant from what ancestry he sprung; but it is a matter of curiosity to inquire to whom belongs the honor of his descent. When Henry the Eighth suppressed the religious houses and bestowed their endowments on his favorites, he granted, in 1538, to Lawrence Washington, gentleman, of Northampton, "the manor of Sulgrave, parcel of the dissolved priory of St. Andrew, with all the lands in Sulgrave and Woodford, and certain lands in Stotesbury and Colton, near Northampton, late belonging to the said priory, with all the lands in Sulgrave late belonging to the dissolved priories of canons Ashley and Catesby." The consideration of this grant is not stated. From this Lawrence Washington, who died seized of the manor of Sulgrave in 1583–4, George Washington is lineally descended. Farther back the family is not lineally traceable; but the name of Washington, under a varying orthography, is found in several parts of England at different periods, from the close of the twelfth century. From the authorities collected by Mr. Sparks, with great diligence and the best opportunities of observation, at the Herald's college in London, and in the county histories of England, it appears that Hertburn was the original name of the Washington family, and that the name of Washington was assumed by William de Hertburn, between the years 1261 and 1274, from the parish of that name in the county of Durham, which belonged to him.

Among the descendants of Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave, Henry Washington was distinguished for his brave and resolute defence of Worcester in the civil wars. A letter written by him to General Fairfax, who summoned him to surrender to the army of the Parliament on the 16th May, 1646, is preserved, which shows a spirit not unworthy of the name.

"It is acknowledged by your books, and by report out of your own quarters, that the king is in some of your armies. That granted, it may be easy for you to procure his Majesty's commands for the disposal of this garrison. Till then, I shall make good the trust reposed in me. As for conditions, if I shall be necessitated, I shall make the best I can. The worst I know and fear not; if I had, the profession of a soldier had not been begun nor so long continued by your Excellency's humble servant." — Vol. I. p. 544.

It is quite noticeable, that in this letter, not merely the firmness and spirit, but the mode of contemplating and treating the subject, and even the turn of the phrase, bear a striking resemblance to those of our Washington.

In the civil line, Joseph Washington of the same family, was a lawyer of eminence. He was the compiler of the first volume of "Modern Reports"; the author of "Observations on the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Kings of England," published in 1689; of an "Abridgment of the Statutes to 1687," and of a "Translation of Lucian." Perhaps it may be deemed a higher praise, that he was the friend of Lord Somers, and the translator of Milton's "Defensio pro Populo Anglicano," in reply to Salmasius.

In the parish church at Sulgrave, in the year 1793, was still to be seen a stone slab, on which was a brass plate with this inscription in the old English character. "Here lyeth buried the bodys of Lawrence Washington, Gent. and Anne his wyf, by whom he had issue four sons and seven daughters; which Lawrence dyed y^{e} —th day of ——, 15—, and Anne deceased 6th day of October, An. Dom. 1564." On the same stone is a shield much defaced, and effigies in brass of the four sons and seven daughters. Over the four sons is a figure larger than the rest, which is supposed to be the father's effigy. There was formerly one over the seven daughters, but this is gone. It may be presumed from the blanks in the above inscription, that it was prepared by Lawrence Washington during his life. He died on the 19th of February, 1584, and the manor of Sulgrave descended to his eldest son, Robert. This son was twice married, and had ten sons and six daughters. The oldest of the sons, Lawrence, had seven sons and seven daughters. The oldest of these sons was Sir William Washington of Packington. He married the half-sister of George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, and is supposed to have been the father of Sir Henry Washington, commemorated above. The second and fourth of these seven sons, were John and Lawrence Washington, who emigrated to Virginia about the year 1657. They were the great grandsons of Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave, and John was the great grandfather of GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The emigrations of the family were not limited to America. By the genealogical tables appended to the first volume

it appears, that some of the name had emigrated to Holland. Among the letters of Washington contained in this collection, is one of the 20th of January, 1799, in reply to a letter from James Washington, a young German officer, who had written to his illustrious namesake in America, claiming kindred, as far as can be inferred from the answer, and seeking employment in the army of the United States. A few years ago, the diplomatic representative of the king of Bavaria at the Court of the Netherlands, was a gentleman of the same name, who considered himself as of the family of the American Washington.

John and Lawrence Washington, second and fourth sons of Lawrence, who was the grandson of Washington of Sulgrave, emigrated, as has been observed, to Virginia about 1657, and settled at Bridge's Creek on the Potomac river, in the county of Westmoreland. John had been a student at Oxford; Lawrence had resided on an estate at South Cave, in Yorkshire, which gave rise to an erroneous tradition among his descendants, that their ancestor came from the North of England. Chief Justice Marshall speaks of the emigration as proceeding from that quarter. The two brothers purchased lands in Virginia, and became successful planters. Not long after his arrival in this country, John Washington was employed with the rank of Colonel in the wars with the Indians in Maryland. The parish in which he lived was called by his name. He married Anne Pope, and had two sons, Lawrence and John, and one daughter. The oldest son, Lawrence, married Mildred Warner of Gloucester County, and had three children, John, Augustine, and Mildred.

Augustine Washington, the second son, was twice married. His first wife was Jane Butler, by whom he had three sons, Butler, Lawrence, Augustine, and a daughter Jane. Butler and Jane died in infancy or childhood. His second wife was *Mary Ball*, to whom he was married on the 6th March, 1630; GEORGE was the oldest of six children of this marriage; the other children were Betty, Samuel, John Augustine, Charles, and Mildred. George Washington was born on the 22d of February, 1732, in Westmoreland County, Virginia, a great grandson of the first emigrant to America, and sixth in descent from Washington of Sulgrave. When Henry the Eighth granted this portion of the spoils of the

church to the worshipful mayor of Northampton, it was probably the least of his calculations, that he was building up a family, from which would spring the leader of a revolution, destined to despoil the crown of England of a mighty empire on that continent, whose existence was then but barely known in Great Britain.

The father of Washington, after the birth of George, removed from Westmoreland to Stafford County, to an estate on the eastern bank of the Rappahannoc river opposite Fredericsburg, where he died at the age of forty-nine, leaving to be divided among his children a respectable landed property, chiefly acquired by his own industry and enterprise as a planter.

The oldest son, Lawrence, inherited the estate afterwards known as Mount Vernon. The lands and mansion, where the father was living at the time of his death, were bequeathed to George. Each of the other children received a separate plantation; and, in full reliance on the prudence of their mother, it was directed in his will, that the entire income of the estate should be at her disposal till they should respectively come of age. This important trust, with that of the entire education and bringing up of her children, was discharged by this excellent lady with equal fidelity and success. She had the satisfaction of beholding the advancement of all her family in life, and of living to see her oldest son, after gloriously passing through two wars, raised to the highest place in the gift and in the affections of his countrymen.

The means of public education in Virginia, at the time that Washington was of age to receive it, were not abundant; but the traditions of his family must have been strongly favorable to that kind and degree of culture, which belong to the man of property and the magistrate. His great grandfather had been a student at Oxford, and as the family had probably risen rather than sunk in fortune since the emigration, and never more so than in the generation preceding Washington, he must have imbibed with his first training the taste for intellectual improvement which becomes a country gentleman. He was sent, however, to no higher institution than a common school, where instruction was confined to the English language, and to the elements of exact science. No particular accounts are preserved of his progress; but *the child is father of the man.* We know what Washington must have

been even at school. Tradition reports him inquisitive, docile, and diligent, early evincing a taste for military manœuvres ; with a passion for athletic exercises and field sports which never deserted him, and possessing an ascendency over his fellow pupils, in virtue of the early manhood of his deportment, and the firmness of his boyish probity. Authentic memorials of these early days remain. His schoolbooks have been preserved from the time he was thirteen years old. They represent him as entering at that age on the study of geometry. But there is one of a still earlier date, strongly characteristic of his cast of mind. It contains what he calls *forms of writings*, such as notes of hand, bills of exchange, receipts, bonds, indentures, bills of sale, landwarrants, leases, deeds, and wills, written out with care, the prominent words in large and round characters, in imitation of a clerk's hand. This would have been deemed a precocious developement of taste for the hereditary calling, in the son of some exceedingly knavish scrivener ; but for the offspring, not yet thirteen years of age, of a prosperous Virginia gentleman, a lad, moreover, fond of military exercises and field sports, this early aptitude for rigid precision of business forms a point of character, by which the Washington of after life was eminently distinguished.

These forms are followed, in the juvenile compend alluded to, by selections in rhyme, recommended more by the sentiments they contain, and the religious tone that pervades them, than by their poetical merit. Washington had no poetry in his nature, in the common acceptation of the term. His intellectual and moral qualities were too severely chastened, and brought into a system too strictly and harmoniously proportioned and trained for practical life, to admit those effusions of feeling, which are poured out from the hearts of many young men, possessing in their minds and characters far less of every element of poetry than Washington. Such poetry in early life may be the mark either of a defective or of an exquisite organization. In most cases it is mere imitation and habit. Forward lads lisp in numbers, because they are most familiar with this form of composition. They catch it from the poetical extracts which are declaimed from their schoolbooks ; there is a charm in mere rhythm for the youthful ear ; and there is a little artifice in the measure of verses and the echo of rhymes, within the youthful grasp, and flattering to

the boyish vanity of achievement. It was in keeping with the character of Washington, even as a boy, to take that sober view of the vanity of mere jingle, which leads all but those who have a spark of the true inspiration, to forswear the "gentle science," as soon as they come of age.

The most curious portion of the contents of the school-book alluded to, is a system of practical maxims for the government of conduct, drawn from miscellaneous sources, (as Mr. Sparks supposes, but as we should rather think, transcribed from some code of good manners or treatise of deportment, which may have been placed by a careful parent in his hands,) and arranged under the head of *Rules of Behavior in Company and Conversation.*

We have already alluded to them in a former volume of our Journal. They unquestionably contain many of the elements of the future Washington. They present him in the interesting light of the architect of his own character; for, though it may be supposed from their tone and import, that they were transcribed into his book of Miscellanies by the direction or advice of a person older than himself, yet the manifest conformity of his own conduct with their spirit proves, that he adopted them as imperative rules of behaviour. On this subject Mr. Sparks makes the following remarks;

"In studying the character of Washington it is obvious, that this code of rules had an influence upon his whole life. His temperament was ardent, his passions strong, and, amidst the multiplied scenes of temptation and excitement through which he passed, it was his constant effort and ultimate triumph to check the one and subdue the other. His intercourse with men, public and private, in every walk and station, was marked with a consistency, a fitness to occasions, a dignity, decorum, condescension, and mildness, a respect for the claims of others, and a delicate perception of the nicer shades of civility, which were not more the dictates of his native good sense and incomparable judgment, than the fruits of a long and unwearied discipline."—Vol. I. p. 7.

Washington continued at school till nearly fifteen years of age. The last two years were devoted principally to the study of geometry and trigonometry, and their application to surveying. In this he became a proficient. His books, still in existence, contain the plans and calculations of his surveys of the fields and plantations near the school-house. Of some

of these interesting memorials, Mr. Sparks has presented his readers with a fac-simile, containing a specimen of his hand-writing at the age of sixteen, and of his mode of delineating the diagrams and entering the calculations of his surveys. He was acquainted with the use of logarithms, and the entries in his books are made with great neatness and precision. The habits thus early commenced were kept up during his life. His business papers, day-books, legers, and letter-books, in which, before the Revolution, no one wrote but himself, exhibit specimens of the same care and exactness. He appears to have taken great satisfaction in the construction of diagrams and tables. His agricultural operations were subjected to this kind of methodical statement; and the facts of leading importance to him, in his various military and civil stations, were reduced as far as practicable to a tabular form.

His education appears to have been confined to the branches above intimated. It was nowhere the practice of the elementary schools a hundred years ago, to introduce children of tender years to the various branches of abstract science, elegant literature, and what is called useful knowledge, which are now taught with equal liberality and advantage; and there is reason to think that the advantages possessed by Washington were rather less than might have been enjoyed at that period at the schools in large towns. Mr. Sparks thinks that he received no systematic instruction, even in the grammar of the English language; nor did he at any period of his life apply himself to the study of the ancient tongues. After the French officers arrived in the country, in the Revolutionary war, and particularly while the army of the Count Rochambeau was acting in coöperation with his own, he paid some attention to the French language; but at no time could he write it or converse in it, nor did he in fact trust himself to translate any paper.

Before he left school, Washington passed through one of the crises of his life, important alike to himself and his country. His elder brother Lawrence, a child of the former marriage, commanded a company which had been present at the capture of Porto Bello and the disastrous siege of Carthagena, pathetically commemorated by Thomson. He had acquired the esteem and confidence of General Wentworth and Admiral Vernon, the commanders of the expedition. In honor of the latter, Captain Lawrence Washington gave the

name of Mount Vernon to the estate, which he had inherited from his father, and which on his decease he bequeathed to George. Having observed the military turn of his brother, and looking upon the British navy as holding forth the best prospect of advancement, he obtained a midshipman's warrant for George in the year 1746, when he was fourteen years old. This step was taken with his acquiescence, if not at his request, and he prepared with a buoyant spirit to depart for his destination.

He was thus on the point of quitting the soil of his native country, at the most susceptible period of life. He was about to enter a path of duty and of advancement, in which, if he had escaped the hazards and gained the prizes of his career, he could scarcely have failed to be carried to distant scenes, — to be employed in foreign expeditions, in remote seas, perhaps in another hemisphere. He would certainly have failed of the opportunity of preparing himself, in the camp and the field, in the approaching war, to command the armies of the Revolution. Not improbably he would have sunk under the pestilential climate of the West Indies and the Spanish Main. Such seemed however almost inevitably his career. His older brother approves and advises, he himself probably desires it, and the warrant is obtained. But resistance arose in the yearnings of a mother's heart. Some fragments of correspondence relative to this interesting event have been preserved. The following is an extract from a letter written to Lawrence Washington by his father-in-law, William Fairfax, dated the 10th of September, 1746.

"George has been with us, and says he will be steady, and thankfully follow your advice as his best friend. I gave him his mother's letter to deliver, with a caution not to show his. I have spoken to Dr. Spencer, who I find is often at the widow's [Mrs. Washington's], and has some influence, to persuade her to think better of your advice, in putting George to sea with good recommendations." — Vol. II. pp. 415, 416.

The following extract on the same subject was written by Mr. Robert Jackson to Lawrence Washington, and dated at Fredericsburg, the 18th of October, 1746.

"I am afraid Mrs. Washington will not keep up to her first resolution. She seems to intimate a dislike to George's going to sea, and says several persons have told her it was a bad scheme. She offers several trifling objections, such as fond,

unthinking mothers habitually suggest ; and I find that one word against his going has more weight than ten for it. Colonel Fairfax seems desirous he should go, and wished me to acquaint you with Mrs. Washington's sentiments. I intend shortly to take an opportunity to talk with her, and will let you know the result." — Vol. II. p. 416.

Nothing, however, could overcome the repugnance of his widowed mother. The entire destinies of Washington and of America, as connected with each other, hung suspended on the decision of that "fond, unthinking mother" ; and out of that fondness and thoughtlessness sprang a wisdom and counsel, to which, in all human appearance, America is indebted for her Washington.

After leaving school, for reasons not particularly stated, he went to reside with his brother Lawrence at Mount Vernon. The winter was devoted to his favorite study of the mathematics, and to practice in surveying. Here he formed or cultivated the acquaintance of Lord Fairfax and other members of the Fairfax family. With this family his brother Lawrence was connected by marriage. They possessed great landed estates, and were persons of intelligence, education, and influence. Lord Fairfax was educated at Oxford, and was one of the writers in the Spectator. At an advanced period of life, he established himself in the valley of the Shenandoah, and died at the age of ninety-two, near the close of the Revolution. William Fairfax, his distant relative, was a native of England. In early life he served in the army in Spain, and in the East and the West Indies. He was governor of New Providence and the Bahamas, and was thence transferred to some office in New England. While there, he was requested by Lord Fairfax to take the agency of his affairs in Virginia. To his acquaintance with the members of this family, Washington was, in the outset of life, mainly indebted for the opportunity of performing those acts, which laid the foundation of his subsequent success, advancement, and fortune.

Lord Fairfax possessed an immense landed estate between the Potomac and Rappahannoc rivers, extending back to, and beyond, the Alleghany Mountains. These lands had never been surveyed. Precisely at this period the attention of men of adventure had begun to stretch away beyond the Blue Ridge ; a region now filled with a dense population, with all

the works of human labor, and all the bounties of a productive soil; then shaded by the native forest, infested with savages, and claimed as the dominion of France. That portion of the country which lay nearest the settlements had been granted, for the most part probably to large proprietors in extensive tracts, which had never been surveyed. Settlers were forcing their way up the streams, selecting the fertile places, and occupying the lands without title. It became a very important object with the proprietors, in the absence of any system of public surveys like that which now prevails, to have their estates accurately divided into lots and measured. Lord Fairfax had formed so favorable an opinion of the general capacity of young Washington, and his fitness for this employment, that he confided to him the important trust of surveying his estates. He set off on his first expedition in March, just a month from the day he was sixteen years old, accompanied by George, the son of William Fairfax.

This may be considered as another critical moment in the career of Washington. At a period of life when, in a more thickly settled country, the intelligent youth is occupied with academic studies in schools and colleges, Washington was stretching the chain through the valleys of the Blue Ridge and Alleghany Mountains; passing days and weeks in the wilderness, beneath the shadow of primitive forests; listening to the voice of the waterfall, reposing from the labors of the day on a bearskin, with his feet to the blazing logs of a camp fire; and sometimes startled from the deep slumbers of hard-working youth, by the alarm of the Indian war-whoop. This was the gymnastic school in which Washington was brought up. The training corresponded to the vocation, *hæ tibi erunt artes.* Here the quick glance was formed, destined afterwards to range across the field of battle, through clouds of smoke and rows of bayonets. This was the school in which his senses, preserved from the taste for the detestable indulgences miscalled pleasures, in which the flower of adolescence so often droops away, were early braced to the sinewy manhood which becomes the "Lord of the lion heart and eagle eye."

A journal of his first surveying expedition is still preserved. It is filled with details, which, slight as they are in themselves, are, from such a source, of high interest. The following letter sets him before us in all the truth of real life.

The very fact of the preservation in his journal of the rough draft of such a letter, written at the age of sixteen, and away from home, is characteristic. It was probably done, not by way of any possible use of future verification, but in order to correction, and for the sake of transcribing a fair copy.

"Dear Richard; The receipt of your kind favor of the 2d instant afforded me unspeakable pleasure, as it convinces me that I am still in the memory of so worthy a friend, — a friendship I shall ever be proud of increasing. Yours gave me the more pleasure, as I received it among barbarians and an uncouth set of people. Since you received my letter of October last, I have not slept above three or four nights in a bed; but, after walking a good deal all the day, I have lain down before the fire on a little hay, straw, fodder, or a bearskin, whichever was to be had, with man, wife, and children, like dogs and cats; and happy is he, who gets the berth nearest the fire. Nothing would make it pass off tolerably but a good reward. A doubloon is my constant gain every day, that the weather will permit of my going out, and sometimes six pistoles. The coldness of the weather will not allow of my making a long stay, as the lodging is rather too cold for the time of year. I have never had my clothes off, but have lain and slept in them, except the few nights I have been in Fredericktown." — Vol. II. p. 419.

Other letters are preserved, which show that the heart of the youthful Washington was the prey of other cares, than those incident to his laborious professional excursions in the mountains. The following is given by Mr. Sparks as a specimen of this portion of the correspondence.

"Dear Friend Robin; As it is the greatest mark of friendship and esteem, which absent friends can show each other, to write and often communicate their thoughts, I shall endeavour from time to time, and at all times, to acquaint you with my situation and employments in life, and I could wish you would take half the pains to send me a letter by any opportunity, as you may be well assured of its meeting with a very welcome reception.

"My place of residence at present is at his Lordship's [Lord Fairfax's], where I might, were my heart disengaged, pass my time very pleasantly, as there is a very agreeable young lady in the same house, Colonel George Fairfax's wife's sister. But that only adds fuel to the fire, as being often and unavoidably in company with her revives my former passion for your Low-land beauty; whereas, were I to live more retired from young women, I might in some measure alleviate my sorrow, by bury-

ing that chaste and troublesome passion in oblivion ; and I am very well assured, that this will be the only antidote or remedy." — Vol. II. pp. 419, 420.

The occupation of a surveyor was pursued by Washington for about three years. He acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of his employers in the trusts committed to him. We have already seen that his labors were liberally compensated ; and, in the opportunity which he possessed of learning the position of valuable lands, no doubt he had it in his power still further to promote his interest. He became acquainted with a portion of the country then little known, but which was shortly to become the theatre of his first military service. He was brought into close contact with a class of men whom he was shortly to meet in another character, and had some intercourse with the natives of the forest. He soon received a commission as a public surveyor, which gave authority to his surveys, and enabled him to enter them in the county offices. This circumstance, conjoined with a character for accuracy, diligence, and probity, secured him all the employment which he desired, in this lucrative pursuit. On the whole, it was scarcely possible that he could have passed the three years of his life, from the age of sixteen, more advantageously, either with reference to his private interest or his preparation for the great work to which Providence had called him.

In these occupations he had made himself so favorably known, that, on the division of the province into several military districts, which took place at this period in consequence of the alarms of French and Indian hostilities, he was appointed in one of them to the place of Adjutant-general, with the rank of Major. It was his duty in this capacity to assemble and exercise the militia, to inspect their arms, and enforce all the requisitions of the militia law, with the responsibility of preparing the troops under his command for actual service in the war which was supposed to be impending. It was an office at once of trust and emolument, the pay being one hundred and fifty pounds per annum. This appointment gave a spring to the military tastes of Washington. He devoted himself to the study of tactics, and to the manual exercise, with the assistance of his brother, and other officers who had served in the late war. He read the principal authors on the military art, and joined practice to theory,

as far as the circumstances of his limited command would admit.

Washington had hardly engaged in this service, when he was called to another, which, though it lay within the circle of his domestic duties, was in some respects eminently critical. His elder brother, Lawrence, was naturally of a slender constitution of body, and was now suffering under alarming symptoms of disease at the lungs. A voyage to Barbadoes was prescribed by the physician, and George was selected as the companion and friend. They sailed to the West Indies in the month of September, 1751, and arrived at Barbadoes after a voyage of five weeks. This is the only voyage ever undertaken by Washington. His brother's health receiving no permanent improvement, he determined, after passing the winter in Barbadoes, to cross to Bermuda in the spring; and in the mean time George was sent back to Virginia, to accompany Mrs. Lawrence to the latter island. He accordingly reëmbarked for Virginia, and, after a most tempestuous voyage, arrived in the Potomac, having been absent more than four months. Some fragments of the journal kept by him during his absence have been preserved, and they afford proof that nothing worthy of his observation, by land or by water, escaped his notice.

While at Barbadoes he was attacked with the small-pox. At the present day it is scarcely possible to realize the terrors which this loathsome disease once inspired. Its appearance in cities was the signal for dispersion; when it prevailed in the country, people imprisoned themselves in their houses; when it broke out in armies and fleets, dismay seized the stoutest hearts. It was the precursor of discomfiture and ruin, except when, from the proximity of the enemy, his forces also fell beneath the scourge of the impartial plague. When it subsided, it was after the death of thousands; and, of those who survived, the larger number bore permanent and often melancholy traces of its ravages. Successive means have been discovered or devised to disarm it of its terrors, and it has so long ceased to be a scourge of modern society, that due thought is not had of the blessing we enjoy in the exemption. But, at the period of which we speak, the art of inoculation had obtained but little prevalence; and, such were the prejudice and ignorance of the age, that the practice of it was, as late as 1769, forbidden by law in Virginia. On the

17th of November, Washington was "strongly attacked," to use the expression in his journal, with this disease, with which he was confined to his lodgings till the 12th of the following month. Some slight traces of it are said to have remained upon his countenance for the rest of his days.* He thus happily, in the morning of his life, and in the favorable climate of the tropics, passed through this formidable ordeal, and, before his military career commenced, was placed beyond the reach of danger from a disease, which, in one of his letters to the Governor of Virginia in the year 1777, he mentions "as more destructive to an army in the natural way, than the enemy's sword." While the American army under Washington lay before Boston in the first campaign, it was one of his cares to guard it against this disease, although we cannot persuade ourselves there was any truth in the reports brought by the British deserters from Boston, that a design was entertained by the royal commander to communicate it to the American camp. The circumstance, on which Washington was inclined to give some credit to this report, may be explained in a manner less abhorrent to humanity; nor would he, probably, on a calm review of the facts, have entertained the suspicion that General Howe could meditate so nefarious a project.

The hopes of restoration which induced his brother Lawrence to prolong his stay in the West Indies were disappointed. He returned the following summer, and died prematurely and greatly lamented, at the age of thirty-four, leaving a widow and an infant daughter. Great care and responsibility devolved by his decease on his brother George. The estate of Mount Vernon was bequeathed to the daughter, with remainder to George in case of her decease. He was also, though the youngest, the most active executor; and, in consequence of his greater familiarity with the affairs of his brother, the chief labor of transacting the business devolved upon him. This trust was equally laborious and responsible, but was not permitted to divert him from his public duties, which on the contrary increased in magnitude. Soon after Governor Dinwiddie's arrival, the colony was portioned into four grand military divisions, Major Washington's commission was renewed, and he was intrusted with the command of one of them. It was the northern district, consisting of several

* Paulding's *Life of Washington*, Vol. I. p. 64.

counties. These were in turn to be visited; their militia drilled, and inspected, and reviewed; and a general system of manœuvre and discipline introduced. In this way, at the age of twenty years, and under a commission from the royal governor, and beneath the influence of the excitement of an impending struggle with the hereditary enemies of the British name and their savage allies, Washington was training himself and his fellow-citizens for the part they were to perform in a more eventful drama.

The great struggle between England and France for the monopoly of the continent, — a struggle which had held the civilization of the colonies in check for a century, — was now drawing to a crisis. England was granting large tracts of land on the western slope of the Alleghanies to the Ohio Company; France, both from Canada and from Louisiana, was stretching a *cordon* of posts across the interior. Neither the property nor the jurisdiction belonged of right to either; but it was appointed, that, through this agency, the empire of the great European powers over the present United States should be subverted, and the path opened to American Independence.

Intelligence was received at Williamsburg, that the French governor of Canada was pushing troops toward the head waters of the Ohio, and alienating the neighbouring Indian tribes from the British interest. Governor Dinwiddie determined to despatch a commissioner, in due form, invested with proper powers, to confer with the officer commanding the French troops; to inquire on what authority he acted, and to learn his designs. The commission was delicate and hazardous, requiring discretion and ability, experience of the mode of travelling in the woods, power of physical effort and endurance, and knowledge of the Indian character. All these qualifications were found combined in Washington; he promptly accepted the trust tendered to him, and started the next day on its execution. Washington's Journal of this expedition was published at the time, and is repeated in the standard authorities for his biography. That of his faithful companion, Gist, has recently been given to the world.* He dwells with greater particularity on an event, which Washington's modesty led him to despatch in a more summary

* In a late volume of the *Transactions of the Massachusetts Historical Society.*

manner. After encountering all the hardships of the wilderness and the season (it was mid winter), and various embarrassments thrown in his way by the French, Washington reached the head-quarters of their commanding officer and performed his errand. On the return of the party, the horses failed, from the inclemency of the weather and the severity of the march; and Washington and his companion Gist (left by the friendly Indians), with their packs on their shoulders and guns in their hands, were compelled to make the toilsome march on foot. They were soon joined by Indians in the French interest, who had dogged them ever since they left the fort. One of them employed all the arts of savage cunning to get possession of the arms of Washington, and lead him and his companion astray in the forest. Baffled by their wariness, and perceiving them at nightfall to be worn down by the fatiguing march, the savage turned deliberately, and, at a distance of fifteen steps, fired at Washington and his companion. The rifle missed its aim. Washington and Gist sprang upon him and seized him. Gist was desirous of putting him to death. His life was certainly forfeited, but Washington would not permit it to be taken in cold blood. After detaining him a few hours he was allowed to escape; and they pursued their journey, worn and weary as they were, through the dreary watches of a long December night.

Well knowing that the savages must be on their trail, they dared not stop till they reached the Alleghany, the clear and rapid stream, which, rising in Pennsylvania, sweeps round through the southwestern counties of New York, and descends into Pennsylvania, to unite with the Monongahela and form the Ohio. They hoped to be able to cross the Alleghany on foot, the only comfort which they promised themselves from the stinging severity of the weather. Unfortunately, the river was neither frozen across nor wholly open, but fringed with broken ice on each shore, while the middle of the stream was filled with cakes of ice furiously drifting along. With one poor hatchet, to use Washington's own expression, they commenced the construction of a raft. It was a weary day's work, not completed till sunset. They launched with it upon the stream, but were soon so surrounded and crushed by drifting masses of ice, that they expected every moment that their raft would go to pieces, and they themselves perish at midnight in the dark eddies of the

mountain stream. Washington planted his pole to stop the movement of the raft, till the fields of ice should float by ; but the raft was driven with so much force against the pole, that he himself was thrown out into ten feet of water. He saved himself by catching at one of the logs of which the raft was composed. Notwithstanding all their efforts, it was impossible to get the raft to either shore, and they were obliged to pass the night on an island in the middle of the river. Here they suffered extremely from the intense cold. The hands and feet of Mr. Gist were frozen. Happily, in the morning they found the ice between the island and the eastern bank of the river, sufficiently hard to bear their weight. They crossed without further disaster, and the same day reached a trading post recently established by Mr. Frazier, near the spot where the fatal battle of the Monongahela was fought a year and a half afterward.

Such was the commencement of Washington's active public services. Such was his journey, undertaken at a season of the year when the soldier is permitted to go into quarters ; in a state of weather when the hunter houses himself, and the woodman sits cowering over the fire ; undertaken amidst perils from which escape was all but miraculous ; and this too, not by a penniless adventurer, fighting his way through desperate risks to promotion and bread, but by a young planter already advantageously known to the community, and possessed of an ample property. In this his first official employment, at the age of twenty-one, Washington displayed upon an obscure theatre, where if he fell he would have fallen as a leaf in the forest, that courage, resolution, prudence, disinterestedness, and fortitude which through life marked his conduct. He sprang into active service considerate, wary, and fearless; and that Providence, which had raised him up for other and higher duties, seemed to spread a protecting shield over his beloved head. It rarely happens in the busiest and most fortunate life, to escape unharmed from such risks, as were incurred by Washington, when thrown from the raft, or when the Indian's rifle was discharged at him within a few paces.

Major Washington's Journal and the letter of the French commander were laid before the Council. The latter was considered unsatisfactory, and the case was deemed by Governor Dinwiddie to have arisen, when he was authorized and required by his instructions to repel encroachment by force.

An order was issued to raise two companies of one hundred men each. One of them was placed under Major Trent, who was well acquainted with the frontiers, and was sent forward to enlist his company among the back settlers and traders, and to establish a fort at the confluence of the Alleghany and the Monongahela, the present site of Pittsburg, which Washington, on his expedition the preceding winter, had noticed and mentioned as an admirable spot for a military station. The other company was confided to Washington, who remained at Alexandria, as a convenient station for the rendezvous of his men, and the collecting and forwarding of the supplies, which were to be sent forward to the fort. The Governor's instructions to the officers were of a warlike character. They were directed to drive away, kill, destroy, or seize as prisoners, all persons, not the subjects of the king of Great Britain, who should attempt to settle, or take possession of, the lands on the Ohio river or its tributaries.

These preliminary steps being taken by the Governor and Council, the Legislature was ordered to assemble ; circulars were addressed to the governors of other provinces, and an attempt made, but unsuccessfully, to arouse a warm feeling throughout the colonies. When the Assembly convened, authority was granted for the enlistment of a regiment. Washington declined being regarded as a candidate for the chief command, but readily accepted the second place. The regiment consisted of six companies, and was placed under the command of Colonel Joseph Fry, an Englishman by birth, educated at the University of Oxford, skilled in the mathematical sciences, and much esteemed for the amiable qualities of his character. Extraordinary encouragement was held out to those who enlisted, by liberal grants of bounty lands. The ministry at London sanctioned the measures which had been adopted by Governor Dinwiddie, and authorized him to call to his aid two independent companies ; one from New York, and one from South Carolina.

Colonel Washington continued his head-quarters at Alexandria till the 1st of April. By this time, two companies had been collected at that place, with which he marched to Will's Creek, where he arrived on the 20th, having been joined on the way by another company under Captain Stephen. The march was impeded by the badness of the roads and the difficulty of procuring wagons to convey the baggage.

A part of Major Trent's men had already reached their destination, and had begun to build a fort at the junction of the Alleghany and the Monongahela. Just before reaching Will's Creek, an exaggerated report was brought to Washington, that this party had been captured by the French, who had descended in great force from Venango. The fact was true, although the numbers of the French had been greatly over-estimated. This was the first overt act of hostility in the memorable Seven Years' War; that war which, in Europe, was rendered memorable by the ascent of Prussia, under Frederic the Great, into the first rank of powers, and by the vigor which Pitt infused into the British councils; and in America, by the downfall of the French power.

The fort, which the French had captured from Trent's party, was enlarged and completed by them, and received the name of Duquesne, in honor of the Governor of Canada.

These events placed Washington in a very embarrassing and critical position. His colonel was still absent, and the responsibility of deciding and acting rested on himself. He occupied an advanced outpost; the French were penetrating the country with a force greatly superior to his own, and reported to be much greater than it was, and his instructions required him to meet force with force. Under these circumstances, after calling a council of war, and addressing letters to the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, he resolved to push boldly into the wilderness, clear and prepare the road as they proceeded, and, if possible, reach the Monongahela at the mouth of Redstone Creek, and establish a fort there. Nature was to be overcome, before the enemy was reached. Trees were felled, rocks removed, bridges thrown across torrents and rivers, and causeways built over marshes. Commissaries were faithless, or unable to fulfil their contracts in the wilderness, and great distress arose for want of bread. So much do men endure and suffer, to gain opportunities to destroy each other and to perish!

He started on the 1st of May with his little force, about one hundred and fifty men. Some time was lost in an unsuccessful experiment, to ascertain whether the party might not descend the Youghiogany. Scarcely returned from exploring this stream, Washington received a communication from Tanacharison, a friendly Indian chief, otherwise called

the Half-King, then with his people on the Monongahela, informing him that a party of French had been out two days marching toward him, and determined to attack the first English they should meet. This account was confirmed by another, representing the French as only fifteen miles distant. Ignorant of their numbers, or at what moment they might approach, Colonel Washington hastened to a position at a place called the Great Meadows, where he cleared away the bushes, threw up an entrenchment, and prepared, as he called it, "a charming field for an encounter." He then sent out scouts on horseback, who, however, returned without having seen any traces of the enemy. But the camp was alarmed, and kept under arms all night. Mr. Gist, the following day, came into camp, and reported that a party of French, consisting of fifty men, had been at his settlement the day before, and that he had observed their tracks within five miles of the Great Meadows.

It was now deemed certain that the French were approaching with hostile designs. Washington's instructions left no alternative, and the best preparations were made to meet them, which the circumstances admitted. About nine o'clock at night, another express arrived from the friendly Indian chief, stating that he had seen the tracks of two Frenchmen, and that the whole detachment was near. Colonel Washington immediately put himself at the head of forty men, and started to join the Half-King; the rest of his force was left to protect the camp. The rain fell in torrents, and the soldiers forced their way with difficulty through the dark and intricate woods.

The whole night was consumed in the march; and they reached the Indian encampment about sunrise. A council was held with Tanacharison and his chief warriors, and it was agreed that they should march in concert against the French. Two Indians were sent out to reconnoitre the enemy, who were found concealed in an obscure position, a half a mile from the main road. Colonel Washington and his men advanced on the right, and the Indians on the left, in single file. The French, as soon as they perceived them, seized their arms, and the firing commenced on both sides. A smart skirmish ensued for a quarter of an hour, when the French ceased to resist. M. de Jumonville, their commander, and ten of his men were killed. Twenty-two were

taken prisoners, one of whom was wounded. One of Colonel Washington's men was killed, and two or three were wounded; of the Indians none were killed. This event occurred on the 28th of May, 1754. The prisoners were conducted to the Great Meadows, and thence, under a guard, to Williamsburg.

This incident has furnished the occasion of perhaps the only reproach, which has been brought against the pure fame of Washington, in his long and various career; and an unfortunate and accidental circumstance, which will presently be stated, has been seized upon, as sustaining the justice of this reproach, by the authority of Washington himself. As this was the commencement of a war, each party was desirous of fastening upon the other the blame of striking the first blow. The English accused the French of having commenced hostilities, by forcibly dislodging Trent's men from the fort they had begun to build, at the Fork of the Ohio, and regarded the advance of Jumonville's party as the invasion of the territory of Virginia. The French maintained, that neither of these acts was warlike, that Jumonville was sent on a peaceful errand to summon Washington and his force to quit the country, and that the attack upon him, which resulted in his death and that of ten of his men, was unprovoked and murderous. This view of the subject took strong hold of the public mind in France, and has been perpetuated to the present day. It was founded on the erroneous report of the facts transmitted at the time by M. Contrecœur, the commander of the body from which Jumonville was detached, and who was probably misled by a Canadian, who, by his own account, escaped, at the commencement of the action. Mr. Sparks has related the events from the official letters of Washington, which are now for the first time published, and which are sustained by such extracts from the Journal of Washington, captured a year after at Braddock's defeat, as the French government at the time thought fit to disclose. It would require too much space to discuss the subject in all its details. It forms the matter of a very able annotation by Mr. Sparks, in the Appendix to the second volume of the work before us. Whatever may be thought of the pretexts on which England and France claimed a right to exclude each other from a territory that belonged to neither, the destruction and capture of Jumonville and his

band were legitimate consequences of the state of inchoate war, into which the parties by successive steps had plunged themselves. The French commander at Venango had been apprized a year before, that the Governor of Virginia regarded his progress toward the Ohio as an encroachment on the British territory, and had placed his government in a position to sustain the principle of this message by force. The ministers at London approved his course. In pursuance of this policy, troops were raised, and an advanced party of Virginians entrenched themselves at the Fork of the Ohio. This party was dislodged by an overwhelming force of French and Indians, who entered the country in the array of war, with a train of artillery. Washington was known to the French commander to be on his advance, and Jumonville with thirty-five men was despatched toward him. The precise object of this detachment does not distinctly appear. Washington received constant information from settlers who were driven in, from traders, and from friendly Indians, leading him to suppose that the main body was in full advance upon him, and that Jumonville was sent forward to reconnoitre and procure information, or for some other hostile purpose. The position, in which he was finally surprised, confirmed the opinion. The positive instructions under which Washington was placed, left him no choice, and threw upon Jumonville the responsibility of the consequences. It is in fact astonishing, that, in the face of the events which immediately followed this enterprise, the French should, at any period, have regarded themselves as the party assailed.

By the death of Colonel Fry, Washington was left in command of the regiment, the strength of which was increased by a single company from Alexandria, whose commander, Captain Mackay, however, in consequence of holding a royal British commission, declined to put himself under the command of Washington. To obviate, in some degree, the inconveniences of this unhappy pretension, Washington pushed forward his companies to an advanced position, intending, if possible, to reach the banks of the Monongahela, and leaving Captain Mackay as a guard for the protection of Fort Necessity, the name which he had given to the entrenchment which he had thrown up at the Great Meadows after the affair with Jumonville. While pushing his way laboriously forward, Washington received information from In-

dians and deserters, that Fort Duquesne had been reinforced from Canada, and that a strong detachment would shortly march against the English. The superior force of the enemy compelled a retreat to Fort Necessity. It was not the intention of Washington to halt here ; but the exhaustion of his men, who had been without bread eight days, made it necessary to give them rest. A small quantity of flour was in store at the fort, and farther supplies were anxiously awaited. Time would fail us to recount, in detail, the incidents of the disastrous battle of Fort Necessity. This was a hasty work, thrown up by Washington, at the foot of the mountains ; and, before reinforcements could arrive from Virginia, the joint French and Indian army was upon him. A sharp action took place on the 3d of July, 1754, which was kept up till a late hour in the evening. The Virginian force had become considerably reduced since its first entrance into the wilderness, the French outnumbered it greatly ; but the French commander saw that he had to do with men, determined, if pushed to extremities, to sell their lives dear. He proposed a capitulation, and a parley was held to settle its terms. Van Braam, a captain in the Virginia regiment, and the only man in it who understood the French language, was sent by Colonel Washington to treat with the French commander. The articles of capitulation, drawn up in French, and treacherously or timidly assented to by Van Braam, speak of the prisoners made by the British "*dans l'assassinat du Sieur Jumonville*," "at the *assassination* of Jumonville." These articles were interpreted to Washington at midnight, under a drenching rain, amidst the wrecks of the battle which had lasted ten hours. The word *assassinat*, (as was steadily asserted by Washington and his brother officers, when, some weeks after, they first learned that such a word appeared in the original,) was not literally rendered by Van Braam. In a letter written to a person who had addressed him on the subject, Washington states, that the word *assassination* was not used, but that the term employed by Van Braam, was *death* or *loss*. The articles, in other respects, were unfaithfully rendered, either from ignorance or design ; and, in fact, the idea, that any men (to say nothing of such a man as Washington), who were in a condition to make terms of capitulation, to retain their arms and baggage, and withdraw from the field, would agree to subscribe themselves assassins,

is absurd. It must be but a poor spirit who would do this, even if reduced to surrender at discretion.

We have dwelt the longer on this point, because it is the only one of plausible reproach to the fame of Washington, and because the whole case and truth are, for the first time, unfolded by Mr. Sparks from the original documents. The correspondence of Washington was collated by him in the Office of the Board of Trade, at London, and he obtained copies from Governor Dinwiddie's letter-book now in the hands of an individual in England. His researches are the more valuable, as the public papers of Virginia for this period have been destroyed.

A similar remark might be made, in reference to the entire account of the battle of the Monongahela, more commonly called Braddock's defeat, one of the leading incidents in the life of Washington, as it is one of the most important events in the military history of the colonies before the Revolution. This interesting portion of his work was executed by Mr. Sparks, in a considerable degree, from original researches of his own. It is illustrated by a topographical sketch formed on personal inspection of the localities, and may be selected as one of the best specimens of the narrative style of the author.

"At this time Colonel Washington was seized with a raging fever, which was so violent as to alarm the physician; and, as an act of humanity, the general ordered him to proceed no further, till the danger was over; with a solemn pledge that he should be brought up to the front of the army before it should reach the French fort. Consigned to a wagon, and to the physician's care, he continued with the rear division nearly two weeks, when he was enabled to be moved forward by slow stages, but not without much pain from weakness and the jolting of the vehicle. He overtook the general at the mouth of the Youghiogany River, fifteen miles from Fort Duquesne, the evening before the battle of the Monongahela.

"'The officers and soldiers were now in the highest spirits, and firm in the conviction, that they should within a few hours victoriously enter the walls of Fort Duquesne. The steep and rugged grounds, on the north side of the Monongahela, prevented the army from marching in that direction; and it was necessary in approaching the fort, now about fifteen miles distant, to ford the river twice, and march a part of the way on the south side. Early on the morning of the 9th, all things

were in readiness, and the whole train passed through the river a little below the mouth of the Youghiogany, and proceeded in perfect order along the southern margin of the Monongahela. Washington was often heard to say during his lifetime, that the most beautiful spectacle he had ever beheld was the display of the British troops on this eventful morning. Every man was neatly dressed in full uniform, the soldiers were arranged in columns and marched in exact order, the sun gleamed from their burnished arms, the river flowed tranquilly on their right, and the deep forest overshadowed them with solemn grandeur on their left. Officers and men were equally inspirited with cheering hopes and confident anticipations.

"'In this manner they marched forward till about noon, when they arrived at the second crossing-place, ten miles from Fort Duquesne. They halted but a little time, and then began to ford the river and regain its northern bank. As soon as they had crossed, they came upon a level plain, elevated only a few feet above the surface of the river, and extending northward nearly half a mile from its margin. Then commenced a gradual ascent at an angle of about three degrees, which terminated in hills of a considerable height at no great distance beyond. The road from the fording-place to Fort Duquesne led across the plain and up this ascent, and thence proceeded through an uneven country, at that time covered with wood.

"'By the order of march, a body of three hundred men, under Colonel Gage, made the advanced party, which was immediately followed by another of two hundred. Next came the general with the columns of artillery, the main body of the army, and the baggage. At one o'clock the whole had crossed the river, and almost at this moment a sharp firing was heard upon the advanced parties, who were now ascending the hill, and had proceeded about a hundred yards from the termination of the plain. A heavy discharge of musketry was poured in upon their front, which was the first intelligence they had of the proximity of an enemy, and this was suddenly followed by another on their right flank. They were filled with the greater consternation, as no enemy was in sight, and the firing seemed to proceed from an invisible foe. They fired in their turn, however, but quite at random and obviously without effect.

"'The general hastened forward to the relief of the advanced parties; but, before he could reach the spot which they occupied, they gave way and fell back upon the artillery and the other columns of the army, causing extreme confusion, and striking the whole mass with such a panic, that no order could afterwards be restored. The general and the officers

behaved with the utmost courage, and used every effort to rally the men, and bring them to order, but all in vain. In this state they continued nearly three hours, huddling together in confused bodies, firing irregularly, shooting down their own officers and men, and doing no perceptible harm to the enemy. The Virginia provincials were the only troops, who seemed to retain their senses, and they behaved with a bravery and resolution worthy of a better fate. They adopted the Indian mode, and fought each man for himself behind a tree. This was prohibited by the general, who endeavoured to form his men into platoons and columns, as if they had been manœuvring on the plains of Flanders. Meantime the French and Indians, concealed in the ravines and behind trees, kept up a deadly and unceasing discharge of musketry, singling out their objects, taking deliberate aim, and producing a carnage almost unparalleled in the annals of modern warfare. More than half of the whole army, which had crossed the river in so proud an array only three hours before, were killed or wounded. The general himself received a mortal wound, and many of his best officers fell by his side.' *

"During the whole of the action, as reported by an officer who witnessed his conduct, Colonel Washington behaved with 'the greatest courage and resolution.' Captains Orme and Morris, the two other aids-de-camp, were wounded and disabled, and the duty of distributing the general's orders devolved on him alone. He rode in every direction, and was a conspicuous mark for the enemy's sharp-shooters. 'By the all-powerful dispensations of Providence,' said he, in a letter to his brother, 'I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation ; for I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me, yet I escaped unhurt, although death was levelling my companions on every side of me.' So bloody a contest has rarely been witnessed. The number of officers in the engagement was eighty-six, of whom twenty-six were killed, and thirty-seven wounded. The killed and wounded of the privates amounted to seven hundred and fourteen. On the other hand, the enemy's loss was small. Their force amounted at least to eight hundred and fifty men, of whom six hundred were Indians. According to the returns, not more than forty were killed. They fought in deep ravines, concealed by the bushes, and the balls of the English passed over their heads." † — Vol. I. pp. 64 – 68.

"* See *Washington's Writings,* Vol. II. p. 469, Appendix."

"† A report has long been current in Pennsylvania, that Braddock was shot by one of his own men, founded on the declaration of a provincial soldier, who was in the action. There is another tradition, also, worthy of

We have passed, from necessity, over the events of the twelve months, which intervened between the retreat from Fort Necessity and the battle of the Monongahela, at which Washington, as is well known, was present only as a volunteer, in the capacity of aid to the commander-in-chief. Neither is it in our power to follow him from the period of this disaster to the close of the war. It is sufficient to say, that from this time forward, young as he was, his reputation was firmly established, and his relation to the country ascertained. There is something scarcely explicable in the hold he had acquired of the minds of thoughtful men. Never did victorious consul return to republican Rome loaded with the spoils of conquered provinces, an object of greater respect, admiration, and confidence, than Washington, at the age of twenty-three, at the close of two campaigns, from one of which, he was able to save his regiment only by a painful capitulation ; in the other, barely escaping with his life and the wreck of an army. He thus formed to himself on fields of disaster and defeat, a reputation for consummate bravery, conduct, and patriotism. The remarkable prediction of the Reverend Samuel Davis, afterwards President of Princeton College, must never be forgotten, when the early life of Washington is narrated. In a sermon preached about this period, to the volunteers of Hanover County, in Virginia, he uses this extraordinary language. "As a remarkable instance of patriotism, I may point out to the public, that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country."

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notice, which rests on the authority of Dr. Craik, the intimate friend of Washington from his boyhood to his death, and who was with him at the battle of the Monongahela. Fifteen years after that event, they travelled together on an expedition to the western country, with a party of woodsmen, for the purpose of exploring wild lands. While near the junction of the Great Kenhawa and Ohio Rivers, a company of Indians came to them with an interpreter, at the head of whom was an aged and venerable chief. This personage made known to them by the interpreter, that, hearing Colonel Washington was in that region, he had come a long way to visit him, adding, that, during the battle of the Monongahela, he had singled him out as a conspicuous object, fired his rifle at him many times, and directed his young warriors to do the same, but to his utter astonishment none of their balls took effect. He was then persuaded, that the youthful hero was under the special guardianship of the Great Spirit, and ceased to fire at him any longer. He was now come to pay homage to the man, who was the particular favorite of Heaven, and who could never die in battle." — *Washington's Writings*, Vol. II. p. 475, Appendix.

It is out of our power to pursue further the life of Washington. We have sketched the early life from the materials collected by Mr. Sparks, because it is of course in this portion, that the life of Washington is less exclusively than it afterwards becomes, the history of the country, and because, in reference to this period, Mr. Sparks's researches, valuable in every portion, contain the most original information.*

At the close of the war, he retired to Mount Vernon, which had now become his property, by the effect of his brother's bequest. He had been engaged in military service uninterruptedly for five years; and, at the age of twenty-six, when the majority of able and hopeful men are first emerging into general notice, he had, by his extraordinary and successful labors, gained reputation, influence, and a fixed character in public estimation. On the 6th of January, 1759, he married Mrs. Martha Custis, the widow of John Parke Custis, a lady three months younger than himself, distinguished for her beauty and accomplishments. She was the daughter of John Dandridge, and was, by the former marriage, the mother of a son six years old, and a daughter four. By this marriage a large accession was made to the property of Washington, already ample by the inheritance of Mount Vernon, and by the selection of large tracts of valuable lands, which he had been able to make as a surveyor. His attention was henceforward turned toward the management of his numerous plantations and his extensive private affairs. He also took upon himself the guardianship of Mrs. Washington's two children, and the care of their large property, which trust he discharged with the faithfulness of a parent, and the punctuality peculiarly his own, till the majority of the son, and the death of the daughter, in her nineteenth year. The matrimonial connexion of Washington was eminently happy, and continued for forty years, till his death. With her intimate acquaintances, the character of Mrs. Washington was the theme of untiring praise. To the nation at large, she was the object of affectionate respect; for it was known to all men, that she made the home of the Father of his country happy. Affable and courteous, exemplary in her deportment, remarkable for deeds of charity, unostentatious, and without vanity, she adorned private life by her domestic virtues, and

* In the foregoing sketch of the early life of Washington, use has been made of an address delivered at Beverly (Mass.), on the 4th of July, 1835.

filled with dignity and grace every station to which her husband's eminence called her. There is no doubt, that much of the calm and equable action of Washington's character is to be ascribed to the happy influence of his wife, to the freedom from domestic care, resulting from her excellent management, and to the ever-springing renovation of exhausted spirits, which can rarely be enjoyed but in a cheerful home. It is to be regretted, that so few memorials are preserved of this excellent lady. Mr. Sparks has gratified his readers with a long extract from a letter to Mrs. Warren, of this State, written shortly after the return of the President from his tour in New England, which presents a delightful picture of a well-balanced female mind. *

Before he left the army, Washington had been elected to the House of Burgesses. As his duty prevented his personal attendance at the polls, and he was a candidate for the county which had been the theatre of his military command, the duties of which had required him at times to impress the property, to oppose the wishes, and sometimes disappoint the expectations of the people, prone to look to military commanders for more than they can accomplish, his triumph over four competitors was justly deemed an eminent proof of his abilities, and possession of the public confidence. It was the first place to which he was called by the popular favor, which from this time forward encompassed him as with a genial atmosphere while he lived, and distilled in tears of universal, heartfelt sorrow over his honored grave. During his attendance at the House of Burgesses, that delightful incident occurred, of which it might not be easy to find a parallel in the history of legislation. The presence of a pure and lofty character seems to convert the stern and arid forms of parliamentary procedure into the gentle courtesy of a chivalrous romance. Mr. Sparks quotes it from Wirt's "Life of Patrick Henry."

"By a vote of the House, the Speaker, Mr. Robinson, was directed to return their thanks to Colonel Washington on behalf of the Colony, for the distinguished military services he had rendered the country. As soon as Colonel Washington took his seat, Mr. Robinson, in obedience to this order, and following the impulse of his own generous and grateful heart, discharged the duty with great dignity, but with such warmth of coloring and strength of expression, as entirely confounded

* Vol. I. p. 457.

the young hero. He rose to express his acknowledgments for the honor ; but, such was his trepidation and confusion, that he could not give distinct utterance to a single syllable. He blushed, stammered, and trembled for a second ; when the Speaker relieved him by a stroke of address, which would have done honor to Louis the Fourteenth in his proudest and happiest moment. ' Sit down, Mr. Washington,' said he, with a conciliating smile, ' your modesty equals your valor ; and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess.' "*

From this time to the beginning of the Revolution, a period of fifteen years, Washington continued a member of the House of Burgesses, seven years for the County of Frederic, and afterwards for that of Fairfax. There were commonly two and sometimes three sessions a year; and it appears from a record in his handwriting, that he gave his attendance punctually, and from beginning to end of almost every session. His influence in public bodies was that of good sense, attention to business, disinterestedness and integrity beyond suspicion, and general weight of character. He seldom spoke, never harangued. It is not known, that he ever made a set speech, or entered into a vehement debate. But his attention was unremitted ; he thoroughly informed himself on the prominent topics, and, when occasion required, delivered his opinion clearly, concisely, and firmly. His judgment, as to the proper course of conduct to be observed by a member of a deliberative assembly, may be inferred from the counsel he gave to a nephew, who had just taken his seat, as a member of the Assembly.

" ' The only advice I will offer,' said Washington, ' if you have a mind to command the attention of the House, is to speak seldom but on important subjects, except such as particularly relate to your constituents ; and, in the former case, make yourself perfectly master of the subject. Never exceed a decent warmth, and submit your sentiments with diffidence. A dictatorial style, though it may carry conviction, is always accompanied with disgust.' " — Vol. 1. p. 109.

It is probable that in the foregoing judgment, Washington does more than justice to the style of address which he condemns. It may be doubted whether conviction was ever wrought in a disgusted mind. Such a mind is unconsciously, and by a law of our nature, thrown into a position of dis-

* Wirt's *Life of Patrick Henry*, 3d edit. p. 45.

trust and incredulity. The extraordinary spectacle, so often witnessed, of grave assemblies, which sit admiring but passive listeners to the most eloquent harangues, from acute, well-instructed, and accomplished speakers, is to be explained by moral causes. The ancient rhetoricians unfolded the entire philosophy of this matter, when they taught that none but a good man could be an orator.

The legislative labors of Washington, in the interval between his retirement from the army, and the Revolution, of course furnished occupation for but a small part of his time. His chief pursuits were agricultural. He superintended his numerous and extensive plantations with the greatest assiduity. Mr. Sparks has preserved in his twelfth volume, a specimen of his agricultural papers, of great curiosity and interest. It is impossible, without an accurate inspection of these papers, to form an idea of the rigid method and the laborious punctuality, with which Washington transacted his own business, and which he required from all in his employment, not merely while resident at Mount Vernon, but during his administration, and while he was absent at the seat of government. At these times, as we learn from a note, by Mr. Sparks, to one of the detailed weekly reports of his manager, it was the custom of Washington to exact a similar report once a week, from the manager at Mount Vernon, of the proceedings on all the farms. These reports commenced with a meteorological table, the object of which was to communicate such a knowledge of the weather, as would enable Washington to form a more correct judgment of the amount of time, that the laborers could properly be employed at their work. The report contained a minute statement of the quantity and kind of labor performed by every individual in the establishment, and was required to be accompanied by an explanatory letter. These were answered by the President once a week or oftener, the answers sometimes filling two or three closely written sheets. They were first prepared in a rough draft, and then transcribed in a fair hand by Washington, a press copy being retained. This laborious process was pursued by him during the entire period of his administration.

The business of a planter at this period, in Virginia, partook to a considerable extent of the nature of commercial transactions. Tobacco was the great staple product in the

lower counties, and to this Washington particularly gave his attention. The crop was shipped by him, in his own name, to his correspondents in London, Liverpool, and Bristol, on board vessels which came up the Potomac to Mount Vernon, or to other convenient points on the river. A portion of the returns was made in the articles of British manufacture required for the consumption of the household, and on the plantations, not excepting wearing apparel for every member of the family. Mr. Sparks has preserved specimens of the invoices of these articles. They are equally curious as illustrating the manners of the day, and humiliating as proof of the dependence of America on a foreign country. It affords an instructive lesson of political delusion, to cast one's eye over the list of imported articles, and reflect that intelligent British statesmen really thought, that America not only ought, but could, while beds of iron ore and of coal spread beneath the soil and interminable forests above it, be compelled by acts of Parliament, by the magic virtue of cockets and clearances, as Burke, in the bitterness of his derision, expressed it, to send three thousand miles across the Atlantic ocean, for ploughs, hoes, spades, and scythes.

Mr. Sparks has extracted, from an order sent to a tailor in London, a memorandum of the person of Washington, from his own hand. He describes himself as "six feet high, and proportionably made; if any thing, rather slender for a person of that height," and adds, that his limbs were long. This was at the age of thirty-one. His exact measure, Mr. Sparks observes, was six feet and three inches. One of the orders transmitted to London, for the usual annual supply, contains a grouping of articles which, though casual in itself, would not need to be disturbed in a philosophical classification. The list contained an order for eight busts, and closes in the following manner;

"*Directions for the Busts.*

"4. One of Alexander the Great, another of Julius Cæsar, another of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, and a fourth of the King of Prussia. — N. B. These are not to exceed fifteen inches in height, nor ten in width.

"2 other busts of the Prince Eugene and Duke of Marlborough, somewhat smaller.

"2 *wild beasts*, not to exceed twelve inches in height nor eighteen in length.

"Sundry small ornaments for chimney-piece." — Vol. XII. p. 256.

Attempts have been made by some British writers, to bring into question the zeal and sincerity, with which, at the outset, Washington embarked in the patriotic cause; and they have asserted, that he was brought with difficulty to take part in the measures of resistance, which were adopted by the sanguine leaders. Mr. Sparks ascribes this impression to the fact, that his name is not mentioned at the earliest period among the conspicuous actors; and it was perhaps strengthened by the purport of the spurious letters, which in the year 1776 were published in London, republished in New York, and circulated with great diligence, as far as possible, throughout the country. The author of these letters is not known. Mr. Sparks, in intimating that they may have contained parts of his genuine letters, which had been intercepted, seems to authorize the inference, that their publication was connived at and promoted by authority. Their tenor is the basest that can be imagined. They represent Washington, as expressing to the members of his family and his confidential friends, sentiments totally at variance with his conduct, and as deprecating the misguided zeal and rashness of Congress, in declaring independence, and pushing matters to extremity. At the time of their appearance, Washington disdained to notice or contradict them. Toward the end of his presidency, says Mr. Sparks, "when a new edition of these same forgeries was palmed upon the public, to gratify the spleen of a malignant party spirit, and to effect a purpose even more infamous than the one contemplated by their original author, he declared them in a letter to the Secretary of State to be spurious and false." No man in America took a more early, open, and decided part, in asserting and defending the rights of the colonies, and opposing the pretensions of the British government. In the Virginia legislature, he went heart and hand with Henry, Randolph, Lee, Wythe, and the other prominent patriots of the time. His opinions and his principles were consistent throughout. That he looked for a conciliation, till the convening of the first Congress, and perhaps till the rejection of the petition to the King, there is no doubt; so did Franklin, Jay, John Adams, Jefferson, and probably all the other master-spirits, who gave the tone to public sentiment and action.*

* We use the words of Mr. Sparks, Vol. I. p. 116, where the point is pursued, and placed beyond question.

From the moment of entering upon the war, Washington's history is the history of the Revolution; and this history, it is not too much to say, Mr. Sparks has written anew, in his notes and annotations to the writings of Washington, and in his "Life," contained in the first volume. We do not, of course, mean, that any discoveries of great leading incidents remained to be effected; but numerous errors of detail have been corrected, particulars of interest supplied, and much original illustration of every kind furnished.

To attempt any thing like a sketch of the subsequent portion of this biography would be manifestly impossible. We can but touch on a few miscellaneous heads; observing only, by the way, that there is not a topic of importance in his career, on which Mr. Sparks has not shed new light, and in reference to which he has not probably given, whether it be satisfactory or not, nearly or quite all the information which can now he retrieved.

In the Appendix to the third volume, there is a highly interesting annotation on the subject of the original appointment of Washington, as Commander-in-chief of the American armies. There were individuals in America, such as Lee and Gates, who had seen much more service in former and European wars. Massachusetts and other New England States, who had begun the war, had their armies in the field, and their generals in commission. There were accordingly points of expediency to decide, and questions of delicacy to settle. The first suggestion of the name of Washington which Mr. Sparks cites, is from a letter of Vice-President Gerry, then a member of the provincial Congress at Watertown. It is dated on the 4th of June, 1775, and is addressed to the Massachusetts delegates in the Continental Congress. It is a formal recommendation of "the beloved Colonel Washington as generalissimo; and this is a matter," (adds Mr. Gerry,) "in which Dr. Warren agrees with me, and we had intended to write you jointly in the affair." In discussing the question respecting the disposal of the army, by which, after the 19th of April, the British troops were besieged in Boston, John Adams made a motion, that it should be adopted by the Continent; and, in enforcing this motion, he said it was his intention to propose for the office of Commander-in-chief, a gentleman from Virginia, and one of their own body. His reference to Washington was so

direct, that the latter withdrew. It is believed, that the nomination was actually made, at a subsequent day, by Mr. Thomas Johnson, of Maryland. The choice was made by ballot, and was unanimous. It has been commonly, though erroneously stated, that the nomination was made by Mr. John Adams. No person, probably, had a greater agency in bringing it about; but it was deemed advisable, on the score of policy, that it should not proceed from a Northern delegate. The apprehension may have been of jealousies to be excited, on the part of the general officers, already commissioned by Massachusetts. Three days after the appointment of Washington, Mr. Adams thus expressed himself in a letter to Mr. Gerry;

"There is something charming to me in the conduct of Washington. A gentleman of one of the first fortunes upon the Continent, leaving his delicious retirement, his family and friends, sacrificing his ease, and hazarding all in the cause of his country! His views are noble and disinterested. He declared when he accepted the mighty trust, that he would lay before us an exact account of his expenses, and not accept a shilling for pay."* — Vol. III. p. 481.

Among the curious original materials collected by Mr. Sparks, not the least interesting are the extracts from the correspondence of General Gage and the Earl of Dartmouth, which are now for the first time given to the world. It was the opinion of General Gage, till perhaps the event of the battle of Bunker Hill, that a demonstration of ample military force, the arrest of the patriotic leaders, and a proclamation of pardon for the rest of the population, would be sufficient to crush the rebellion. On the 18th of January, 1775, he writes to the minister, that, if these measures are adopted, "Government will come off victorious, and with less opposition than was expected a few months ago." On the 15th of April a letter was written by Lord Dartmouth, approving this policy; and General Gage's famous proclamation of the 12th of June, offering a pardon to all who should immediately lay down their arms and return to their duty, except Samuel Adams and John Hancock, was issued in consequence. On the 25th of June, General Gage transmitted the official ac-

* A fac-simile of this account has lately been published from the original, preserved in the Department of State.

count of the battle of Bunker Hill. In his letter accompanying the account he thus expresses himself;

"The *success*, of which I send your Lordship an account by the present opportunity, was very necessary in our present situation, and I wish most sincerely that it had not cost us so dear. The number of killed and wounded is greater than our forces can afford to lose. The officers, who were obliged to exert themselves, have suffered very much, and we have lost some very good officers. The trials we have had show the rebels are not the despicable rabble too many have supposed them to be; and I find it owing to a military spirit, encouraged among them for a few years past, joined with an uncommon degree of zeal and enthusiasm, that they are otherwise. When they find cover they make a good stand, and the country, naturally strong, affords it to them; and they are taught to assist its natural strength by art, for they intrench and raise batteries. They have fortified all the heights and passes around this town, from Dorchester to Medford or Mystic, and it is not impossible for them to annoy the town." — Vol. III. p. 511.

The intelligence of the battle occasioned the recall of General Gage. A despatch had been made out for him just before the news reached England, but not yet forwarded, in which a sketch of future operations was given, and important questions propounded to him to be answered. As soon as the news of the battle of Bunker Hill arrived, a separate letter was written, dated August 2d, directing General Gage to hand over the despatch in question to General Howe, who would succeed him in the command, and return himself to England as soon as possible, "in order to give his Majesty exact information of every thing that it may be necessary to prepare, as early as possible, for the operations of the next year, and to suggest to his Majesty such matters in relation thereto, as your knowledge and experience of the service enable you to suggest." On the subject of the momentous events of the 19th April, Lord Dartmouth thus expresses himself in a letter of July 1st;

"I am to presume, that the measure of sending out a detachment of your troops to destroy the magazines at Concord was taken after the fullest consideration of the advantages on the one hand and the hazards on the other of such an enterprise, and all the probable consequences that were to result from it. It is impossible for me to reflect upon this transaction, and upon all its consequences, without feelings, which, although I

do not wish to conceal them, it is not necessary for me to express." — p. 512.

On the 24th of July, General Gage writes to Lord Dartmouth from Boston,

"The rebellion being general, I know of no better plan to quell it, than that I mentioned to your Lordship in a former letter. This province began it, I might say this town; for here the arch-rebels formed their scheme long ago. This circumstance brought the troops first here, which is the most disadvantageous place for all operations, particularly when there is no diversion of the rebel forces, but all are collected into one point." — p. 513.

But it is in vain to dwell upon the curious details with which these volumes are replete. The judicious reader will find them on almost every page, and the more abundantly, the more carefully the work is studied. The accounts of the battles of the revolutionary war, are all written by Mr. Sparks, not in the way of an easy repetition of general results, stated in preceding histories, but from accurate examination of the mass of documents contained in General Washington's collections. In this way, there is perhaps no one of the battles of the Revolution, in which some facts omitted by other writers are not supplied, and some erroneous statements rectified. In the individual case, the defect supplied or the error corrected, may be of no great account; but in the aggregate of the work, the most important service is rendered to the history of the Revolution, by this conscientious and elaborate revision. Our limits permit us to quote but a single instance, which we select, not as the most striking, but as the first which presents itself; we mean the battle of Long Island. The account of this battle, drawn up at length and with much care by Chief Justice Marshall, does not probably convey a very accurate idea of the nature of the engagement, or of all the causes of the want of success on the part of the Americans. The fact, that the American works of defence had been planned by General Greene, and that in consequence of his sickness General Putnam was intrusted with the command, but four days before the battle, is placed in proper relief by Mr. Sparks. It is stated by the Chief Justice, that General Sullivan had the command of all the troops without the lines. But it does not appear that there was any general command without the lines. The greatest

force collected was under Lord Stirling, upon the American right. General Sullivan was at the centre, with a very small force, and in a letter to the President of Congress he observes, that the duty assigned him was to command within the lines, under General Putnam. He went out with a picket of four hundred men to reconnoitre, and was surrounded by an overwhelming force of the enemy. The Chief Justice, following, we believe, the British account, states, that General Sullivan "found it difficult to keep his troops together long enough to sustain the first attack." General Sullivan himself, in the letter just cited, states, that the opposition of his small band lasted from half past nine till twelve o'clock. General Howe in his official account states, that "many of Lord Stirling's party, in attempting to effect their escape, were suffocated and drowned in the marsh." This has been repeated on his authority by the historians. Mr. Sparks makes it probable, from original documents cited by him, that but a single man was lost in this way. We would not have our readers infer, from the manner in which we have stated the foregoing facts, that Mr. Sparks has executed his work in a controversial and critical spirit, and made it a business to detect and point out the errors of his predecessors. Most of his corrections (the foregoing among the rest), and rectifications, are made, so to speak, *sub silentio*, and it is only by comparison on the part of the reader, that the difference in the result is discovered. It would have been very easy for Mr. Sparks, had he pursued a different course, to have magnified the extent and importance of his own researches at the expense of his predecessors. But his mind was too full of Washington to think of himself.

Some of the most gratifying passages of Mr. Sparks's work are those which display the relations of Washington and Lafayette. This topic has now lost the charm of novelty. It happened, that, precisely at the time when the news of the decease of Lafayette reached this country, those portions of Mr. Sparks's publication appeared, which contained the accounts of his landing in America, and of his services in our armies. Although here also the leading facts could not but be already known, yet the outline has been filled up by Mr. Sparks with more than usual richness of material. It is true, that his opportunities were on no occasion so ample. General Lafayette himself placed at his disposal his entire

correspondence with the French government, and full commentaries on the events with which he was connected. From these sources, many facts not before known have been brought to light; and we consider the fame of Lafayette as having been essentially promoted by Mr. Sparks's inquiries. A bitterness toward his memory, not easy to be explained, pervades the works of some writers, in reference to this distinguished benefactor of America. If any reason can be assigned, we fear it must be, that he passed through a long life and a stormy career, without any stain upon his character. The last thing which some men forgive, in a person of very great eminence, is a blameless life. To possess great power without abusing it, to have the means of gratifying a thirst for gold and blood, and to abstain from both, is an unpardonable sin. Washington himself barely escapes, — if indeed he do escape, — from the hands of the same judges of greatness, who affect to put the seal of mediocrity on Lafayette. And for the same reason. Brilliant qualities, balanced by brilliant vices, form a compound, as far as mixture goes, resembling the sorry combination of mean faults and cold virtues, which belongs to the mass of those, who rail at the very name of goodness in public men. Show them talent neutralized by want of principle, and they are content. It reconciles them to themselves. But, to lead armies, to sway the people, and head revolutions, without intrigue, avarice, or thirst of power, is a folly which they will not believe, and an insult they will not endure. The friends of Lafayette, however, may console themselves for the sneers or the rebukes of a thousand vulgar judges of character, by the single testimony of Washington. No man knew him better; no man possessed a penetration into character more intuitive; and there was no subject on which Washington was necessarily more alive than the employment of foreign officers. The correspondence of Washington and Lafayette is now spread out to the world; and from the moment their acquaintance commenced to the death of Washington, in all the trying scenes of the Revolutionary war, and those, still more trying, in which Lafayette was afterwards plunged, it does not appear that the shadow of a cloud ever passed between them. As for the public services of Lafayette to America, they have never been, — not even in the fervor of his triumphant progress, — at all exaggerated. Looking back upon the history of the French alliance, under all the lights that have

been thrown upon it, by the numerous publications of late years, we remain of the opinion, that Lafayette was greatly and personally instrumental in rendering it, what under Providence it was, the means of bringing the Revolution to a successful issue. This and every other point relating to Lafayette, as far as comported with his main design, has been placed in proper light by Mr. Sparks, and few parts of his work will be read with greater satisfaction.

The "Cabal of Conway," usually so called, is treated by Mr. Sparks* in the Life of Washington, and in the progress of the Correspondence, with equal interest and discretion. If it be probable, that there is yet a portion of undivulged secret history relative to that incident, it must be left to be brought to light after a longer lapse of time, and by the gradual appearance of the letters, still in manuscript, of the leading personages of that day. It will be no matter of regret, should time and events, instead of disclosing what is yet unknown of that transaction, bury it still deeper in oblivion. The cabal of Conway was a short-lived and feeble intrigue; short-lived, not because those employed in it wanted the disposition to work permanent mischief, and feeble, not because they were men of mean station or contemptible parts; but because the object, at which they struck, was so firmly established on the rock of principle, that the plot exploded with the first hint of its existence. Nipped in the bud, some mystery has been thought to hang over its precise objects and the motives of those concerned in it; and a general impression, of a vague and undefined character, has gone abroad, that a faction existed in Congress and the army against General Washington, of which Conway was an agent, and Gates a member. We imagine, however, that the entire comprehension of the plot is stated in a letter of Washington himself to Patrick Henry, of the 28th of March, 1778.

"I cannot precisely mark the extent of their views; but it appeared in general, that General Gates was to be exalted on the ruin of my reputation and influence." — "General Mifflin, it is commonly supposed, bore the second part in the cabal; and General Conway, I know, was an active and malignant partisan." — Vol. V. p. 515.

It is probable, that the disaffection, at its outset, had no definite views. According to Mr. Sparks, it is supposed

* Vol. I. pp. 266–275, and Vol. V. p. 483.

that it had its origin in some disappointment experienced by Gates and Mifflin in the army at Cambridge. Gates filled the office of adjutant-general of the army, with the rank of brigadier. Mifflin was an aid-de-camp of the Commander-in-chief, by whom, under the authority of Congress, he was appointed quartermaster-general, with the rank of colonel. On the organization of the first Continental army, these officers desired commands in the line. Gates applied for a brigade, Mifflin for a regiment; both were refused. Conway was by birth an Irishman, and had served for thirty years in the French army. He was regarded as brave and skilled in war; it is against that supposition, that he was certainly vain, arrogant, boastful, intriguing, and false. After the capture of Burgoyne, he appears to have conceived the idea, that he might, out of the vanity and disaffection of Gates, the ambition of Mifflin, and the opposition which existed on the part of some members of Congress to the Commander-in-chief, construct a plot. Its immediate object was to compel Washington, by a series of official affronts, to resign his commission. Gates was to take his place at the head of the army, and Mifflin and Conway to fill the second and third places. The organization of a new board of war, of which Gates was the head, and Mifflin a member, and which adopted military plans without consulting the Commander-in-chief, was a bold and open measure of hostility.

It would almost surpass belief, were it not known from history, that a majority of Congress, who, as a body, really do not appear to have had a settled and definite distrust of the Commander-in-chief, could have been so inconsiderately and absurdly unjust, as to institute such a board. With this board for their public organ, confidential and anonymous letters to governors of States, officers of the army, and members of Congress, were relied upon to furnish private and unsuspected stimulus to discontent. Some of these were written by men, who probably lived to wish, that the right hands which penned them had forgotten their cunning. Washington was early made acquainted with the existence and progress of the intrigue. Many of those, whom it was attempted to debauch, no otherwise used the overtures made to them, than to put the beloved chief on his guard against his insidious enemies. At length information was given him from Lord Stirling, that he (the Commander-in-chief) had been spoken of in the most disrespectful manner by Conway, in

a letter to Gates. Without a word of comment, Washington addressed a note to Conway, enclosing him a sentence of this character, purporting to have been extracted from one of his letters to Gates. Conway explained, blustered, and justified; Gates equivocated, cowered, and deprecated; and their plot exploded at a single touch of the wand of truth. The detestation, with which it is remembered, is mitigated only by compassion for the humble timidity with which it was abandoned, disclaimed, and shuffled off from shoulder to shoulder. One feels some yearnings for Gates. All the glories of Saratoga withered in an hour in the poisonous breath of this sorry contrivance. History does not record a finer instance of the supremacy of a great character over the vulgar pretensions of mere success, unfounded upon a pure moral basis, than that which is afforded in the annihilation of a cabal headed by the conqueror of Burgoyne, beneath the unaided moral weight of Washington's integrity. No pains were spared to inveigle Lafayette into this unworthy conspiracy. He was offered the command of the expedition to Canada, which was projected by their trumpery board of war. With the advice of Washington he accepted it, evidently with the purpose, if it proceeded, of conducting it under the direction of the Commander-in-chief. But that expedition, and with it all organized action of the cabal which planned it, had but a short-lived being; and, although the traces of disaffection on the part of its members, in and out of Congress, may be perceived during the war, it never dared show itself again in a tangible form. By a singular coincidence, it fell to the lot of General Mifflin, as president of Congress at the close of the war, to act as the organ of that body in receiving the resignation of Washington, and pronouncing a warm eulogium on his character and services, in reply to his valedictory address.

We attempt no abstract of the correspondence or narration of Washington's revolutionary career. We content ourselves with remarking, that, proverbial as the renown of Washington has become throughout the world, as the successful chief of the American armies, familiar as is his praise in both hemispheres, the work of Mr. Sparks will add new lustre to his fame in this, as in all other respects. It will justify the language of eulogy, which has been reiterated till some may suspect its justice, while few feel it with all the freshness of

a recent judgment. It will present the astonishing spectacle of a person, clothed with the highest and most various civil and military trusts, during the entire continuance of a momentous revolution, engaged in the transaction of business of the most arduous, perplexing, and delicate character, and carrying on a boundless correspondence, under the pressure of military haste and urgency, and never, no never, writing a line requiring to be qualified, retracted, or explained ; never borne off by passion ; never lulled by the voice of adulation ; never yielding to caprice or to depression ; and exhibiting the same serene self-possession when he retreated with his panic-struck and dwindling army through the Jerseys, and when, at the head of the united forces of America and France, he granted terms of capitulation to Cornwallis. We have already repeated the well-known fact, that he declined, in the outset, all compensation beyond the reimbursement of his actual expenses. The sum total of these expenses, at the close of the eight years' war, (including, in the aggregate, nearly three thousand pounds lawful money, paid for secret service, reconnoitring, and travelling, which might well be considered public charges,) was less than fourteen thousand five hundred pounds of sterling money ; — a trifle more than was lately paid to the governor-general of Canada, during an administration of a year or two in time of peace ! Less per annum to Washington for his expenses, as Commander-in-chief of the armies of the Revolution, than is annually paid, *in time of peace*, to each of the three major-generals of the army of the United States ! When we contemplate a result like this, when we consider the vital importance of an example of frugality, in the circumstances in which the country was placed in the Revolution, — nay, more, when we reflect on the abiding value, in a republican country, of the example of a decent economy in high places, — the severe punctuality of Washington, alike as debtor and creditor, rises into a virtue.

The religious character of Washington is the subject of a very interesting annotation in the twelfth volume of Mr. Sparks's work. He observes, that he engages in the inquiry, not because the subject requires an argument, but because there have been " in certain quarters, discussions tending to throw doubts over his religious belief ; whether from ignorance of his character and writings, or from causes less cred-

itable," Mr. Sparks does not decide. He states, that there is a uniform tradition in the neighbourhood where he was born and educated, that he was brought up under religious influences. His early manuscripts, still preserved, contain traces of serious religious impressions. In his first campaigns in the old war, religious service was regularly performed in the little army under his command, and profane swearing was forbidden by him under severe penalties. While he lived at Mount Vernon, in the interval between the French war and the Revolution, he was elected a vestryman in two several parishes, and took an active part in church affairs. In 1774, a fast-day was appointed by the House of Burgesses, of which he was a member, and there is an entry in his diary, that he "went to church, and fasted all day." This diary was kept for several years with great particularity, and a Sabbath day rarely occurs, on which it does not appear that he went to church. The nearest church to Mount Vernon was seven miles distant. His orderly book, throughout the Revolution, contains innumerable proofs of the importance which he attached to religious observances and influences; and there is not wanting evidence, that he was even favorable to a legal provision for the support of teachers of religion by a general tax. It was his practice to attend church in the forenoon. The afternoon of Sunday he passed alone in his room, and the evening with his family. An old and intimate friend would sometimes visit him on that evening, but general visiting and visiters were prohibited. He appears, during the Revolution, to have intermitted his participation of the sacrament; though a striking instance of his communing, while the army was encamped at Morristown, is recorded in Dr. Hosack's "Life of De Witt Clinton." Mr. Robert Lewis, of Fredericksburg, was a nephew of Washington, and his private secretary during the first part of the Revolution. He of course lived with him on terms of intimacy. He informed Mr. Sparks, in 1827, "that he had accidentally witnessed his private devotions in his library both morning and evening; that on those occasions he had seen him in a kneeling posture, with a Bible open before him, and that he believed such to have been his daily practice." Mr. Sparks sums up the point in the following manner;

"After a long and minute examination of the writings of Washington, public and private, in print and in manuscript, I

can affirm, that I have never seen a single hint, or expression, from which it could be inferred, that he had any doubt of the Christian revelation, or that he thought with indifference or unconcern of that subject. On the contrary, whenever he approaches it, and indeed whenever he alludes in any manner to religion, it is done with seriousness and reverence.

"The foregoing observations have been made, not by way of argument, but merely as a statement of facts; for I must end, as I began, by saying, that I conceive any attempt at argument in so plain a case would be misapplied. If a man, who spoke, wrote, and acted as a Christian through a long life, who gave numerous proofs of his believing himself to be such, and who was never known to say, write, or do a thing contrary to his professions, if such a man is not to be ranked among the believers of Christianity, it would be impossible to establish the point by any train of reasoning. How far he examined the grounds of his faith is uncertain, but probably as far as the large portion of Christians, who do not make theology a special study; and we have a right to presume, that a mind like his would not receive an opinion without a satisfactory reason. He was educated in the Episcopal Church, to which he always adhered; and my conviction is, that he believed in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity as usually taught in that Church, according to his understanding of them; but without a particle of intolerance, or disrespect for the faith and modes of worship adopted by Christians of other denominations."— Vol. XII. p. 411.

No period in the life of Washington is more important than that, which elapsed from the close of the Revolution to his death. It is in this period that his connexion is unfolded with the Constitution of the United States, with the organization of the Government, with its politics in the early stages of the French Revolution, and with the rise and progress of parties in the country. Much illustrative matter on all these points is contained in Mr. Sparks's annotations, but we are compelled to draw our article toward a close. To the independence of his personal position, his superiority to intrigue and even the suspicion of a selfish motive, — to his single-hearted patriotism, — his unerring practical judgment, — and certainly, above all, to that habitual reverence for his entire character, which grew out of his revolutionary services, the United States are in no small degree indebted for their happy escape from the peculiar dangers incident to their condition, in the fifteen years that

passed from the termination of the war. There were great and good men in every part of the country, there were elements of recovery and growth; but a most perilous state of exhaustion and a frightful spirit of discord prevailed in the first part of this quarter of a century, and, in the last, still more active principles of disorder. Throughout the whole period, Washington remained a common rallying point to parties and sections. Those who doubted, or feared, or hated all else, believed in him; — some, with a reasonable estimate of his character, others, with a perception of his influence over the general mind, and the most, with a kind of religious trust in his high vocation. To contemplate the action of such a character on the various elements of the contemporary world, is one of the noblest employments of the reflecting statesman, anxious to embalm and perpetuate an influence so salutary. In this department of American politics, the work of Mr. Sparks will remain the text-book.

The peculiar eminence of the character of Washington consists in no small degree in the want of those salient points, which identify the characters of common men, but which consist in the undue developement and over-action of a portion of the moral or intellectual system. It would not be easy to find a personage less adapted to the purposes of an historical romance, according to the laws which usually regulate that department of composition. The faults, which have sometimes been curiously pointed out in his character, are the faults, which a pupil of David would find in the pictures of Raphael, or a modern building-committee would detect in the Parthenon. The severe adjustment of all the parts of his character to each other produced a repose and harmony, which the vulgar mind interprets into an absence of decisive qualities. We think it would not be difficult, without over-refining, to show, that what have sometimes been regarded as the imperfections of Washington's character, could not without detriment have been supplied by the opposite qualities. Had he been an eloquent and fervid orator, he would necessarily have been implicated in the contentious discussions of the day. Had he been regardless of pecuniary interest and a man of less prosperous fortunes, though he might have gained credit for the amiable qualities, which find their scope in such circumstances, his unsuspected independence, and his actual capacity of public service, would have

been greatly impaired. Foreign writers have spoken of Washington, as destitute of warmth of feeling. This, no doubt, is an entire mistake. What they have ascribed to this defect, was the unquestionable result of severe self-discipline. Naturally he is known to have been of ardent temperament; — that he was reckless of personal exposure in his youth, our preceding sketch has sufficiently shown. Had he entered the Revolution, less capable of performing the self-denying duties, which were required by the character of his materials, — armies made up of ever-shifting drafts of discontented militia, irresolute and distracted counsels in Congress, and an empty treasury, — the cause would have made shipwreck in one or two campaigns. An eminent degree of personal purity and conscious integrity is apt to be accompanied with a proportionate sensibility to reproach. There were periods in Washington's career, when he was assailed with every thing which could disaffect and discourage him; but, of all the leading men of the armies of the Revolution, he is the only one who never dropped a hint of abandoning the cause in disgust. In short, let the person, who thinks he sees a blemish in the character of Washington, select from any other character in history, the trait or quality he could wish to engraft upon it, and he will probably be able to trace, by no forced association, the pernicious consequences of the change.

But fondly as we dwell upon it, we must retire from the theme. We rejoice to learn, that the proper measures have been taken to impart to Europe the advantages of an authentic collection of the writings of Washington. Arrangements have been made for publishing the whole work in England. A selection and translation into French, of those parts of it, which are best adapted to the foreign reader, will be made by M. Guizot. The same office will be performed for the German language, by Mr. Von Raumur, with the assistance of the accomplished daughter of Professor Tieck. In such hands, these precious relics will come before the continental public, as favorably as they have done before the American. Accompanying their translations with the requisite explanations and notes, we doubt not they will bring Washington to the firesides of the hundred millions in Europe, who receive their supplies of intellectual food, through the French and German languages.

We beg leave, if our humble page should fall beneath the eye of M. Guizot, to commend to his deliberate and candid consideration, that point on which alone in France, injustice has been done to Washington. We refer, of course, to the affair of Jumonville. The historical writers of that country, repeating each other, and adding new circumstances of exaggeration to an account originally flowing from one mistaken source, have at length associated with the memory of Washington a charge, which falls little short of cold-blooded murder. We trust to the impartiality of M. Guizot, to disabuse his countrymen; to point out the entire want of evidence to support such a charge, and its incongruity with the character of Washington, as displayed in every other act of his life. Two years before, he had refused to permit the life of a treacherous savage to be taken, who had just snapped his rifle at himself and his companion, and was then in their power. Firmly believing as we do, that Washington is innocent of this reproach, he has been himself made the victim, in France, of the most cruel species of assassination, that which strikes at character, and soils a pure fame with stains of blood. To rescue such a character from unjust odium is the noblest prerogative of impartial history.

We cannot but think, that the countrymen of Washington are under especial obligations to the British government, then administered by the Duke of Wellington, for the extraordinary liberality with which their archives were opened to Mr. Sparks. We have reason to think, that he enjoyed a freedom of access to the papers preserved in the public offices, which would not readily have been granted to a British subject, and that this liberality had its strong motive in national comity. When it is considered, that the great objects of Mr. Sparks's researches were the events of a war with Great Britain, it cannot be deemed an ordinary exercise of magnanimity. Equal liberality was displayed by the ministry in France, though of course, in that quarter, in reference to the American war, less reason existed for an opposite course. It must be satisfactory to the liberal and distinguished individuals, who extended these important acts of courtesy to Mr. Sparks, that he has furnished them no cause to regret their generosity. Not a single trait of indiscretion is disclosed in his work. Far from abusing the great power placed in his hands, by being made the depository of the

entire correspondence of Washington, and by his unrestrained access to the archives of England and France, it would be, we are persuaded, impossible to point to a sentence in his volumes, penned for the gratification of a prejudice personal or national.

Upon the whole, we dismiss his work with unqualified satisfaction. Its extent required a patience of labor, which few men could have brought to the task. To these have been added rigid literary as well as moral integrity, and that love of his theme which engaged him in supplementary and illustrative researches in this country and Europe, of the most important and interesting character. Mr. Sparks must not look for his reward to pecuniary compensation. Notwithstanding Mr. Moore's recent complimentary remarks on the splendid dowry which literature now brings to those who espouse her, we doubt not he has been as well paid for the lightest of his own graceful effusions by the Mæcenas of Albemarle Street as Mr. Sparks will be for his ten years of unrelaxing and conscientious labor. His reward has been already in part enjoyed ; it must be found in the consciousness of laboriously and worthily performing a noble work ; — in the conviction, that he has contributed to give a wider diffusion, and a more abiding permanence to the fame of Washington ; and that, whenever the authority of the greatest and best of chieftains and patriots is appealed to in all coming time, it will be in some association with his own name and labors.

Art. III. — *Proceedings of the American Health Convention, assembled in Boston, May 30th*, 1838, *with Resolutions and Addresses.* Boston : Office of the Graham Journal. 8vo. pp. 16.

We cannot profess to have kept ourselves *au courant* of this last of the forms of agitation which signalize these stirring times. We see from the advertisements, that books upon the subject of spare diet are succeeding one another with marvellous speed ; but, as to reading any of them, we are content to do better with our time. It seems, that they have made

disciples enough to justify the assembling of what is called, after the mode of the day, an "American Convention," and, the journal of the proceedings of that body having been sent us, we have had the curiosity to look it through.

The Convention sat in the new Marlborough Chapel, in Boston. How numerous it was does not appear, except that one of the speakers complains of its thinness, "compared with other meetings of confessedly less importance." But, if all was true that was said on the occasion, of the reducing power of the food to which the members were addicted, there would have been small reason to fear that accommodation would not be found, even had the attendance been large. The members had been preparing to make room for one another, by an expedient not absolutely unlike that described in the meeting of another society.

> "Behold a wonder! they but now who seemed
> In bigness to surpass Earth's giant sons,
> Now less than smallest dwarfs, in narrow room
> Throng numberless, like that Pygmean race
> Beyond the Indian mount."

At all events, the officers were no fewer than nine; viz. one President (not two, which we see is a new method of organization approved in some quarters, the hint being probably borrowed from the associate kings of Brentford), five Vice-Presidents, and three Secretaries. The President, on taking the chair, after the customary declarations of "great diffidence," "entire reliance on the indulgence and assistance" of the assembly, and the "very novel circumstances" under which they were met, proceeded to pump into his associates the spirit of martyrdom.

"We are not intimidated by the consciousness of our own weakness and blindness; for we know that every reform that has benefited the human race, whether in the religious, moral, social, or political world, has been commenced and carried on by the people, generally by the humblest of the people.

"We know that the reform we anticipate is one of immense magnitude, that it strikes at some of the strongest vices and worst passions of the human character, and that it must require large sacrifices of time, labor, and money. We know that those who act as pioneers in this cause must, like all other reformers, suffer ridicule, reproach, and abuse, perhaps even *peril fortune and life itself;* yet we do not, on that account,

feel at liberty to withdraw from the great and glorious enterprise."

Could any thing be more magnanimous ? Assuredly not, if this were not well understood to be the way for people to take, to whip up themselves and others into making something out of nothing. "Report," says my Lord Bacon, "begets opinion, and opinion breeds substance." The President tells his assessors, that they are exposing themselves to grievous opposition and dislike ; here is the "report." They think it very hard that they should be so hardly dealt with ; here is the "opinion." And so they go lustily to work, with speaking, and writing, and all such sorts of vigorous demonstration ; and lo ! the "substance." The President's valor is uncalled for. His fortune is safe, except so far as he chooses to tax himself with a waste of it on Graham tracts. His life is in no other peril than the serious one to which he may doom it from insalubrious fare. If he loves bran bread, or roasted quills, or powdered charcoal, he is a free man, let him eat them to his fill, and be quiet about it. We dare say people will not trouble him, if he does not annoy them with solicitations to share his board, and scarcely if he does. But let him not go about to work upon the pride of the credulous, and set them in whirligig motion by the threat, that, if they venture to move, there is somebody standing ready to crowd upon them.

The President's enthusiasm naturally blazed up under the breath of his own panegyric, till, before he ended, he found himself fain to

"believe that the blessed cause of human improvement, the spread of the Gospel, and the universal regeneration of the world, can never be successfully carried forward without the aid of the great work which we are now assembled to advance."

This life-giving potion administered, the Resolutions came on, of which the following took precedence.

"Resolved, that to all persons in health the exclusive use of a diet consisting of farinaceous vegetables and fruits, with the addition of milk at certain ages and in certain circumstances, if entered upon properly and gradually, is not only safe, but preferable to any other ; and that to many persons afflicted with eruptive diseases, cancer, consumption, &c., it is

indispensable, and affords the only hope of a permanent cure."

This Resolution covers a good deal of ground, and is of pretty solemn import. Whether it obtained the concurrence of the meeting, is not told. If it did, we are to presume this to have been brought about under the influence of the argument which followed. It was sustained by three speakers. Of these the first said, among other things equally cogent;

"I thought myself in the possession of perfect health, and, while I was accustomed to apply ice to my feverish head, and often subject to sick headache, *I never dreamed that this was disease.* I regarded and spoke of myself as well, while now I believe there was a tendency of blood to the head."

Now we make it a rule not to scrutinize a gift horse over jealously; all volunteer advice, provided it is not too officiously volunteered, we receive with meek thankfulness. But we like to know from whom it comes, inasmuch as the wisdom of its offerer is some voucher for its worth; and, when we take counsel concerning diet, or any other subject whatever, we would rather it should be from some one, who, when "subject to sick head-ache," and applying ice to his feverish head, is led to entertain at least some vague suspicion that he is diseased. This gentleman has lost, on a vegetable diet, just thirty times the penalty of the bond which Antonio forfeited to Shylock, and declares himself to be in his own judgment the gainer to precisely that amount, having so much less weight to carry; so differently does the same thing strike different minds, and so back-handed a compliment is it henceforth to be esteemed, to be told that one gains flesh. "Before," says he, that is, before adopting the new regimen, "there was an indescribable feeling at the pit of my stomach, which made me dissatisfied with myself and my efforts." If that indescribable feeling at the pit of his stomach gave no monition during the intellectual effort he is recorded to have made on this occasion, his new fare has done him yeoman's service; and, if he ever abandons so serviceable a friend, he deserves to have his retribution in all Caliban's aches, "cramps, and side-stitches that shall sew his breath up."

Next came a physician, who, naturally being, by professional right, the Sir Oracle of the assembly,

"spoke of the advantages the missionary in different climates might derive from a correct diet and a proper regimen. Their lives, he said, after entering upon their missionary labors, averaged only about eight years, whereas they might average twenty-four."

The average age to which missionaries have lived, within a given time and space, is no doubt a calculable thing; though the inquiry, if extended over a sufficient range to be of any value, must needs have cost some pains. But by what resource of his art did the speaker ascertain, that, with a different treatment of themselves, missionaries might hold on, on the average, just twenty-four years, and neither twenty-three nor twenty-five? It was learned, we presume, through the same channels of inquiry with plenty of other weighty matters, which in the course of this discussion were announced with the same easy confidence, and received with the same easy faith. The speaker plainly knew whom he had in hand, when he traced to the introduction of his specific the comparative mortality, in two successive years, at an Orphan Asylum in New York.

"The year previous to the change in that institution, in 1833, there was much sickness among the children, and thirty to forty deaths. The year after the change there were but three deaths, and two of those were idiot children received from the almshouse; the other also came from the almshouse much diseased, and died very soon after entering the Asylum."

When we get up a Society, which we are projecting, for the encouragement of tornadoes, (physical tornadoes we mean, — the raising of moral ones is already largely provided for,) if we can find such acquiescent listeners as were on this occasion convened, we mean to illustrate the point in hand by calling attention to the fact, that the September of 1815, that of the great gale, was extremely healthy in these parts, compared with that of 1817, when the elements were in no such commotion.

The third advocate of this resolution was an aged gentleman, of various experience. He had served his country in arms and in council.

"At length he began to preach, but it was in great weakness. * * * * * Found that something must be done. At length he resolved to abandon all drinks but water, and to live chiefly

on gruel. He did not at this time wholly relinquish all flesh meats, but used them very sparingly. On this regimen he soon began to amend, and his constitution to recover its wonted vigor. He was finally able to perform the ordinary labors of a clergyman with great ease. From that time to the present, his health has been almost uninterruptedly excellent, and, notwithstanding his great age, he is now able to preach three times on the Sabbath, and six times during the week."

Till better informed, we scruple to congratulate this gentleman's flock on the abundance of his labors. We have awful misgivings, when we think of the nine weekly forthholdings of a preacher, in whose mind there has been established so close an association between sermons and water-gruel.

Passing over a dead mass of other twaddle, consisting partly of relations of personal experience, and partly of more metaphysical matter, we arrive at the second Resolution, which was as follows ;

"Resolved, that we view with deep regret the waste of human life from an abuse of medicine, through learned and unlearned quackery ; and that nothing will so soon arrest the progress of this alarming evil, as a correct knowledge of the science of human life."

No very perilous proposition, one would think, being plainly equivalent to another ; viz. that nothing will go so far to obstruct the consequences of bad management, as the knowledge how to manage better. Nevertheless, it was thought worthy of two speeches, one of which, says the editor of the "Proceedings," contained "interesting remarks," while the other was "in an interesting strain of remark and anecdote." He regrets, however, that he has "received no notes." We regret it too. The world is the loser. That part of the discussion must have been worth hearing, if the speakers honestly undertook to maintain the high argument, to which the Resolution bound them, though, in such a beating of the bush as must have ensued, we blame not the sharpest-scented reporters for being baffled.

A letter of encouragement from Utica having been read, Mr. Graham, the Coryphæus of the enterprise, next took the floor.

"Sir," said he, "a note has just been put into my hand, with a request that I will answer it before this Convention.

It states, that a popular preacher of this city, on Sunday morning last, speaking of the great attention that is given to the subject of dietetics at the present day, affirmed, that those people who pay most attention to their diet, and are the most particular in their food and drink, are *always* the most unhealthy and feeble and miserable; while those who pay no attention to their diet, but *eat and drink every thing and any thing that comes before them, are always the most healthy and vigorous and happy.*"

We think it likely, that the "popular preacher" did not lay down his proposition in quite all this breadth. But we have no means of knowing who he was, and possibly he may be a person bitten with a sort of antagonist madness, and himself breaking ground for an association on extreme principles of his own. However this may be, we apprehend that most sensible people will be inclined to acknowledge, that there is a basis of truth in the first part of what he is represented to have maintained. We have supposed, that few things were better understood, than that to bind one's self to a precise diet was unavoidably to doom one's self to an imperfect digestion. As a choice between evils, no doubt it is a course sometimes to be taken. A man who is in a poor way must needs avoid things which would make him worse, even though his very caution so to do should compel him to get better slowly. But the very vice of the position is, that, as soon as he begins to be curiously observant of his digestion, his digestion will begin to labor. Just as surely as there are nerves which go from the brain to the stomach, so certainly, we hold, he who, having deposited something in the latter receptacle, goes to bethinking himself about the manner of its reception there, will find that the gastric juice will poorly do its office. Some diet, no doubt, is better, and some worse; but safer, we insist, to a well man, is a hearty, old-fashioned New England breakfast, including bacon and eggs, custards, cucumbers, cheese, plumb cake, hard cider, and the rest, with no thought about the matter, than a sipping of gruel with a Grahamite's speculations and solicitudes. But to get away the soonest possible from this theory of ours, — for the very thought of a theory of diet makes us tremble for the result of our own next experiment in that way, — Mr. Graham seems to imagine, that he disposes of the argument of the erring

preacher, by a story which he tells of a family of four brothers.

"Three possessed remarkably healthy and vigorous constitutions. They grew up to be more than ordinarily large, well-formed, and powerful men. They *undoubtedly* had constitutions, capable of sustaining life, under the most favorable circumstances, *to the age of a hundred and forty or a hundred and fifty years.* They ate and drank heartily of whatever they relished, without any regard to the effect of their dietetic habits on their health, and as a general fact *enjoyed what is commonly called good health*, most of their lives. But neither one of the three exceeded seventy-five years, and, if I remember correctly, they fell short of this considerably; so that they actually lived but about one half of the period of their constitutional capabilities."

To make a long story short, the other brother, of a more feeble constitution, by force of forswearing all but thin potations and mastications, arrived at the age of ninety-seven or ninety-eight; nor then did he come fairly by his end, but through "disease brought on by exposure." And the case of this family, says Mr. Graham, "will show what is true of the whole human race." We perceive that Mr. Graham knows one thing, whatever else he may know or ignore. It is, that, first, allow a disputant to make his premises to his liking, and, secondly, allow him to determine for you what inferences they will sustain, and you have put him in a pretty fair way to work conviction on your mind.

Three other resolutions followed. In speaking to the first, which contemplated the introduction of the study of "anatomy, physiology, and hygiene" into our colleges and schools, a venerable speaker, father of a gentleman honorably distinguished in public life, presented to the meeting the case of his son, (whose name, to avoid mistake, is given by the editor in the margin,) who "he did not doubt was a useful citizen, to some extent, even now; but he was equally confident he would have been far more useful, had the education of his physical powers been duly attended to." The second resolution, viz. "that a knowledge of the human structure shows, that there is no good reason why the vast majority of mankind should die an unnatural rather than a natural death," appears to have passed *sub silentio*. It must be owned to be another tolerably safe proposition, and, upon its terms (though of course more was meant than meets the

ear), about as insignificant as safe ; nobody ever having surmised, as far as we know, that " a vast majority of mankind," in order to die, need the appliances of the bullet or the cord.—At this crisis, the just pent-up inspiration broke forth into a world of speech. Though the discussion became widely discursive, the man of straw which the champions understood themselves to be demolishing was as follows ;

" Resolved, that *the general impression, that there must be just such an amount of physical suffering in the world, be the mode of living what it may,* is the offspring of gross and culpable ignorance, and a practical denial of the established laws and goodness of the Creator."

It is related of a valetudinarian divine in the South, that after a long pulpit exercise, being inquired of by his servant how he felt, and replying that he thought he was better, the humble friend rejoined, that he had hoped it would be so, when he saw that " master was getting so much wind off his stomach." We are sure that some of the numerous participators in this portion of the debate must have experienced a similar relief. The President was long, grandiloquent, casuistical, and severe. " Twenty-five years of my life," said he, " have been spent in constant suffering and pain. * * * *During all that time*, I was the patron of physicians and druggists, *swallowed all sorts of nostrums from learned and unlearned quackery*, and, like the woman in the Scriptures, was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse." Who can wonder ?—" *All disease and sickness is crime.*" " Sir, we must throw the responsibility of each person's health on himself, and make him alone feel accountable for it." Avaunt, then, ye bed-ridden reprobates, whom only sentimental fools will pity and wish to succour. A gibbet for a cancerous eruption ; a dungeon and hard labor for life for a pulmonary tubercle ; imprisonment in the common gaol from thirty days to six months for a rheumatic shoulder, according to the aggravation of the offence. " Parents must be made to feel, that for the sickness of their children they are themselves responsible." So make no pretence, tearful mother, of regretting what you yourself have done, nor wear out the long watches of the night over the couch of your fevered child ; but away to the whipping-post, for a baggage as you are, and take the deserts of such as you.

One is tempted to be made serious by such outrageous

extravagances, inharmonious as that mood would be with the spirit of the scene. One of the speakers who followed the President, (bearing a different testimony to the effects of the wonder-working diet from that of his coadjutor, mentioned above, who rejoiced in a narrower waistband,) reported, that he never was stronger, *heavier*, happier, or healthier in his life," than he now was by the help of his spoon victuals; while the last speaker, who possibly may have been selected for the purpose of conducting the lofty march of thought to its climax, said, "that he had repeatedly suffered [extraordinarily organized man!] from the use of water, which had been poisoned by lead, having been brought through lead pipes; and that *he was confident, entirely so*, [bold asserter!] that many of the evils of human life might be traced to our own errors."

The meeting having broken up after the reading of two letters, — one of them (*horrescimus referentes*) from the "Principal of the Teacher's Seminary" in a neighbour State, — and two or three pages of the sheet remaining unused, the editor treats us to a sketch of two speeches made by the arch-hierophant of these mysteries at another of these American meetings, that of the "American Physiological Society." Of one of these the most salient point is, the proposition, that "experience, on which we all rely with full confidence, *in almost all cases misleads and betrays*;" a proposition, which for any one, especially for the teacher of a system which professes to make experience its oracle, may pass for rather strong doctrine. In the other, we have the following delicious piece of nonsense, in support of a resolution "that a correct understanding of the laws of health and the science of physiology would effectually promote the agricultural and horticultural interests of the community."

"Geology, mineralogy, chemistry, meteorology, botany, zoölogy, physiology, and other natural sciences, are of more immediate interest to the tiller of the ground than perhaps any other man; and, when things are rightly understood and rightly ordered, such qualifications will be the ordinary attributes of our agriculturists."

"Our wheat, our rye, our corn, our potatoes, and every other vegetable substance entering into the food of man, are rendered more or less healthful according as our agricultural and horticultural operations are more or less in conformity with the physiological laws of our nature."

"Agricultural and horticultural operations" we take to be long words, that mean ploughing, harrowing, raking, hoeing, watering, weeding, and such like. It would be worth an inquisitive man's while to visit some place where he might see these things going on "in conformity with the physiological laws of our nature." And, if at the plough-tail or on the manure-heap he should encounter a swain profound in as many sciences, as have names terminating with the Greek cadence which resounds through Mr. Graham's burdened period, our sight-seer would be all the better paid for his trouble.

The beginning and the end, the sum and substance, of all this lugubrious business, we take to be, that such substances as meal and water, or, on a larger interpretation, meal, potatoes, and apples, — for the doctors differ as to the degree of license, — make the nutriment on which physical, intellectual, and moral man is to thrive, if thrive he do at all; and that, accordingly, certain teeth, fastened in the human jaw, and marking their possessor for a carnivorous creature, if not put there by mistake, were designed but to furnish him an occasion of the more meritorious self-denial. The dish that erst "ran away with the spoon" did a good thing for itself, for henceforth it has need of that and of that only; knife and fork are obsolete abominations. The times of self-complacent Jack Horner are gone by; nobody, while he eats Christmas pye, may henceforward give himself credit for a spark of goodness. As, in our innocence, we used to read our Bibles, the thriving of the holy children when they lived on pulse, yet rivalled in vigor and comeliness the sharers of Nebuchadnezzar's own board, was altogether contrary to nature, and was simply a miraculous result. We are to be better instructed now; the elements of their rotundity and fair liking were in their generous food. Sterne thought he had added a touch to the picture of his prisoner's discomfort when he threw in the water-cruse and crust. Nothing could be more mistaken, as presently the honest citizen will show; he will take care to have such abuses righted, reclaiming those delicacies for himself, while the convict will be made to work through his time of durance on champagne and oysters, plum-pudding and roasted pig. We were brought up to pity or banter the Irish for their fare of potatoes relished

with butter-milk. Sly rogues! the laugh has been all along rightfully on their side. They wanted no competition, and so were too knowing to tell us how things stood; now that we are wiser, we must count them the most enviable of nations, and grudge them all but their butter-milk, which is just so much *de trop*. But we must look higher yet. We dishonor such a great matter by regarding it with personal considerations. The interests of humanity are suspended on a pot-hook. The womb of events in the learned, the social, and the religious world, is the seething cauldron of the household hearth. The seminal principles of human progress are in the herb garden. All flesh is grass, and if man grows, it must be grass that expands him.

If we could look upon such doings as mere matter of tom-foolery, we should be quite content to pass them by. Nobody ought to find fault (though these people do) with his neighbours' eating any thing which they have found to agree with them. "In this the patient must minister to himself;" and, among reasonable people, it has long been a received truth, that "every man, at forty, is a fool or a doctor," and, in the latter case, competent to some independent judgment in the matter. Even the getting together to enjoy a mutual comparison of symptoms and nostrums, if that were all, might not be without its use. It might find innocent occupation for active spirits of that class who love to tramp and shout, till the echoes are weary, in some sphere of the bigness of a wafer-box. The head of one of our Colleges, a few years ago, being asked why he did not put down a certain mountebank association among the students, replied, that he left it for a valve for the spirit of deviltry to escape through. So this, if all could end as it began, in "large discourse, looking before and after," might serve for a conduit to convey off in safety some of the morbidly excited *impulsiveness* of the day. But it would be flattering ourselves unreasonably, to suppose that such a meeting will alone suffice for the present satisfaction of its members, and that they will go away to be quiet till the time comes for another similar season of refreshment. The most immediate and palpable ill effects of the strong stimulants with which they have been plying one another, if not the most serious that need to be apprehended, are yet by no means of trifling amount. A person whimsical about his

diet is a standing nuisance wherever he is or goes. If an evil fate places you at his board, you find your best comfort in the thought, that henceforward you will use greater circumspection, and know beforehand whom you undertake to visit. If he becomes your guest, and can eat nothing which you set before him, compelling you to see that your hospitable intent is an ill odor in his nostrils, or if, meeting on common ground, he insists on entertaining you with his speculations on the noxiousness of what you with a good relish are devouring, and the excellent virtue of his own different fare, — all the customary subjects of friendly converse being made to give way to this high theme, — you feel that the bee in his bonnet is to you little better than a nest of hornets. All this one can perhaps manage to put up with. But a sober man's patience is more seriously tried, when he finds these schemers qualifying themselves as "reformed" persons, and accustoming their partisans to apply other terms of that language of mighty meaning, which belongs to virtue and vice, to the use or rejection of their vile cookery.

And much more is coming hereafter, if they are to have their way. The end is by no means yet, as they give us ample warning. Already they have worked themselves into a paroxysm of enterprise. "The objects of this Convention," said one speaker, "are second in importance to none of the moral and religious enterprises of the day." "Among all the variety of subjects," avers another, "that are now presented to improve the condition of the human race, there is none that deserves more attention than this." Already a brisk fire of abuse against dissentients, — that effective agent of reform, — is opened from this park of baby artillery, and the "ignorance of the multitude, the cowardice of lukewarm friends, and the avowed opposition of enemies" are in good set terms rebuked and defied. It is pity that people should be so turbulent and vituperative, especially at the beginning of their work. Courtesy is neither fish nor flesh, that they should throw it to the dogs and have none of it. "Fair words," if ancient saws say true, "butter no parsnips"; so that there was no need of eschewing such words for fear of coming too near to the pollution of animal fare. But so it is. The language of exaggeration, reproach, and menace, makes

an important part of the machinery of success on such occasions. It nerves the timid who are already engaged, and browbeats the timid who are yet to be enlisted.

Various pregnant hints, already thrown out, show, that they who enlist in this service are enrolling themselves for a long war ; and that it will not be for want of good will, on the part of the present movers, if the power of something, which is to call itself "public opinion," is not tried to the uttermost for the regulation of private habits. There can scarcely be a deep so low in these matters, that a lower cannot be found by such as are diligent in the quest. The host, which has introduced itself into the ovens and the kneading-troughs, has not yet followed up the assault of its leader upon the bedchamber ; but how soon that is to come to pass, who knows ? Our respected fellow-citizens, who, if the newspaper account of their festivity was correct, became so joyful upon the pure element a year or two ago, in their celebration of national independence, find themselves already left far behind in the march of improvement, if we may judge from a diatribe, which we lately fell in with, on the inexpediency of opening the lips for the reception of any fluid whatever ; and, since "every thing which affects the quality of the soil and the character of its produce, has a most intimate relation not only to our health of body, but to the general well-being of man," and since of course it belongs to associations and pledges to take care for the application of this principle, we may be pardoned for seeing, in gloomy perspective, the next step taken in mutual engagements, that the contracting parties will only prepare composts for their grounds in certain proportions, or boil their greens in water filtered, or boiled, or medicated, after some prescribed fashion, and that, — so suited themselves, — they will further raise an intolerable outcry after such as like better some other way.

The truth is, the times are strangely and sadly out of joint. The dog-star rages now-a-days the whole year round. Some plague there is in the atmosphere, which the chemists had best bestir themselves to detect, if they mean to have it remain in breathing condition. First came the Cholera, and that was bad enough. Then, for a year or two, people took to drowning, hanging, and shooting themselves, far and near, for any strange reason or none. Not less rabid now, if more harmless, they are forming societies and organizing conven-

tions without end, for all sorts of folly and mischief-making, as well as many sorts of good. Who can tell what is to come of it? Let us hope the best. Folly is a suicide, and there is a wise and kind Providence above us all.

Art. IV. — 1. *Embassy to the Eastern Courts of Cochin-China, Siam, and Muscat, in the United States Sloop of War Peacock, David Geisinger, Commander, during the Years* 1832–3–4. By Edmund Roberts. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 432.

2. *A Voyage round the World; including an Embassy to Muscat and Siam, in* 1835–37. By W. S. W. Ruschenberger, Surgeon in the United States Navy; Author of "Three Years in the Pacific." Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 559.

3. *Outline of a Consular Establishment for the United States of America in Eastern Asia.* New York: E. French. pp. 27.

The second work above named is a brilliant narrative of a circuit of the globe, made by the United States ships Peacock and Enterprise, in 1835–1837. The earth has, it is true, been so often circumnavigated, that the registry of such an achievement has grown somewhat a stale story; and, after Mr. Reynolds's lively narrative of the "Cruise of the Potomac," Dr. Ruschenberger, following as he did in almost the same track, must have felt an uncommon consciousness of undrained resources, to undertake the writing of another volume upon the same subject. But he has accomplished his task *à merveille*, his narrative being the most readable account of foreign travel that it has lately befallen us to peruse. And it is tropical voyaging too, amidst scenes of sunlight, picturesqueness, luxuriance, and wonder; all which we sojourners in the cold North are accustomed to include in our imaginations of fairy land; bestowing, as we are apt to do, all our fancies upon the ever-blooming forests, — the perpetual harvests, — the fruits, the very mention of which produces a

momentary salivation, — while we entirely lose sight of the loathsomeness of the human tenants, the aspic reptiles under the flowers, and the poison of disease that lurks in the air.

The recent missions to the East, as well as the commercial treaties that have been the consequence, are mainly due to the enlightened discernment and mercantile knowledge of the late envoy, Mr. Roberts. He had been, in the earlier years of his life, extensively employed as a commercial factor, throughout the regions eastward of the Cape of Good Hope ; and, from the information and experience thus gained, he inferred, that these sections of the world offered a wide field to American enterprise and profit. He accordingly communicated these views, based upon the minute and accurate observation of years, to his particular friend, the then Secretary of the Navy. In consequence of this influence, it was determined by the government to despatch an expedition to the East, to forward and accomplish the plans proposed by means of a special embassy, having for its object to obtain all accessible information, and to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce with all the Asiatic powers, disposed to enter into such connexion with the government.

Mr. Roberts was appointed the "special agent of the government." Early in the year 1832, he departed in the United States ship Peacock, Captain Geisinger ; and, visiting Java, Manilla, Canton, Singapore, Siam, and Muscat, he returned in the year 1836, having concluded two treaties, one with the Sultan of Muscat, and the other with the King of Siam. These treaties were ratified by the President and Senate, and Mr. Roberts sailed in a new expedition, (the journal of which is so pleasantly given in the work of Dr. Ruschenberger,) in order to exchange the ratifications, and, if possible, negotiate a treaty with the Emperor of Cochin-China, the overtures of the former mission having failed, mainly through the dilatoriness of Oriental etiquette. On the voyage from Zanzibar to Muscat, the Peacock had the misfortune to strike upon a coral reef in the gulf of Mazeira, with the pleasant prospect of the ship and its gallant armament, together with the diplomatic representative of our country, becoming the prize of Bedouin Arabs. In this sad disaster, the second cutter was equipped with a crew of picked men, and despatched to Muscat to obtain relief, Mr. Roberts vol-

unteering to accompany this perilous boat expedition; which, after having encountered many of the dangers of Captain Bligh's famed adventure on a similar bottom, arrived in safety at its place of destination. In the Chinese seas, the squadron had to suffer much from the insalubrity of the climate; and, at Macao, the commander of the enterprise and the American envoy both perished; the latter, in the language of Dr. Ruschenberger, "having negotiated and concluded the treaties above described, and having proved himself useful to his country, without reaping a full reward."

The time has been, and that not long ago, when we of the "Great West," regarded those adventurous people who sailed from our shores,

> "Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past
> Mozambic,"

as richly deserving to be consigned to their self-provoked destiny. Their rashness was too great even for the bold enterprise of insurance corporations; and, accordingly, they were given over to return or perish, as Providence might best decree. The government washed its hands entirely of the matter, leaving its liege subjects to perish by *Afrit spites;* or, if they haply escaped so interesting a doom, and freighted home coffee from the Red Sea, or teas and silks from Ormus, the farthest Inde, it was "all ane to Dandie Dinmont"; the great republican administration, the creature and servant of the people, sitting complacently at home all the while, unconcerned and careless of the great India trade, so long as it could sip its tea out of Chinese cups, lolling meanwhile upon silken ottomans. But we will not do injustice to past administrations. We acquit them of a *total* indifference in this respect, particularly as to the return of the argosy, for which all the harpies of the Custom House were waiting with unbelieving hope; prepared, in due season, to wrest a golden tribute from those who had braved the stormy spirit of the Cape, though without protection or aid from a government which prides itself upon commercial patronage, and makes annual professions of its zeal for the encouragement of trade. These customs were particularly undeserved, because no government, so much as our own, is required, *ab initio*, to confer protection before it can prefer a claim to obedience.

On the other hand, the merchant despatched his ship with exclusive reliance upon chance or individual hardihood, upon the seas and the winged winds, upon the vague probability of foreign protection, upon any thing but the natural guaranties and assurances of his own government. The merchantman was fitted with a picked crew, armed to the teeth, and made capable, by all expedients, of enduring every assault of men or the elements, precisely as if the expedition had been purposely sent forth in bravado, "to take the measure of Prester John's foot, or pluck a hair from the great Khan's beard;" and the Straits of Sunda were dreaded on shipboard and on 'Change, as Circe's promontory by the wandering Ulysses.

Now certainly no urgent reason exists, unless it should be furnished by their own barbarian caprice, for the black-toothed king of Cochin-China, his majesty of Siam, or the bandit, self-elected Pasha of Mocha, to take much pains to find out what we are doing in this far-off republic, *toto divisi orbe*, as "shark's fins, snake skins, and carcasses of tigers," are just now in no very great estimation in our prices current. But surely it is of essential importance, that our government should manifest to these great men, that we are really *hijos d'Alguno*, albeit we reside so very far from the centre of the universe, and visit them only from time to time "to get a little tea to keep us from starving."

Immediately after the peace of 1783 had settled the point, that the mother country should not supply our tea-market, two ships were despatched to Canton, which in due season returned with full cargoes of the once condemned article. This may be assumed as the commencement of the American trade with China; and it has gone on steadily increasing from year to year, until our traffic at the single port of Canton is estimated by Mr. Roberts at the enormous amount of more than eight millions annually.

That our Executive, meanwhile, has not entered into an alliance offensive and defensive with the angelic dynasty of Peking is with us no matter of complaint. If that superhuman court, in the plenitude of its august self-complacency, steadily refuses all intercourse with its nearer neighbours, it is not in reason to be expected, that it should place itself upon a footing of intimacy with us, its very antipodes. The science of protocoling is essentially Chinese; and, if France

and Great Britain, the very hotbeds of modern diplomacy, can, after all, make no treaty with the Celestials, it is in vain for us plain, blunt, downright republicans, who presume to loll upon our chairs and masticate tobacco, even in the majestic presence of Mrs. Trollope and Lieutenant Hamilton, to attempt so much as the preliminaries of a conference, with a party so essentially inapproachable.

Nor will we complain of what thus equally baffles us and our betters. We cannot help thinking, that much lies behind that curtain of overwrought ceremony which Chinese custom has established, and jealously preserves. Beyond this ridiculous knock-head etiquette, there is something definite and substantial. It is the instinctive feeling of national weakness, the only efficient defence of the realm consisting in a triple array of imposing and exacting abstractions. There is a conviction, that the only preservative from ruin lies in guarding sedulously against the encroachment of familiar habitudes, in establishing a *chevaux-de-frise* of seclusion around the throne, to thrust off the rude eye of rebellion, astounded and awed in its advance by the more than Olympian sanctity of the celestial centre. Thus has grown up a vast and cumbrous system of form and established ceremonial, which, however ridiculous it may appear to even its own more enlightened professors, is nevertheless a true *cordon sanitaire* against a real trial of strength between a more manly energy, and the scanty resources of a worn-out, barbaric despotism. Words, mere words, pompous diction, and blustering bravado, compose the settled policy of the Chinese emperors, to preserve from rebellious encroachment the prerogatives of their power; and a cloistered seclusion from the rest of the nations, with the exception of a single corner of the land, is a chief pivot of the machinery, well constructed under the circumstances, for the preservation of the despotism of China.

And, clearly, the government can never have been otherwise. It is not, and from its structure can never have been, one of the first class of Asiatic nations. But we will not quarrel with it for this. Peaceful and industrious we grant it to be, and to these qualities alone it owes its present existence. The Chinaman is also more than a Scotchman or a Switzer, in his single-hearted attachment to his birthplace, to his native nook of earth. This *amor patriæ*, and the industry of millions, have erected, in olden time, a

wall of stone, instead of arraying a phalanx of steel, against the invasions of the more warlike Tartars; a strong proof of the antiquity of the present imperial policy, which regards with vainglorious self-complacency the antediluvian institutions of the empire; assuming that they, being perfect in themselves, are only to be preserved from defilement and change by shutting out all intercourse with the external barbarians of the earth.

But, unfortunately for the interests of the imperial sway, these secrets of its prison-house policy are beginning to leak out. It has been long known, that the outpost champions of the empire are but a species of braggart Major-Sturgeons, who have undergone the tonsure; and philanthropic and peaceable missionary expeditions, braving the fiercest of the Celestial thunders, have already landed at points of the Eastern coast, of fearful proximity to the very capital itself.

In the year 1832, Mr. Lindsey and Mr. Gutzlaff, in the merchant ship Amherst, containing an assorted cargo of broadcloths, camlets, cotton, and calico goods, made a bold and unceremonious descent upon the eastern coast of the empire, to the astonishment of the population, and the horror and dismay of the Mandarin authority. At Amoy, in the province of Fokien, a great sensation was produced by this new phenomenon. Boarding deputations were despatched in endless succession, to inquire the objects of the expedition, and to convey reiterated commands for the immediate departure of the strange intruders. The Amherst, an unarmed trader, was surrounded with a whole fleet of war-junks, always preserving however a proper offing. Mr. Gutzlaff replied to the repeated edicts and threats of the authorities in a tone of sharp remonstrance; and they were even less horror-struck at such boldness, than with the formidable circumstance of foreigners speaking their own language, and manifesting so much knowledge of their local institutions and geography. New reinforcements of war-junks continued to arrive at the port; but, in defiance of these formidable demonstrations, a party from the Amherst determined to land, and penetrate into the town. A force of five hundred troops was found drawn up along the shore, in battle array the most imposing, and the beach, and the adjoining hills, were covered with a dense mass of population. But the invading strangers

met with no opposition to their landing, and were even received to an audience with the authorities of the place, with no more display of hostile intent than the discourteous salutations, of "*Where do you come from?*" "*What business have you here?*" "*You must begone instantly.*"

From this time all was plain sailing with the party, and by a similar exhibition of firmness they counteracted the prohibitions of the Chinese admiral. A junk approaching too near, accidentally fell foul of the Amherst, and, in order to ward off the collision of the two ships, four English sailors jumped on board the junk to cut its cable. This peaceful boarding party cleared the decks of the Chinaman most effectually, every soul on board rushing precipitately below, or jumping overboard. When the real state of the case came to be explained, the Chinese were excessively grateful; but, after this Trafalgar occasion, no Chinese vessel anchored nearer to the Amherst than the distance of half a mile. The Chinese chronology has not reckoned its scores of millenniums altogether in vain; for it has by degrees developed a trace of sovereign intelligence in the popular ranks, manifested in their very palpable reluctance to adhere blindly to the foolish restrictive system of their rulers. They invariably yielded to the adventurers of the Amherst a much more friendly hospitality, than was accorded by the mandarins and imperial placemen.

It is impossible, but so migratory a race, as that of the Chinese traders, should in the end catch some of the prevailing spirit of the time, as impressed upon them by an observation of the modes and opinions of the world without. No country so much as China requires, for the preservation of its peculiar institutions, and we might add for the subsistence of its condensed population, an established system of colonization. But this we suppose would involve, in parliamentary language, a violation of the constitution. It would be inconsistent with the narrow, palisaded policy, that confines all of the Chinese race as serfs to the soil, as perpetual fixtures to the centre of the universe. But, in the absence of colonies, based upon a policy like that of the parent state, the redundant population of the empire will wander abroad, and thus expose themselves to the contagion of foreign ideas more enlightened than their own.

We do not say this because we think, after the fashion of the time, at least in some quarters, that Eastern as well as

Western despotism is already undergoing a great change in its essential character, or that a millennial state of earthly government has as yet betokened its approach by any indubitable signs of its daystar in the political horizon. China has probably for cycles of ages continued in nearly the same condition as at present, and one more cycle at least must pass away, before even the commencement of a happier state of things will appear. If a nation may be born in a day, it is not thus suddenly that congenial institutions, principles, knowledge, permanence are created. Barbarism changes into civilization by the faintest and most untraceable shades; and the arbitrary domestic rule of many popular governments, as disclosed to us in history, differs but in name from the most single-handed of Eastern despotisms.

In the language of the schoolmen, China is what it is to us solely from the tea trade; and as, for this traffic, we are already placed upon the footing of the most favored nation, we suppose President Jackson was unwilling that Mr. Roberts should knock heads for the attainment of greater privileges. Hence it was not among the objects of the mission to offer negotiations at Canton or Peking. So far from this was the Chinese view of the case, that the ship containing the American envoy was summarily ordered out of the port of Canton by a Chinese "chop," purporting "that, as the Peacock was not a merchant vessel, nor a convoy, having on board an unusual number of seamen, cannon, and weapons, she should not, under any pretext, come to anchor and create disturbances." Accordingly it was decreed *that she should be driven away.**

After all, it seems our Yankee astuteness and sagacity has in general managed to gain more for our interest in China, than the more imposing, but, under the circumstances, most ill-judged policy of the English. On the expiration of the East India Company's charter, the English cabinet despatched Lord Napier to China, in 1834, to try the experiment of thrusting him upon the Celestials as an officer of diplomatic rank, and by this *coup de main* to secure commercial advan-

* An order of a similar kind was despatched to the Hong merchants, in relation to the squadron under Commodore Kennedy, as given by Dr. Ruschenberger.

tages beyond what are possessed by other nations trading to Canton. The Chinese, meantime, look upon a foreign consul but as the mere commercial chief of his countrymen in their foreign residence ; holding no personal or official privileges or immunities, more than may be claimed by any foreigner, who does not "create disturbances." He is, notwithstanding all this, held responsible for the good behaviour of his fellow residents, as well as for all difficulties and interruptions that occur in the trade between his countrymen and the Chinese.

A small squadron accompanied Lord Napier, to enforce, if necessary, the reception of the new dignitary. But the claim preferred, of superior rank to other superintendents at Canton, was coolly disregarded by the authorities ; and not only this, but when it was pleaded, almost *in ultimâ ratione*, that the English claimant of new honors and privileges was in fact a foreign mandarin, it was replied, that when at home he could not be put down as superior to a Chinese noble of the grade in question, and that after having expatriated himself, and become a stranger and foreigner by the remove, he must content himself with the barren and somewhat equivocal honor of being styled a barbarian mandarin. To make the matter worse, a present of broadcloths, camlets, and watches had been presented as a *douceur* to the Imperial court. This was received with insulting condescension as a humble tribute from the British king, now the recognised but unrewarded dependent upon the Celestial bounty. No privileges were conceded for this humiliation, and the noble aspirant to diplomatic honors remained housed at Canton, unhonored, unfeasted, and unsung. Lord Napier began at length to grow restive, and once for all burst into a storm of indignant fury. But his Excellency, Governor Loo, took the matter very coolly, issuing an edict of expulsion to the British envoy, and cutting off the British trade with Canton by a proclamation of the following purport.

"From the period of this proclamation, mercantile people of this inner land are not permitted to buy or sell to the English nation any goods or things whatever, large or small ; and all manner of workmen, boatmen, &c., are also not allowed to receive hire or employ of the said barbarians. Should there be any clandestinely having dealings or receiving hire, let the local officers immediately examine and seize them, to be pun-

ished, according to the law against holding clandestine intercourse with foreign nations. In this the said barbarian eye, Lord Napier, has cut himself off from the celestial empire. It is not all that we the governor and lieutenant-governor have liked to do.

"Taoukwang, 14th year, 9th moon, 29th day."

All the Chinese servants instantly departed from the British factory, the natives being forbidden, on pain of death, to sell any provisions to the offending people; and all foreigners were enjoined to the same non-intercourse under the penalty of incurring the same interdict, as that denounced against the English. Under these unpleasant circumstances, the British envoy felt himself obliged for personal protection to call up a guard of marines from the squadron. But this proved of little benefit; he was in no danger of being attacked, but what obduracy can withstand the importunities of hunger and thirst? Lord Napier soon found that fatal necessity must compel his departure, and chagrin and mortification for the humiliating circumstances of his failure soon after ended his days. Yet it is said he was a mild and amiable gentleman, and little deserved the fate thus forced upon him by the mistaken foreign policy of his government.

All this time the American consul at Canton, being unambitious of any distinction, more than that of the superintendency of his country's trade, continued to be acknowledged by the authorities, and the business of the American factory kept the noiseless tenor of its way.

The Chinese are indeed a singular race, abounding in a strange degree with the palpable obscure both of ignorance and science. They have all the self-complacent vanity of half civilization, and many very startling coincidences in their philosophy and tradition with the profound musings of Greece and Egypt. In what category to place them must much puzzle the psychologist. But there they are, with a chronology which extends so far back into the eternal past that in comparison Chaos and old Night are but events of yesterday, and yet almost destitute of the very elements and outlines of a regular history; that which they profess to rely upon being but a heterogeneous *olla podrida*, an untraceable *congeries* of incompatible things, in which *nulli sua forma manet;* with habits of industry and enterprise, which expend themselves upon objects that deteriorate and lessen, rather than

exalt national greatness, — the pedlers and scavengers of the Eastern Sea ; with a religion which, according to Confutzee, is a pure deism, by Taou was interpreted into a sort of pantheism, and by the priest of Fo is made a mere mass of unmeaning ceremonial ; without a tangible hope, even sensual, and thus, without a soul to impart animation, making the paradise of its desire to consist in a wild metempsychosis, which terminates at last in the very desirable goal of annihilation ; and, to crown the whole, with a despotism unlimited and all-exacting, but which domineers over its subjects without a shadow of the means of power, but that of a system of absurd and exorbitant etiquette, all which a Chinese Napoleon would burst through by a single volition, and, give him but the good help of one squadron of the "old guard," annihilate for ever the degenerate dynasty of the Tartar conquerors.

For ourselves, we think it is time we should cease to denominate the Chinese the glory of the Asiatic race, merely because they boast to have produced a sort of barbarian Plato some hundreds of years before the Christian era, shave their heads to ape the baldness of wisdom, print by means of embossed blocks of wood, in no better artistical style than that of the ancient Peruvians, and have a fashion of instructing their youth in crude, unnatural monstrosities, and in poems which, to hear, would have made Hafiz and Sadi break their lyres, in a fit of epilepsy.

In the absence of all other means of power to sustain the imperial sway of the Celestial monarch, Mr. Roberts considers the Chinese code of literary instruction the very pivot upon which all the machinery of the dynasty turns for its preservation ; and this, by its constituting a sort of literary aristocracy as a safeguard to the throne.

"High rank in the state is the brightest glory to which these people aspire ; with them learning derives its chief value from the simple fact, that it brings them within the reach of that dazzling prize. Strict examinations, regulated by a fixed code of laws, have been instituted, and designed solely to elicit from the body of the community the '*true talent*' of the people, with the ulterior intention of applying it to purposes of government. At these examinations, which are open to all, except menial servants, lictors, players, and priests, it is determined who shall rise to distinction and shed glory on their ancestors, and posterity ; who shall live on in obscurity and die and be forgotten. The competitors of the Olympic games never entered the

arena, before the assembled thousands of their countrymen, with deeper emotion, than that which agitates the bosoms of those, who contest the palm of these literary combats."

These struggles with wild beasts at Ephesus consist, according to Mr. Roberts, of successive trials of skill, by dissertations written, from subjects in the "four books" and "the five classics," on poetry, history (confined to the centre of the universe, of course), and political economy. This is all well enough; but the style of getting up of these juvenile essays must be in the highest finish of celestial calligraphy, which seems after all, according to our author, to be the principal point aimed at.

"The paper on which the themes are written is prepared with great care. It is firm and thick, and the only kind that may be used. The price of it is fixed by authority. The number of characters both in the themes and essays is limited. The lines must be straight, and all the characters full and fair. At the close of every paper containing elegant compositions, verses, or answers to questions, it must be stated by the students how many characters have been blotted out or altered; if the number exceed one hundred, the writer is 'pasted out' or rejected."

Hence it seems, after all, that a professor of penmanship would stand the highest chance of being made secretary of state. Alas! how few of our great men would stand the smallest chance of political elevation in China. We Americans have been accused of adoring the outward, though never we believe to an extent like this; but *chacun à son gout.*

To return to the embassy. Its true business commenced in the bay of Turan, in Cochin-China, a sort of Pelion or Ossa to the high Olympus of the Celestials. The objects of the embassy were proposed to the boarding officer from Vunglam, who, according to Mr. Roberts, "appeared a little only superior to the fishermen who brought him off." The proposition seems to have been to proceed forthwith to Tué, the residence of the king of that part of the peninsula of Malacca, in order to negotiate a commercial treaty with his Cochin-Chinese majesty. But, as London imports its fashions and polite usages from Paris, and our great cities from both, so it seems that Cochin-Chinese ceremonial is, in a second-hand form, the same Tartar wall to international intercourse as among the Chinese themselves. The ragged boarding officer

forwarded a note from Mr. Roberts to whomsoever it might concern, stating the object of the embassy, the armament of the Peacock, the name of the envoy, and by whom sent. After some days, as the Cochin-Chinese never allow themselves to be unreasonably perturbed by doing business in a hurry, two mandarins arrived from the royal capital, between whom and the American envoy the preliminaries of the mission began immediately to be discussed. In the conduct and expressed opinions of these two emissaries of the minister of foreign affairs, there is a singular and even ludicrous mixture of loyal zeal, native shrewdness, and innocent, unsophisticated ignorance. They were evidently the mere tools and subaltern agents of the jealous and astonished court of Tué. They were horror-struck at the idea of the American envoy's addressing their king personally, though the proposition was perfectly natural in Mr. Roberts ; for who would think of a minister of foreign affairs in Cochin-China ? It was required by these mandarins, that the style of addressing this minister should be lowly and ceremonious, much beyond what the cabinet at Washington allows in its intercourse with foreign potentates ; not to mention, that the military single-mindedness of Mr. Roberts's great patron, General Jackson, was to be taken into consideration.

But the verbal criticism expended upon the President's letter was such as to throw all Grub Street into the shade, and absolutely drive reviewers to despair. The proposed substitutions so perverted the original meaning, and were so humiliating in their form and expression, that we fancy to ourselves the great queller of savages starting from the perusal of Mr. Roberts's journal and calling for sword and charger.

But not the flute of Aristoxenus and the lyre of Timotheus were in better accord, than the stern national pride of the American envoy and the unbending firmness of his employer. Mr. Roberts steadily refused a single letter of abasement, a single cringe of ceremonial, even to attain the best advantages of the reciprocity system ; and, in various parts of his book, he hesitates not to give utterance to the loathings of his soul at those, who

> " Crawl from the cradle to the grave,
> Slaves — nay, the bondmen of a slave."

Crawling upon all fours seems the *pas seul* in Cochin-China and Siam. Thus the premier crawls into the presence

of his sovereign ; the secretary crawls into the presence of the premier, " with his black paper slate and pencil " ; the messenger crawls into the presence of the secretary, and the servant crawls into the presence of the messenger. One might imagine these distant Asiatics a species of human crab, particularly as they crawl equally well both forward and backward, always keeping " what seems the head " steadily directed towards the liege authority for the time being.

The negotiations at Vunglam terminated, as have terminated all previous embassies to these savages of the Orient, in an irreconcilable dispute about forms. But Mr. Roberts should be permitted to speak for himself.

" The deputy now urged the necessity of proper regard being paid to the elevation of the words, *Emperor*, *Cochin-China*, &c., and to the use of '*humble* and *decorous expressions*.' To this advice he endeavoured to give greater force, by saying, that, in the correspondence held by the kings of An-nam before the assumption of the present title of emperor, such humble phraseology was made use of. This argument would imply inferiority in the President to one who bears the high title of Emperor, and therefore was instantly repelled as insulting. The deputy denied its being insulting, maintained the propriety of his argument, and insisted on the use, at the commencement of the President's letters, of one or the other of the derogatory terms already mentioned, viz., that the letter was sent with '*silent awe*,' or that it was presented with '*uplifted hands*.' He was admonished not to repeat so insulting a demand, for that the President stands on a footing of perfect equality with the highest emperor, and cannot therefore use any term, that may make him appear in the light of one inferior to the king of Cochin-China."

As the American Indian, when in his native and undisturbed state, breathes only war and revenge, and the Malay founds all his social happiness upon the facilities afforded him of violating the eighth commandment, so it seems all the ambition of the Chinese races is limited to an exact adherence to formulas of prescribed etiquette. This is the genius of the people and their bane. The schoolmaster, rare penman though he be, may range abroad at will, without effecting great results among such a people. Their instinct looks back from advancement. They peer too much into the past, to ages before Inachus, for the ideal excellence of human nature.

"Westward the course of empire takes its way,"

might well have been exclaimed by Mr. Roberts, on his arrival at Siam, where, notwithstanding much knocking of heads and prostration upon nine members, as Hadji Baba would say, — all made the theme of much indignant remark by the American envoy, — the offers of commercial reciprocity were cordially received without altercation, and the ambassador from the distant West was received with polite attentions to his comfort, to which he had been an entire stranger, while his visit was confined to the farther East.

But, however it might be the custom of our envoy to put himself upon his reserved rights, when the ceremonial required of him was of a nature to compromise the dignity of his government, he was not so much the mere fool of form and buckram as to forego the prospect of real advantages for lack of yielding a point sometimes to gain his object, particularly when it was a mere affair of putting on or taking off of shoes; and he even stooped much at times from the loftiness of his American pride, to accommodate the details of his mission to the usages of Oriental etiquette; but this underplot, though seemingly puerile in its mere enactment, was nevertheless entirely in character with the Dorian method of the main performance. When the ratifications of the treaty with Siam were to be exchanged, a procession was formed of the officers of the squadron, headed by Mr. Roberts, and preceded by the ship's band, and, in this pomp and display of the battalion, the treaty was borne in a box by two officers to the banks of the river Meinam, and here, says Dr. Ruschenberger,

"Mr. Roberts took the treaty in his hand, and, after holding it up above his head in token of respect, delivered it to a Siamese officer. He also held it above his head, and then, shaded by a royal umbrella borne by a slave, passed it into the boat, where it was received upon an ornamented stand, and, after covering it with a cone of gilt paper, it was placed beneath the canopy. At this moment our band ceased, and that of the Siamese began to play. The canoe shoved off, and we turned our steps homeward to the merry tune of Yankee Doodle."— pp. 319, 320.

This was quite a scene for the Champs Elysées, or the Castle Garden of our *fête*-loving brethren of New-York; but listen to what Dr. Ruschenberger says of the audience ceremony with the magnificent king of Siam.

"His Majesty, a plump, fat man of about fifty, sat, like the god Boudah, cross-legged upon his throne, enveloped in a rich mantle of gold tissue, chewing betel, and squirting saliva into a golden urn. Numerous attendants prepared his betel, and with large fans circulated the air about his Majestic Obesity, as he sat in the pomp and circumstance of state. *** The floor was covered by nobles, courtiers, and magnates of the land, in silk and gold costume. There were several Arabs and Persians present, in rich Cashmere shawl turbans, contrasting their splendid statures with the squat forms of the Siamese.*** Perhaps three hundred individuals composed this goodly company, every one crouching upon his knees and elbows, and the head bent upon the ground." — p. 322.

Into this presence of the cud-chewing court of his Majesty, Mr. Roberts and the American officers walked erect, removing their hats as they advanced, and making three bows, as had been stipulated beforehand. They then sat down upon the carpet, at a distance from the king, carefully turning their feet, or rather boots, behind them. As it seems, to uncover the extreme nethermost is the reigning mode of showing respect at Siam, and as Mr. Roberts had given in his downright refusal to make his pilgrimage barefoot, it was arranged that the shoes and boots of the recipients should be industriously concealed, as much as possible, from his Majesty's observance.

"Previous to his audience with the king, in 1833," says Dr. Ruschenberger, "when negotiating the treaty which was now being concluded, Mr. Roberts positively refused to take off his shoes to enter the presence, except on the condition that he should keep on his hat. After a great deal of discussion, the condition was agreed to, and he was the first foreigner, who, with his shoes on, saw his Majesty of Siam.

"After being seated in this novel and therefore somewhat uncomfortable position, they [the American officers] made three Siamese salaams, and the whole court knocked their heads three times on the ground; and his Majesty expressed his satisfaction by squirting saliva into the golden spittoon, and renewing his quid of betel and areca nut." — p. 333.

We beg that our cousins across the water will not misunderstand this negotiation, and suppose that it is an underhand way of rooting them out of India.* They may rest assured

* We throw in the caution, because we remember, not many months ago, to have met with an account of a night's discussion in the English House

that we have not the remotest idea of seducing the fealty of a single subject of their vast, and we hope profitable, realm beyond the Indus. A reciprocal commerce with Siam is certainly desirable, however slight may be the addition it makes to our foreign trade; though it cannot be but well known, that Siam is not Tyre, nor are its merchants the honorable of the earth. If we do not widely err in our conceptions of this traffic, the chief mercantile imports into our land, direct from Siam, have been as yet but the Siamese Twins, of whose anomalous configuration, they as well as ourselves have enjoyed the pecuniary as well as scientific benefit.

But, however meagre may be the present avails of this petty traffic upon a barbarous coast, its accidental and merely possible advantages, in times anterior to the treaty, were, according to Mr. Roberts, nearly all swallowed up by exorbitant exactions in the form of charges, both stated and discretionary, upon American vessels engaged in the trade,—charges which were not confined to the single enormities of the custom-house, but extended to extraordinary retaining fees, in order to purchase grace and favor from the king, and exemption from petty insult and vexation on the part of the royal servants. These exactions were reckoned at the enormous amount of thirty thousand dollars upon an import cargo of forty thousand dollars; by which it would seem, that his Majesty of Siam, or his placemen in the commerce department, were doing a rather thrifty business with the straggling waifs, that floated to that coast. But the king being committed, we suppose, to no preconceived system of commercial regulation, on yielding to the good diplomacy of the American envoy, consented to give up his profitable tariff of peculation, and forego all its lucrative transactions, for the single stipulation "of 1700 ticuls, a Siamese fathom, upon the

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of Commons, upon the motion of a patriot, it is true, of the extreme *gauche*, to call for information as to the ambitious designs of the United States in regard to much North American territory, as well as to the intrusive and unmannerly encroachment of that power upon the rights of Great Britain, by its late treaties with Siam and Muscat! This throws light upon an account, given by Dr. Ruschenberger, of the kindly representations to the Sultan of Muscat, made by a British functionary of Bombay, as to the very inconsiderable consequences that could result to him from a treaty with so distant, and withal so powerless, a nation as the United States. The Sultan very sharply rejoined, that he saw ten American vessels in his harbours to one English vessel, and, as the Americans had twice beaten the English, he inferred they could not be so very insignificant after all.

breadth of vessels bringing merchandise ;" thus reducing all the duties to be paid, together with the port charges, to a ninth of former sums. We can do no less than exclaim with Edgar, "The prince of darkness is a gentleman."

To their accounts of the different negotiations, both our authors have subjoined some very sensible remarks upon the pressing necessity of protecting our commerce in the Eastern Seas. There has certainly been hitherto a strange remissness in this respect, on the part of the government. Furnished with such a navy as ours, and for which we, as a peaceful, neutral people, given up wholly to utilitarianism and filthy lucre, have so little employment ; while our docks are crowded with "lofty ships," and our navy list is filled to overflowing with crowds of gallant and aspiring officers waiting orders, it is indeed strange, that a cruising ground is not allowed, where it is so necessary, in the longitudes of the Indian ocean, and about the maritime domain of the pirates of Malacca. That there are great American interests requiring protection in the Indian seas, is apparent enough from the bare statement of the fact, that there are ten millions of American property annually exposed upon the high seas, and in the long range of harbours, eastward of the Cape of Good Hope ; that this amount is every year increasing ; and that piracy upon the ocean, and upon every barbarous coast throughout all the islands, is a most characteristic feature of the native propensity. Before the affair of Quallah Battu, no report of a similar act of high-handed aggression upon our undefended commerce had resounded in tones of alarm through our commercial community. That matter was avenged by the Potomac, in strict accordance with established maxims of civilized intercourse with the Indies, by confounding together both the innocent and the guilty ; though, in this instance at least, there was no other way left of making an example of punishment, if that was to be done. But who can enumerate all the acts of extortion and plunder committed upon solitary ships, to an extent insufficient to awaken the national feeling, and arouse the tardy sympathy of the government ;—the risk, expense, and uncertainty of a voyage amidst such dangers, as render the escape from destruction an accident of remarkable fortune ; and, more than all, the exposure of our commerce to unauthorized and official depredation, practised in the ports themselves, upon whatever is unprotected and at

their mercy, by the marauding plunderers of the coast, and the graceless functionaries of the custom-house? We have also an annual fleet of a hundred sail of whale ships in the Pacific, the operations of which extend to the coast of Japan, rendering them liable to be wrecked upon the islands and reefs of the great Eastern Archipelago, and the crews to be murdered outright, or made slaves until a ransom is paid, which has hitherto been done by some humane merchantman or foreign ship of war. Desperate indeed would be the hope of such captives, if their deliverance depended solely upon the tardy and accidental arrival of an American ship of war, returning home from the Pacific, showing her top-sails only to the anxious and half-maddened sufferers, and then passing out of the horizon like some pleasing, hopeless phantasm of a sick man's dream. These ships, ordered home from the Pacific by way of the Cape of Good Hope, usually touch only at Manilla or Batavia for refreshments, and depart straightforward on their voyage, scarcely thinking of the commercial interests of their country, in their eagerness, after a three years' absence, to revisit the scenes of their home. This is a partial arrangement of our naval force, that should no longer be made; and we are glad to find, that neither of our authors neglects to remind the Navy Department of this imperious obligation.

The truth is, the government has hitherto conducted itself, in relation to the India trade at least, rather too strictly upon the oft-quoted maxim of letting commerce regulate itself. No encouragement has been given, no protection extended to it. Such a policy was in existence, even when, during the continental system of Napoleon, the American trade to Batavia amounted to nearly five millions annually, by a system of making purchases there of coffee, sugar, and spices, and importing them into France at a clear profit of one hundred per cent. These ships, unprotected even upon their own shores, had to run the gauntlet, this side of the Cape, of the Scilla and Charybdis of the French decrees and the British orders in Council; but, in their long voyage and hazardous operations, they had, we suppose, grown so inured to want of protection, that they repined no more at their fate when captured at either extremity of their route, than does an eel at the destiny to which in a manner he conceives himself born.

The great *entrepôts* of American commerce in the East,

are Calcutta and Canton. But these ports, though enjoying the reputation, without the counting-house, of entirely engrossing the whole American traffic, are nevertheless well known, to those who are admitted into its secrets, to share after all but their proportionate consideration in the general estimate of Eastern trade. The extent of American traffic to the minor ports of the East is much misapprehended, particularly when it is compared with that of the greatest trafficking nations of Europe. In the years 1833 and 1834, there were more than one hundred American vessels, that entered for purposes of traffic into the single port of Batavia, constituting more than one third of the amount of tonnage entered at the custom-house, as compared with that of the Dutch, the owners of the island of Java. The same occurs to a similar extent at Zanzibar, Muscat, and the ports of the Persian Gulf, at Siam, and upon the coasts of the different islands of the Eastern sea. This way-side voyaging is made subsidiary to the furtherance of the main object of the expedition. The *expenses* of an Eastern voyage, aside from its *profits*, are often in a great measure paid by a course of smaller traffic at ports intervening between the great points of import and export. Thus a vessel from Boston to Calcutta, goes first to Rio de Janeiro with a freight partly of specie, but chiefly of naval stores and American produce; which being converted into specie or goods for the Indian market, she sails directly for Bombay or Calcutta, and makes the usual return of piece goods, silks, opium, and drugs. A vessel for Canton pursues another course. It proceeds to the coasts of the Persian gulf, to Ceylon, to the islands of the Indian Archipelago, or what is more common to Batavia, there exchanging its outward cargo for salt, camphor, tin, opium, indigo, betel-nuts, and edible birds'-nests; whence it continues its voyage to the China market, to make a profit on this new exchange, and return with a cargo chiefly of tea. We have not ascertained, whether the very profitable freights of cutlery, and of brass and silver, have yet been attempted by American ships, to exchange with the savages upon the coasts of Sumatra and Borneo, directly for their pepper and spices, or indirectly as articles of intermediate exchange, subsidiary to the main traffic with the China market. If Great Britain can make a profit upon such articles of exchange (and she has long continued to do so), there is nothing but

the greater length of the voyage to prevent our deriving a like benefit from the commerce. The chief favor bestowed by government upon foreign trade at Canton, consists in a drawback granted to the importation of rice; though, in general, the restrictive exactions of the Chinese are scarcely more oppressive toward foreign trade, than the selfish policy of the Anglo-Indian system, or the narrow monopoly of the Dutch at Java.

But let us at length quit these far-off realms, and follow the course of the embassy to Yemen, and the "East of sun-bright Araby." Here the armament entered the Red Sea, which, by the way, Mr. Roberts says, is not red but green, to Mocha, where the provincial representative of the Turkish Sultan was found to be a bandit deserter from Egypt, rather civil in his manners, but whose history proves him to be little better than one of the wicked ones. Thence the American envoy sailed to Muscat, whose sultan seems the very Bayard of Arab chivalry. He was approached as a barbarian, and discovered, upon nearer intercourse, to be possessed of a polished civilization, such as Louis Philippe himself might well be proud of. Discriminating duties upon American vessels were only mentioned to be annulled, and listen to what follows.

"When the fifth article of the proposed treaty was read, which related to shipwrecked seamen, he at once objected to that part of it relating to a remuneration for expenses, which would be necessarily incurred in supporting and forwarding them to the United States, and said the articles he wished so altered as to make it incumbent upon him to protect, maintain, and return them to their own country free of every charge. He remarked, that to do otherwise would be contrary to the usages of the Arabs, and to the rights of hospitality which have ever been practised among them."*

And this king of men is no petty Arab scheick, or impotent Chinese emperor, with scarcely power to preserve his long

* Of a similar tone of high and noble generosity, was the Sultan's proposition to the American envoy, during the audience of ratification in October, 1835, that the treaty should take effect from the day of its ratification by the President and Senate of the United States, namely, June, 1834, more than a year past; thus subjecting himself to the repayment of some hundreds of dollars overcharged in the customs, under the continuance of the old state of things. We almost think Mr. Roberts betrayed too much of the mere merchant, in consenting to accept the bestowment of such magnanimous liberality.

queue from the grasp of rude rebellion; but it seems he dominates over most of the poetic Land of Roses, with a population more than half civilized, and a naval armament which exceeds in respectability that possessed by any but the most maritime and commercial states of Europe. His sultanship seems the very Haroun al Raschid of the Eastern coast of Africa, and we are happy now, after the labors of Mr. Roberts, to joy in him as our commercial ally, offensive and defensive.

This treaty with Muscat is by far the most important attainment of the mission. The foreign trade to the ports of that kingdom is already much in the hands of this country, and is steadily on the increase. Our vessels, it is true, seldom visit Muscat itself; but it is because most of the foreign commerce of the country (which stretches along a vast extent of the eastern coast of Africa) is carried on through the island of Zanzibar, which may be denominated the great commercial capital of the sultan's dominions. From September, 1832, to May, 1834, there were thirty-two American ships that visited this port, while the entire navigation of Europe was confined to nine vessels during this period. The trade consists in an exchange of American cottons and specie, for gum copal, ivory, and hides. Our cottons have taken precedency in this port, and, in fact, in all places along the Persian Gulf; and are working their way into the East as they have already done into many ports of the Pacific. Aside from considerations of superior quality in the fabrics themselves, it seems our Yankees beat the old countrymen to nothing, in the knack of hawking off their wares; telling the honest Orientals, that, dependent as Europe is upon their country for the growth of the raw material, it is not to be supposed but they retain at home all the best of the cotton for their own manufacture!

We are here compelled to part company with our authors, gratefully offering them our acknowledgments for the information, they have so seasonably communicated, of the commercial coasts of the East. Mr. Roberts's book is a plain tale of the events which befell the mission; the journal of a public man, who writes, in simple, strong conciseness his impressions of events and foreign habitudes, always preserving the duties of his envoyship uppermost in his narrative; and this with much apparent knowledge of commerce, and in a

perspicuous mode of rendering such knowledge intelligible to the public. No East India merchant or factor should rest content without a perusal, if not a study, of his work. It is eminently professional in its character, and, like all professional books, apt in many parts to be uninteresting to the mere general reader. But what it lacks by the unattractiveness of many of its subjects, and sometimes by the hardness, if not incorrectness of its style, is abundantly made up in the mass of solid and useful information it contains, nautical, mercantile, and diplomatic.

The work of Dr. Ruschenberger is of a somewhat different cast, being constructed from the materials furnished by the wide range of observation afforded in a voyage around the earth. With him, the embassy forms but an episode to the main story of his work; though he supplies a great store of information, as to the commerce and industry of the Eastern nations. His is the account of all his travel's history,

"of antres vast and deserts idle;"

of his glowing impressions of Eastern scenery; of his philosophical reflections upon Asiatic manners and policy; of the pearl fisheries of Ceylon (he puts in his negative as to the spicy breezes), and of the swampy miasms and ever-varied uncleannesses of Batavia; of the Parsees of India,* and the Dayak head-hunters of Borneo; of the half-christianized Sandwich islanders, and the degenerate progeny of Castile at California. He puts to the work a hand trained to authorship; nor does his style and thought, like that of many of the *litterateurs* of his profession, smack in any degree too much of the quarter-deck; a species of composition now much in vogue, derived in the first instance from Cooper, and sustained in credit by the popularity of Basil Hall and

* The Parsees of India are one of the finest races of men in the world, demigods and Apollos to the Mahommedan and Hindu castes around them. They are pure representatives of the people of ancient Iran,— the fire-worshipping disciples of Zoroaster. Having confined their intercourse and alliances entirely within the limits of their own tribe, they have continued for centuries to transmit the pure blood of Persia from generation to generation. Nor has the native quickness and fire of their intellect been by degrees subdued, under the ungenial influences of their foreign residence. Almost all the native merchants of Bombay, and of many other ports of British India, are Parsees; and they constitute the only commercial class of the unmixed Orientals, who can pretend to even a distant rivalry of the Christian residents in intelligence, honor, or comprehensive views of commerce. They are the antipodes of the Pariahs.

Captain Maryatt. For ourselves, we profess never to have received so much information respecting the condition and modes of existence of the maritime Asiatics, from any other source, as from the works now before us.

The pamphlet, whose title we have placed in conjunction with these volumes, contains an enlightened view of our consular system in general, and a special plea, of much pertinence, for the particular establishment of a consular agency throughout the Eastern Seas, for the permanent protection of our commerce in that remote though interesting quarter of the globe. This is to pursue the benefits of the late embassy to good purpose. If, as was said above, our commerce needs protection while yet exposed upon the high seas of the Eastern hemisphere, much more, it may be argued, does it require the appliances of official security, through government agents, upon the coasts of those waters, which are and have been so thronged with our trade.

It were vain to enter into commercial stipulations with such despots of easy honor, unless, after the treaty is made, we keep constantly in their presence the embodied majesty of our power, in the form of its recognised representative. Such an agent, whether regarded as the head man of his nation, or the mere controller of turbulent seamen, is invested, in virtue of his office and station, with that subtile and mysterious influence, great in proportion as the true nature and authority of its powers are less understood, which overawes and controls the short-hand practices of those, whose maxims of traffic are much too often on the *sauve qui peut* principle, as applied to morals. The commercial agent of a foreign nation who is resident in Eastern Asia, whether his presence is really acceptable or not, is still regarded as a commercial chief, who has the right of claiming that justice should be rendered to his people. This demand of the foreign resident is, under the circumstances, as the mandate of a master ; and slaves obey, however they may in secret rebel against the authority which coerces them ; a consideration of much value, in adopting measures for the protection of our Eastern trade.

After the treaties negotiated with Siam and Muscat, commercial residents will of course be speedily appointed to those places. It will at least be utter folly to enter into treaty stipulations with those powers, if the mere exchange of

ratifications is to include all that government designs to perform, in order to the permanent maintenance of the arrangement. Promises and even favors may be freely lavished by barbarians, to be rid of the unpleasant visit of a war-ship, but something more is requisite to sustain a continuance of the stipulated advantages, or the empty breath of words will but be as the furrow left by the keel.

The author we are now considering writes as one who is personally acquainted with his subject; and he has given an outline of what, in his estimation, should be the commercial policy of the United States, in relation to the country east of the Cape of Good Hope. The plan he recommends is the following, which we see no reason in the world to gainsay.

"1st. Let the countries around the Chinese sea be erected into a consulate-general, Canton being the residence of the presiding officer, who shall also be consul for China.

"2d. Let the islands subject to the Spanish crown, extending from the Bashee islands to Basilan, be made a second consulate, with residence at Manilla.

"3d. Let the insular region, lying between the Spanish claims on the north and the Dutch claims on the south, form a third consulate, with residence at the Looloo group or at Borneo city.

"4th. Let the Dutch islands be a fourth consulate, with residence at Batavia.

"5th. Let the eastern shore of Sumatra and the Malayan peninsula form a fifth consulate, with residence at Singapore or Rhio.

"6. Let Siam be the sixth consulate.

"7. Let Cochin-China be the seventh and last consulate.

"To such of these governments as are independent, the consuls should be duly accredited, and authorized to correspond directly with them, and protected by treaty stipulations. Recognition like this cannot of course be expected from colonial authorities. Let the consuls be required, in addition to their usual duties, to give minute information of their respective countries to the consul-general and the State department. Let it be the duty of the consul-general to collect and arrange this information, and to present it in a digested form, with his further views, to the department. Let him report on the working of the consular system, and thus bring about its extension and perfection. Especially let all naval movements be made only with his concurrence, and no retributive measures re-

solved on but with his express and responsible sanction. The annual cost of this establishment, at $4000 or $5000 for the consul-general, and $3000 for the consuls, with some allowances for interpreters' services and for commercial agents, would be about $30,000. It is not much for so important a region, on which nothing is expended in diplomatic establishments."

It must, we think, be admitted, that our government has, in commercial affairs, been singularly remiss, in the proper maintenance of its official representation abroad. We speak thus in general terms, because it is not alone in Eastern Asia that the consular establishment of the United States has been heretofore much neglected; in fact, the sin of omission extends in this respect to most, if not all, the more western nations with whom we have commercial intercourse. Instead of its being the legitimate offspring of the government itself, cherished and fostered with zeal and pride, as a powerful safeguard of our prosperity in commerce, of our national honor, and of our country's civilization, it has been but the mere product of accident, left to grow up of itself, unprotected, unnoticed, and even unthought of. Our *diplomatic* service is wretchedly enough provided for; our *consular* establishment is still worse. This may be learned from a report of the Secretary of State, made to the Senate in the year 1833; by which it seems the consular representation of the United States is, so far as the government is concerned, the mere effect of an article in a treaty with France, in 1792, in which, as France has ever regarded consuls as diplomatic officers, a contingency was reserved for the mutual protection and recognised offices of those functionaries. Succeeding events annulled these particular stipulations, with the exception of that which authorizes consuls "to receive protests and declarations, to give copies of acts under the consular seal, to settle the intestate estates of American citizens, to secure property saved from wrecks, to provide for the deposite of ships' papers, and to afford relief to destitute American seamen."

This negative provision for commerce went on, without melioration or more accurate definition, until 1803, when the old enactment was renewed and others added, all studiously vague and unintelligible. It was enacted, that "the specification of certain powers and duties to be performed by consuls

and vice-consuls, shall not be construed to the exclusion of others resulting from the nature of their appointments, or any treaty or convention under which they may act." Mr. Livingston insisted on knowing, and we think with much reason, what these "specifications of certain powers" might be understood to signify; and he urged, that, instead of the old system, so dishonorable to the country, and so particularly degrading to the functionaries in question, of making them to depend for remuneration upon petty fees extorted from the merchant, and petty profits wrung at two and a half per cent. out of the wages of a distressed seaman, the consuls of the United States should be raised to a dignity worthy of the country, by an apportionment from the treasury, sufficient to place them above the necessity of petty exactions, or being compelled to engage in any business unworthy of their rank, and derogatory to the character of the country they represent.

The actual system is certainly disgraceful to the country, and doubly humiliating to the American consul. And the burden of the evil is more immediately oppressive to the latter; for, however stoutly he may deny the fact in public, in his secret soul he is compelled to acknowledge, that he associates on unequal terms with the well-pensioned functionaries of the European powers. The consuls of other nations are raised by their respective governments far above the desire or the necessity of engaging in commerce, and have not received their appointments as a mere means of additional security to their persons and traffic among a foreign, perhaps a barbarian population; not to mention that the American consul has other and more particular additions to his self-abasement, daily arising from the ill-defined and equivocal nature of his employment and powers. The French consul is possessed, in right of his office, of diplomatic privileges and honors. The English consul, though not of ministerial rank, is yet an officer of highly respectable standing under his government, supplied with overflowing emoluments, drawn direct from the treasury of his country. The American consul, on the other hand, is a mere merchant, or mayhap a petty shopkeeper, having his official dignity engrafted upon his private and more substantial business. In these circumstances, he is either pinched in his means of support, and thus tempted to extortion in his transactions with those who require his protection; or, revelling in wealth, and wholly absorbed in the

affairs of an immense counting-house, he looks upon the duties of his office as trifles beneath his attention, if he can, amidst a foreign insurrection, hoist his national flag over the otherwise totally useless abode of the consulate.

To return to the matters before us. We look to some salutary reform in our consular system in general, when such an establishment has been extended to the Eastern seas. It is of little use, *haud inexperti loquimur*, for the President to despatch commissions to the Indies, constituting new commercial agents in that clime, when no reasonable hope of reward is held forth, to actuate the zeal of these *employés*, or even give a dignity and substance to their office. Whatever may be said of disinterested patriotism, men act in such affairs as in the commonest occurrences of life. A Yankee, able to thrive anywhere, a cotton-planter of Carolina, or a wild-wood tenant of the West, will scarcely expatriate himself to dwell in Canton or Singapore, for the miserable pittances arising from consular and debenture certificates, and five per cent. out of the effects contained in the half-filled chest of a defunct seaman. The American already abroad may accept the appointment as subsidiary to his main employment; but he will take good care, that his time and labor are not inordinately diverted from his proper business, to be engrossed by the cares of his half-paid dignity. He toils and struggles in his foreign abode, dissatisfied, perhaps even to loathing, with the scene around him, and consoled only by the hope of one day being enabled to retire upon wealth or competency to the sojourn of his youth; and, even when perishing under the insalubrious skies of his temporary abode,

"Dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos."

He, therefore, unless better rewarded by his government, cannot be expected to devote his whole time and talents to the interests of his country, however they may, from circumstances, require his undivided attention. It is not the fault of the officer, but of the system, of which, if bound by necessity to its demands, he is rather the victim than the pensionary. We commend the sentiments of the pamphlet before us to all our readers.

ART. V. — *The New American Orchardist; or an Account of the most Valuable Varieties of Fruit, of all Climates, adapted to Cultivation in the United States, with their History, Modes of Culture, Management, Uses, &c., and the Culture of Silk; with an Appendix on Vegetables, Ornamental Trees, Shrubs, and Flowers.* By WILLIAM KENRICK. Second Edition, Enlarged and Improved. Boston: Russell, Odiorne, & Metcalf. 1835. 12mo. pp. 418.

THAT Agriculture, in some form or other, always has been, and always must be the great source of subsistence to every community, is a truth generally admitted, though we are inclined to think not appreciated in its full extent. To develope and illustrate it, would be neither a difficult nor unpleasant task. Such, however, is not our present object. Our business is with that branch of this great art, which, from the scale on which it is carried on, is denominated Gardening. This, as a practical art, is generally supposed to be coeval with the human race, and its existence is recognised in the earliest records of man, authentic or fabulous. Passing over antediluvian history, we find the planting of the vine commemorated, as the first achievement of human industry after the deluge. But horticulture, like other branches of agriculture, had ministered for ages to the support and enjoyment of the human family, before any one had attempted to embody and promulgate any systematic rules for its practice. Few histories would be more interesting, than a connected narrative of its early progress; but the materials for constructing such an account are exceedingly scanty. We are still ignorant, for instance, as justly observed by McKnight, of the native localities of the most highly prized fruits; and we are equally at a loss respecting the origin of some of our most important and familiar operations in gardening. The origin of grafting, a practice, which, if introduced in our day, would procure for its inventor a place among the proudest names of modern science, and the still higher title of one of the chief benefactors of his species, is mere matter of conjecture; and the stories handed down to us on this subject, by Pliny and other ancient writers, have neither the merit of truth nor of ingenuity.

In modern times as in ancient, the actual practice of horticulture has preceded, by a long interval, the scientific developement of its principles ; and in every community gardens have been cultivated for centuries, previous to the publication of works on gardening of the slightest authority or value. Our own country, young as it is, forms no exception to this remark.

The general existence of fruit trees, in all the compact settlements of New England at least, dates back far beyond the memory of the oldest persons now living. The apple tree must have been cultivated on a considerable scale in the earliest periods of our colonial history ; for we find from the following extract from Laws of the Plymouth Colony, passed in the year 1667, that cider was then a common beverage.

"It was enacted by the Court, that no person or persons shall sell any cyder to any Indian, under the penalty of ten shillinges, &c. And that none allow any persons to spend theire time by tippleing any cyder, liquors, &c. in theire houses ; and that in case any cyder be found in the costody of any Indians, it shall be lawfull for any man to take it away from them."

A still more striking evidence of the horticultural taste of our forefathers exists in the celebrated pear tree brought over by Governor Endicott. This is still standing in the town of Danvers, and boasts a green and fruitful old age, after the lapse of more than two hundred years from its emigration.

The more delicate fruits, such as the peach and the finest varieties of French pears, were introduced at least as early as the first part of the eighteenth century. According to the tradition prevailing in this vicinity, we are indebted for these valuable productions to the Huguenots, who came over from France in large numbers about that period ; and, though the positive evidence in favor of this supposition is but scanty, there seems no good reason for calling it in question. At any rate, the peach tree at least must have been well established among us previous to the year 1724. This we are authorized to infer from a passage of that date in the curious Diary of the late Reverend Thomas Smith, of Portland, in which he speaks of this tree as of a plant generally known and cultivated. We learn from the same work, as well as

from other sources, that the plum and the cherry tree were raised to an equal extent more than eighty years since.

But while the culture of fruit trees has been extensively pursued in New England for so many generations, the few horticultural works which have been published among us are of very recent origin. Agriculture in its more restricted sense could boast, more than a hundred years ago, of the works of Jared Eliot, the father of New England husbandry; but the earliest production, partaking in any material degree of a horticultural character, was the "New England Farmer," a journal which was first published in 1825, and which still maintains its reputation as a most effective instrument in promoting that striking improvement in the cultivation both of our fields and our gardens, so manifest within a few years. Previous to this publication, we had little other written horticultural information than such as might be found scattered through the almanacs. This, as might have been expected, was of an exceedingly desultory and mixed character, consisting entirely of occasional and brief suggestions, of very different degrees of merit. While the reader was frequently edified by practical statements of important facts, he was quite as often deceived or amused, as the case might be, by the strangest stories and precepts, many of which reappear from time to time, and run the circle of the newspapers. Such, for instance, are grave suggestions, recommending the inoculating of the stocks of trees with mercurial ointment and the kindling of bonfires in gardens, in order to take off the myriads of noxious insects by poison, or to induce them to exterminate themselves in a general conflagration. To these we may add the still more extraordinary assertions, that the scion of a pear tree, when grafted on an apple stock, gradually changes its nature and at length produces apples, or that a fruitful apple tree may be procured in two or three years from a cutting which has been inserted into a potato, doctrines which have found a place in some of the most respectable journals, and apparently gained much credence among their readers; circumstances, by the way, which should induce us to speak with some lenity of Virgil's well-known fables respecting the grafting of the apple on the oak, and the procuring a new race of bees from the carcass of an ox. It is no wonder, that book-learned skill was held in little repute by practical farmers and gardeners, that an agricultural

author was considered as another name for a visionary theorist, and that the few really valuable works, native or foreign, which we possessed on these subjects, were generally condemned unread.

Such was the state of our horticultural literature (so to speak), till within the last ten years. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that a new era has now taken place in the cultivation of gardens as well as fields. Horticulture is now becoming a subject of deep and increasing interest, and the necessity of enlightened and regular efforts for its extension and advancement is daily more and more understood. It seems to be now conceded, that the art of cultivating the soil, like every other important art, has its science, its general principles as well as its practical details; that there must be written works, in which facts must be precisely stated, and rules systematically laid down; and that young gardeners should no longer be compelled to grope their way, one after another, in a mere course of hap-hazard experiment, with little useful light except that afforded by the result of their own errors. These convictions have not failed to produce their natural and proper results. Within the period just mentioned, we have witnessed the publication of several works relating professedly and exclusively to the cultivation of gardens, composed by experimental practical gardeners, and therefore abounding in solid information, and at the same time written with a sufficient degree of perspicuity and neatness to render them acceptable to the mere general reader. Such, for instance, are the two horticultural magazines published in Boston, and the works of Bridgeman, Green, and others.

Of these works, that now before us may be considered as one of the most valuable, and, though certainly of a very reasonable compass, one of the most voluminous. It is evidently compiled with great research, as appears by the catalogue of authors consulted, which comprises the names of nearly all the distinguished gardeners of this and other countries. The liberal manner in which the author acknowledges the assistance received from different individuals is as creditable to his candor, as the use which he has made of his abundant materials is to his skill and judgment. The greater portion of this volume consists of an extensive and well-selected list of the most valuable and beautiful trees, shrubs, and flowers, which will flourish in our climate, interspersed

with brief, but just and sufficiently complete directions for their cultivation. The most interesting portion of the work to the public generally will probably be the Introduction. This is divided into several sections, relating to the cultivation of fruit trees in general. The first section contains some valuable remarks on the climate of the United States, and more especially of the Atlantic region. For many obvious reasons, our climate (we speak chiefly of New England) has been more frequently compared with that of Great Britain, than with that of any other portion of the European world. Few are ignorant of the fact, that there is a wide difference, and in many respects a striking contrast, between the seasons in the one country, and the other. It is generally known, that our winters are much longer and more severe, than those of much higher latitudes in the Eastern world. It is equally notorious, that our extremes of temperature are greater, and the changes from heat to cold more sudden and violent, than any which occur in the British Islands, and that the American climate was never more correctly as well as concisely described, than in the elegant remark of Washington Irving, that it is "fierce in all its extremes, but splendid in all its vicissitudes." We know not whether the origin of these peculiarities has been fully ascertained; and do not propose to discuss, or even to state, the most plausible theories which have been formed on the subject. The following remarks are as satisfactory on the whole, as any which we have seen.

"The climate of the Atlantic States has been generally characterized as variable and inconstant. These sudden changes are caused in a great measure by the conflicting winds, which blow alternately from the opposite points, — the sources of extreme heat and of excessive cold. Those especially from the southeast, and south, bring alternately clouds charged with sultry vapors, or storms of rain, or the fiery particles and intense heat which they have inhaled in the equinoctial regions. While the winds from the northwest are not only dry, but, coming over the enormous mountains covered with ice and snow, and from the immense frozen territories which stretch towards the Arctic regions, and thence westward, and from the great icy ocean towards the pole, they imbibe, at certain seasons, a degree of cold the most piercing and intense. These adverse winds bring by turns, and often by sudden changes, the heat of the tropical, or the extreme cold atmosphere of the polar regions." — pp. 15, 16.

"It has also been observed, that within the temperate zones, the *western coasts* of continents, and large islands, are found to possess a higher mean temperature than the *eastern coasts*. Our climate, on the shores of the Atlantic, must, therefore, correspond nearly with that of the eastern coasts of China, Japan, and Chinese Tartary, and the islands on its coast. And the climate of our country which bounds on the Pacific, may correspond nearly with that of Europe on the coasts of the Atlantic, in the corresponding latitudes." — p. 17.

But, however we may speculate on the cause of the superiority in mildness of a British winter over that of any part of the New England States, this superiority is too well verified by precise facts, as well as by common report, to admit of question. The northern counties of Scotland, for instance, lie in latitude nearly sixteen degrees north of Boston, and only two degrees south of Cape Farewell in Greenland, and yet in those counties, ploughing is frequently carried on in the month of February, a season in which the ground in Massachusetts is open scarcely once in a generation. The blowing of roses in the open air at Christmas is mentioned by English writers as a familiar occurrence, while we need not say, that it is altogether unparalleled in our vicinity. Hence many plants, which endure the cold of the greater part of England, are altogether incompetent to brave the rigor of a New England winter.

Nor is it the coldness of our climate, which renders it so dangerous to tender plants, and which so greatly abridges our catalogue of hardy perennials. The great and rapid variations, which usually occur in the winter months are far more perilous to vegetable life. The fluids of plants are often set in motion by a short period of vernal warmth, and then congealed by the sudden renewal of frost. In winters of steady though severe cold, the more tender garden shrubs generally escape with little or no injury. This is more especially the case if the ground has been hidden for a long period beneath a deep bed of snow. The surface is thus covered as with a thick fleece, and completely protected from all variations of temperature. Our mildest winters, on the contrary, are often the most destructive of all; for, mild as they may be on the whole, they are rarely without occasional intervals of intense cold; and this unnatural alternation is fatal to many species of vegetable productions, which pass without

the slightest injury through the far more equable as well as milder temperature of a British winter. But, on the other hand, of those plants which can fairly endure the winter months, the greater part ripen their products with far more certainty in the Northern States, than most parts of England. We are accustomed, it is true, to consider our spring as a most variable and uncomfortable season, and to fancy that Shakspeare must have drawn from our vernal months his beautiful picture of the disordered seasons.

> "Hoary-headed frosts
> Fall in the fresh lap of the crimson rose,
> And on old Hiems' chin and icy crown
> An odorous chaplet of sweet summer buds
> Is as in mockery set."

Indeed, Cobbett asserts, with good-humored and not very violent exaggeration, that we have no spring at all, and divides, by a sort of Polish partition, the province usually assigned to that season between summer and winter.

But our real spring, or blooming season, call it by what name you will, is we apprehend less perilous to most productions of the garden, and especially to most fruit trees, than the corresponding period in England. The same writer subsequently remarks, that "in this country, when we see the blossom, we know that the fruit will follow; but that in England and France the trees must be often covered to protect them from the untimely frosts of April and May."

This remark, or so much of it at least as relates to this country, may be too strongly expressed, but in the main it seems to be well founded.

That our summer days are brighter and warmer than those of England is a fact which needs only to be stated, and the mildness and splendor of an American autumn are proverbial throughout Christendom. But the superiority of the American climate (even in the Middle and Northern States) *for the raising of fruits*, over that of Great Britain, is best attested by the different modes in which fruit trees are reared in the two countries. In most of those States the summers are sufficiently warm to enable the apple and pear tree, and even the plum and the peach, to ripen their fruits perfectly well as natural standards; and, with the exception of a few curious gardeners, no one deems it necessary to resort to any artificial mode of training either of these plants. In England, the peach is almost universally a wall fruit, and

the pear and plum tree are very generally dwarfed and trained against walls or espaliers.

Even those more delicate species of apples, usually cultivated on a small scale in gardens, are generally raised in the same artificial mode. Yet, with all these appliances, we are inclined to think, that the fruits of England are on the whole greatly inferior in flavor to those of this country. Mr. Kenrick informs us, that some of the finest kinds of American peaches prove utterly worthless when grown in England, and that the whole tribe of clingstones especially are given up by the gardeners of that country, as a fruit altogether unfitted to the climate. He adds, that many of the best apples share the like disastrous fate.

The comparison between English and American fruits, in point of flavor, does not admit perhaps of being brought to an issue of the most decisive kind. To do this they must be tasted at the same moment; and, with the exception of the apple, none of the best garden fruits can be transported in good condition from the one country to the other.

So far as relates to this fruit, we believe, there is no question. There are indeed a few kinds of English apples highly celebrated in the horticultural works of that country for their rich flavor; but we believe their superiority over Pippins, Baldwins, and other American apples of the first class, has never been established by any satisfactory evidence. But, if we compare together such apples as are exposed for sale in the great markets of the one country and the other, (and we know not why this is not a fair mode of comparison) we believe that no candid Englishman would hesitate to admit that the result would be greatly in our favor.

Indeed, the cloudy and moist climate of Great Britain would seem to be one of the last, to ripen to perfection the more delicate fruits of the temperate zone. These, it will be recollected, originated for the most part under the bright and scorching suns of southern Asia, and, at the present day, are generally better in Italy and the south of France, than in any more northern region of Europe. The truth is, that all the fine fruit in Great Britain is dearly earned; wrung, as it were, from a frowning climate, by a combination of profound skill and patient effort; a striking proof, far more of human intelligence and industry, than of any fitness in the soil and sky of that island for horticultural purposes.

What advancement might not be made in our horticulture, were one tenth part of the science, capital, and labor, devoted to its improvement, which are expended on the same object by English gardeners.

Some further light may be thrown on this interesting subject, by a few remarks on the principal fruits usually cultivated in the open air, in Massachusetts and the adjoining States.

Of these, the first in importance is the Apple. This is the only fruit generally raised in New England in orchards, and its cultivation may therefore be considered as standing on the dividing line between Horticulture and Agriculture. We have already adverted to the early period at which this description of tree was introduced. How well it thrives in our climate, has been shown by the experience of more than two centuries. We believe there is scarcely a corner of New England, except perhaps the disputed territory, in which it fails to produce fruit, in great abundance and of good quality ; and we have been informed, that many of the most delicious varieties of apple are raised in the State of Maine, where they were introduced by the lamented Benjamin Vaughan. It is well known, that there is one species of this fruit (*malus coronaria*) which is indigenous to the United States. This is rarely seen in the Eastern States, but in the State of Illinois grows in such abundance, as to form natural groves of miles in extent. We are not aware, that this species has long been raised on account of its fruit, which is very small, of a green color, and sharp acid taste, and barely eatable ; but its blossom is uncommonly fragrant, and this circumstance has given it a place in many gardens as a flowering shrub. Its very existence is probably unknown to New England farmers generally. The fruit raised in the Northern States is, for the most part, the product of native seedlings, derived by a longer or shorter chain of descents from English ancestors.

The practice of procuring fine apples by grafting is, we believe, of modern introduction in this country, and, half a century since, was practised by none but a few curious cultivators. The course generally adopted by New England farmers from the beginning, for the supply of their orchards, has been, to sow the *pomace*, or crushed pulp of the apple, which is taken from the cider-mill after the juice is expressed, and

which, of course, abounds in seeds. Hence, the many kinds of apple which may be found in every orchard of natural, or, in other words, ungrafted trees. The selection of seeds for the purpose of procuring valuable new varieties, has seldom, if ever, been adopted; and thus our finest specimens of this fruit are mere chance productions. This is known to be the case with the beautiful Baldwin apple, of which the parent tree was in existence till within a few years. There can be no doubt, that such varieties could be greatly and rapidly multiplied by a recourse to the more systematic and scientific modes of propagation pursued by Knight, Van Mons, and other distinguished European botanists. It is often said, that the apples of New England are inferior in quality to those of the Middle States; and it has been consequently inferred, that the climate of that region is better adapted to this fruit. We think the assertion, as well as the inference, quite too hasty. Both are probably founded on the acknowledged superiority of one of the apples of the Middle States, the far-famed Newton Pippin. This rich fruit, has, it is true, no rival in New England, nor, as far as we know, in any other country. It seems equally certain, that the tree rarely flourishes in the climate of Massachusetts, and, though it grows well, proves a very shy bearer. But, if we except this unrivalled variety, we know of no apple which throws into the shade the different, but striking merits, of the Baldwin and the Russet.

We deem it unnecessary to speak at great length of the various uses of the apple in the domestic economy of New England. Every one knows, that, for several generations, this fruit furnished not only much of the food of our predecessors, but their chief beverage, and that cider held the same place for more than a century in the northern states, which has been occupied by light wines in France, or malt liquors in Great Britain. From this position it has recently been driven, at least in large towns. In these it has been exposed to a double competition, from the French and German wines on the one hand, and the pure element on the other, and seems to be falling rapidly out of favor. Should its use, however, be from any cause wholly abandoned, we have the consolation of knowing that our orchards will lose little or nothing of their value. Various and important as have been the purposes to which the apple has

been applied in former times, the list of its acknowledged merits has been greatly increased within a very few years. It is now known to form not only an agreeable, but a most nourishing article of diet, both to men, and to domestic animals, and is especially in high credit, among the most intelligent farmers, for its utility in fattening swine, a race not apt to relish or to thrive upon unsubstantial fare.

As a matter of profit there are few objects to which the capital and labor of a skilful farmer can be better devoted than to the rearing of good apple trees. Few plants require a more moderate degree of care, or reward that care more bountifully. Seven or eight barrels of apples form by no means an unusually large product for a thrifty tree, and we have seen well-authenticated accounts of some, which have borne no less than four times that quantity.

It has been stated by one of the ablest and most exact writers on agriculture, that, a few years since, one hundred and sixty barrels of apples were gathered from an orchard in the town of Dorchester, of less than two acres, (exclusive of a large quantity of windfalls,) and that the whole product of the orchard amounted to not less in value than three hundred dollars. The size to which this tree attains in New England, and the healthiness of its condition, form, in addition to its productiveness, a striking proof of its adaptation to our climate. We have heard of trees of twelve feet in circumference in the smallest part of the trunks, and have seen several of nine. When the tree reaches a mature age, it bids defiance to our coldest winters and most uncertain springs; and, if guarded from the assaults of insects, seems invulnerable to all injuries from natural causes, except those inflicted by the universal and resistless power of old age. At what period it is subjected to these, is a point which is not yet fully ascertained, but which has been investigated with much care by the writer to whom we have just referred. From the best information which he could collect on the subject, he has been led to conclude, that an apple tree generally requires a growth of thirty years to bring it into its most fruitful condition, and that its term of vigor and decay occupies about the same period; in other words, that the average life of the tree may be estimated at about sixty years. It appears, however, that, in some few instances, this tree like most others, is indulged with a term of existence far beyond the

limits assigned to its species generally. Thus we are told by the same writer, of an apple tree in Hartford, said to have been imported before the middle of the seventeenth century. Although this statement is not very precise, yet from many other circumstances there seems to be no doubt that the tree has outlasted at least two generations of its fellows. It has certainly outlived its usefulness, for we learn that it produces only a few dozen of apples from some scattered branches near the top, and that it exhibits many marks of extreme decay. Similar instances of extraordinary longevity may be found in many other classes of vegetable productions, and must be considered merely as rare phenomena, analogous to those formed by the lives of Thomas Parr and Henry Jenkins, in the history of our own species.

The general proposition laid down by the above writer is, we believe, substantially correct; and, if it be, the average life of apple trees varies little from that of our own species. Consequently the orchards from whence we derive our present supplies are almost entirely of a growth subsequent to the Revolution. Hence also, if the modern doctrine respecting the decay of all varieties of cultivated fruit be true, a point on which we shall presently say more, few if any of our present favorite apples are the same with those which regaled the palates of our grandfathers.

Next to the apple, the fruit tree most generally cultivated in New England is the Pear. This has sometimes been reared in orchards for the manufacture of perry, but is for the most part confined to gardens. To a common observer this tree bears a strong resemblance to the apple tree; but the researches of botanists, as well as the experience of gardeners, have shown, that the affinity is merely superficial. The wood of the pear is much harder than that of the apple, and, probably for this reason, it is exempt from the destructive attacks of the borer. Its leaves also escape, from some unknown cause, those two formidable and wide-wasting enemies of our apple orchards, the cankerworm and the caterpillar. On the other hand, it is exposed to the ravages of insects which have never been detected on any other fruit tree. But the most striking proof of dissimilarity in the internal structure of the pear and apple is found in the fact, that the one can rarely be grafted on the other with eventual suc-

cess, and that, though the scions do not absolutely refuse to *take*, they scarcely ever flourish, and generally soon perish.

The pear tree also differs essentially from the apple in its superior longevity. This has been stated by Mr. Knight at no less than three centuries. We cannot but deem this assertion founded in error, or at least that it is a hasty general inference, drawn from the protracted existence of a few individuals in uncommonly favorable situations. But there is abundant evidence, that the pear on an average outlasts the apple by more than half a century. We have already noticed the tree planted by Governor Endicott, which probably stands, in point of seniority, at the head of the cultivated plants of the country. There is a tree still in bearing near New York, which was planted by Governor Stuyvesant, and is designated by his name, which boasts of an age inferior only by thirty years to that of the Endicott tree.

For the finest ancient varieties of this tree we are unquestionably indebted to France, a fact attested not only by their names, but by the uniform evidence of tradition, to which we have already referred. The unfortunate and striking circumstance, that many of the choicest of these varieties are rapidly verging to extinction, both here and in Europe, and that this melancholy process has commenced within the last half century, is one which could not fail to arrest the attention of scientific gardeners. The fact was long disputed, and, when it had forced itself into credit and notoriety, many flattered themselves with the belief, that it was owing to a temporary cause. It was accordingly ascribed to some change in climate, or some mysterious disease, and it was hoped, that after a cycle of years, more or less extended, these trees would resume their former vigor and fruitfulness. The contrary doctrine was first broached, or at least first earnestly maintained by Mr. Knight of England ; and to him, if to any one, we must award the credit of promulgating the theory of the limited existence of cultivated varieties of fruit, which now seems generally admitted. He found, by repeated experiments for many years, that the scions of many of the finest and most celebrated varieties of apple and pear could no longer be successfully inserted on younger stocks, and that the parent trees themselves gradually became less productive, and, except in sheltered situations, ceased to live. He thence drew the general conclusion, that all buds or scions

which are taken from any seedling fruit tree, as well as all branches which spring from them to an indefinite extent, are in a certain sense mere extensions or portions of the original parent; in other words they partake of its constitution and cannot outlast it (unless it be prematurely cut off), for any long period. When the term of their existence expires, the variety of fruit which they bear is irrecoverably lost, because, as its existence cannot be protracted, so neither can it be renewed by planting the seed. For every gardener knows, that the seeds of most, if not all our cultivated fruits, *sport* to a greater or less degree, and that the trees, which spring from them, almost universally yield, not the same fruit, but one of a different, and in many instances of inferior flavor.

The degree to which this sporting extends varies materially in different fruits. The stone of a fine peach may be sown with a reasonable prospect of procuring a fruit of similar qualities. On the other hand, the same experiment may be tried with hundreds of pear seeds, without succeeding in more than two or three instances; and with respect to the cherry the variation seems to be still greater. Thus we perceive, that every variety of cultivated fruit springs from one parent tree; and when this tree has finished its course, the variety itself, as we have already observed, must soon follow.

Such is a brief and imperfect statement of the celebrated doctrine respecting the decline of ancient varieties of cultivated fruits. This doctrine was certainly an unwelcome one. Few lovers of good fruit were willing to admit, that the decline of the choicest trees in health and fertility, was owing to a permanent and irresistible law of nature, and could neither be prevented nor delayed by any human effort. The theory was accordingly attacked by many zealous and ingenious writers, with very different degrees of fairness and ability; and though, as we have observed, it seems now to be a prevalent, is far from being an undisputed one.

As year after year, however, affords additional evidence in its favor, or, at any rate, as the fact of the decline of some of the best fruits, more especially of the pear kind, is becoming more and more incontestable and manifest, the replacing of these, by new and fresh varieties of equal value from the seed, is now an object of the most earnest and unremitted efforts of the leading horticulturists of Europe.

No one pursued this great object with more science, per-

severance, and success than Mr. Knight himself; and no one is more entitled to the gratitude of lovers of horticulture, for the constant liberality, which he displayed in diffusing the beneficial results of his labors. The services, rendered by him in this respect to our own country, are we trust too well known to render any further statement of them necessary.

Those, who wish for a detailed description of the different modes adopted both in England and Belgium for the production of new fruits, are referred to the Introduction of Mr. Kenrick, and to our horticultural magazines. This country is not altogether without its examples of striking success in this interesting branch of gardening. It could hardly have been expected, that these examples should be very numerous. To procure a new variety of fruit from the seed requires, in most cases, a period of at least five years, a delay which, in our stirring and impatient community, is regarded much in the same light in which a Dutch, or even an English gardener, would look forward to the term of a generation. But, omitting all mention of original fruits which have been produced in other States, several delicious varieties of pears have been raised in Boston and its neighbourhood, which may compete with the choicest productions of the gardens of Knight or Van Mons. Those who complain of the attention and patience which nature exacts, as the price of her most delicious products, would do well to take a lesson from the perseverance and equanimity displayed by the latter of these distinguished cultivators, under repeated discouragements of a different and far more distressing character.*

The Peach, as we have already stated, has been raised in the larger towns of New England for more than a century. We know not, however, whether this delicious fruit can be fairly claimed as a New England production. It has been little cultivated in the interior of the most northern States, and in Massachusetts is almost confined to the maritime districts. Even here, it must be admitted that the climate is too rigid to raise it in its highest degree of perfection, or in constant abundance. The tree seldom passes through a severe winter without the loss of some of its smaller branches, as well as material injury to its trunk and larger limbs. It has been supposed by many persons, that our seasons have be-

* The whole story may be found in Fessenden's *Magazine*, for 1830, pp. 228 to 230.

come less favorable to its growth than in former times; but this we are inclined to think a mistaken impression, founded on early recollections of no very precise character. The truth is, this plant should be regarded, in New England, less as a tree than a short-lived shrub. With a few exceptions, its life in this vicinity cannot be estimated at more than fifteen or twenty years, and this term is often shortened by its tendency to grow, and in favorable seasons to bear, to excess. It is also subject to the attacks of insects of different species, some of whom prey upon the leaves, and others mine into the trunk. The cultivation of this tree seems as yet to be very imperfectly understood in the Eastern States. It well repays all the protection which it can derive from a sheltered and sunny exposure, and grows best in a light and warm soil. But how far it should be pruned, and in what way, are points on which the best authorities are greatly at variance. Little useful information can be derived on the subject from English works, as in Great Britain the tree is almost universally trained against walls, and as it grows under our fierce summer suns with a luxuriance, to which no parallel can be found under the temperate skies of the northern portions of Europe.* But probably no system of management could ensure to it either long life or regular fruitfulness, in any part of New England; and the only mode of securing a constant supply of the fruit seems to be the continual rearing of new trees.

The peach seems to be placed, by general consent, at the head of all the fruits of the temperate zone, and is considered by most inhabitants of that region as without a rival in any part of the globe, except perhaps the far-famed mangostan of the tropics. It has derived its Latin name from Persia, a country to which all authors assign the honor of its birth, though the evidence on this point is quite too scanty to enable us to decide either way with great assurance. We are told, that the tree was brought to Rome in the reign of Claudius, about the year 40 of the Christian era. From one or two epigrams of Martial, the fruit appears to have been raised in forcing-houses, or pits, under glass. Sir Joseph Banks even supposes, that these houses were heated with flues; but

* This remark perhaps admits a more general extension. Chancellor Livingston estimated the growth of trees in a summer of the Middle States, compared with their growth in the same period in France or Great Britain, as five to two.

this conclusion seems to be unsustained by any sufficient evidence. We are told, that the first peaches raised at Rome were poisonous ; and this assertion is deemed by many a proof, that the peaches then known were of very inferior quality. The idea, however, may have been a mere prejudice, like that often prevailing in most communities against newly-discovered agricultural productions. Every one knows the difficulties which the potato has encountered, both in our own and other countries, in making its way into general favor ; and we believe that the peach itself was, forty years since, esteemed an unwholesome fruit by many in this vicinity. There is every reason to suppose, indeed, that the peaches of the ancient Romans differed materially in their flavor from any kind now known; as the existence of any given variety of this, or indeed any other kind of fruit, for two thousand years, is a bold, and if there be any truth in the doctrine above referred to, an absolutely incredible supposition.

We have already alluded to the high antiquity from which the culture of the Grape may be dated ; and we may add, that it has always been carried on to a greater extent than that of any other fruit. It is well known, that the product of the vine constitutes one of the great staples of all the countries of southern Europe. As it needs, and indeed prefers a light soil, it enables those nations who enjoy a climate favorable to its growth, to turn to the best account many rocky hills, which, in northern regions, would produce nothing better than a scanty pasturage.

Various attempts have been made to form vineyards in different portions of our own country, with very unsatisfactory results. The vines of Europe seem ill fitted to sustain the winters of the Northern States, and, even in the more southern regions of the Union, are said to suffer materially from violent changes of weather. Indeed, the raising of foreign grapes in the open air, in the Eastern and Middle States at least, seems to be nearly relinquished ; and hence the formation of vineyards of this description in those States, may be considered as out of the question. To insure the ripening of the best table grapes of France in the vicinity of Boston, certainly requires the protection of glass, and we believe the aid of fire also. Happily these expedients can be employed without the slightest disadvantage, as no fruit

seems to preserve its natural fresh and rich flavor, under artificial culture, more effectually than the grape.

The vines of this country, though resembling those of Europe in their form and mode of growth, bear a fruit so widely different, that perhaps it should be rather termed a berry than a grape. The most common, and in the opinion of many botanists the only species of American grape, *vitis Labrusca* or fox grape, is indulged with a much wider range of climate than any of its European kindred, since it endures alike the cold of the most northern States, and the tropical heat of the Island of Cuba. Several varieties of this plant exist in every part of the Union; but, though differing from each other in color, shape, and flavor, most if not all of them agree in a few prominent characteristics. The leaf is of a larger size, much thicker and less delicate than that of foreign vines, and the fruit is distinguished by a thick, opaque skin, a tough pulp, and an acid drop in the centre, qualities forming a disadvantageous contrast with those of the transparent and luscious products of European vineyards. Still, as this vine has the high recommendation of hardiness, and as it produces a wholesome, and to many a palatable fruit, it has certainly been treated with undeserved neglect.

The raising of new kinds from the seed has been attempted with much success by a few of our best gardeners, and is well deserving of more general attention. There is little doubt that we might thus acquire, in a few years, many descriptions of this plant, possessing the vigor and hardiness of their progenitors, and yet producing fruit which might rival in delicacy several of the grapes of Europe.

The sixth section of our author's Introduction, contains some brief directions on the important subject of Transplanting. Most of these, we believe, may be advantageously followed. We doubt, however, the expediency of treading down the earth forcibly, and pouring on large quantities of water immediately after setting the tree in the ground. Both these practices are pointedly condemned by some of the most experienced writers on horticulture, and the last, more particularly, seems to be a most unnatural and injurious expedient. We doubt not that many trees have been destroyed, or permanently injured, by a mode of treatment, adapted only to purely aquatic plants. If the ground be moist, and the tree transplanted at the proper season,

which is admitted to be either the spring or autumn, little else is requisite, than to allow sufficient room for the roots, and to spread them carefully. Even these moderate precautions are often neglected. "Many people," says Marshall, "seem to think that they transplant a tree properly, when they merely hide it in the ground." To ensure success in any mode of transplanting, it is of course a prerequisite that the tree *be properly taken up;* and this process is frequently performed with such haste and violence, that all subsequent care must be vain. How often are trees torn from the soil with the loss of three quarters of their roots, and these of course the smaller fibres, through which every tree derives the chief part of its nourishment. Indeed, it is the difficulty, as well as importance, of preserving these rootlets unimpaired, which renders it advisable to transplant all trees whatsoever at an early stage of their growth. We have heard it said, that the larger portion of every tree is under ground; in other words that the roots are much more widely spread than the branches; and certain it is, that they extend themselves, downwards and around, to a degree altogether unsuspected by common observers. Hence a great portion of them is often left in the ground on the removal of the tree, which thus receives its death-wound in the very act, and survives only to linger out a sickly existence in its new location. We believe it is now a general opinion among skilful gardeners, that nothing is gained by transplanting trees of more than two or three inches in diameter at farthest.

We are aware that these remarks are in direct opposition to a practice lately adopted in Scotland, and, as we are told by some writers of that country, with complete success. It is well known, that, within a few years, attempts have been made to transplant trees of mature age, and thus anticipate the tardy progress of natural growth, and raise magnificent groves and avenues in a single season. We are informed that thousands of trees thus removed are now growing at various country seats in Scotland, with as much luxuriance as if originally planted in their present localities. It is further said, that these splendid results may be effected at a very moderate expense, inasmuch as the removal of a tall tree of a foot in diameter can be effected for thirty shillings sterling. We cannot but think, that the success of the experiment has been depicted in quite too flattering colors; and we are still

more confident, that the cost is greatly underrated. The removal of trees of a large size in this country, with a proper quantity of root to afford the tree the slightest chance of surviving, would require an expense of at least ten times the amount stated above; and no proper allowance for the different price of labor in New England and Scotland, respectively, will enable us to account for so wide a diversity. We have known some conspicuous instances, in which the experiment of removing trees of large magnitude and many years' growth has been fairly tried; and, though in each case the greatest care was taken, the manner in which the trees have grown, since transplanting, is any thing but encouraging to similar enterprises. The labor and expense attending the operation were such as would of themselves render the practice, as a general one, entirely out of the question.* We cannot but think, therefore, that those, who would adorn their grounds with magnificent trees, should wait for the slow but sure operation of Time, in place of resorting to an expedient, which, to say nothing of its expense, requires to be tried by a long and general experience, and of the success of which we have as yet none but imperfect, and apparently not very impartial, statements.

Whether trees can best be transplanted in the spring or autumn, is one of the vexed questions of horticulture. Our author gives a decided preference to the months of October and November. In this, however, he stands opposed to the prevailing sentiment and practice of American cultivators, who generally select the spring, although the busiest season of the year. We have heard it suggested by an eminent

* In confirmation of this remark, we quote the following extract from Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, Vol. V. p. 232, (Philad. edition,) merely reminding our readers, that the price of labor is much higher with us than in any part of Scotland.

"In September, the Highland Society of Scotland, at the request of the late Sir Henry Stewart of Allanton, sent a deputation to his seat in Lanarkshire, to examine and report on his famous improvements in the art of transplanting trees. Sir Walter was one of the Committee appointed for this business, and he took a lively interest in it, as witness the Essay on Landscape Gardening, which, whatever may be the fate of Sir Henry Stewart's own writings, will transmit his name to posterity. Scott made several Allantonian experiments at Abbotsford, but found reason, in the sequel, to abate something of his enthusiasm as to the *system*. The question, after all, comes to pounds, shillings, and pence; and, whether Sir Henry's accounts had or had not been accurately kept, the thing turned out greatly more expensive on Tweedside, than he had found it represented in Clydesdale."

botanist, that autumnal planting is better adapted to the climate of Great Britain than to our own, inasmuch as our long and rigorous winter may often destroy the smaller roots of newly-planted trees, before they have fairly established themselves in the soil. It is to be wished, however, that the practice should have a thorough trial; for cultivators are so severely tasked to keep pace in their operations with the rapid progress of vegetation in our rapid spring, that much would be gained by the transfer of so important a branch of husbandry to a period of more leisure.

We pass over those parts of our author's Introduction which relate to propagation, pruning, grafting, and inoculation. These operations are described with great brevity and precision, and in truth the mode of performing them is much better learned from observation and experience than from the perusal of any description whatever. The tenth section treats of the artificial means by which the fruitfulness of trees may be increased. Most of these, such as dwarfing by ingrafting on a tree of smaller growth, — by inserting, for instance, the scion of the pear on a quince stock, — training more or less horizontally, &c., are well understood in this country. They are, however, seldom practised; and, with a very few exceptions, our fruits are the growth of standard trees. We are rather surprised to find the practice of debarking, or stripping the whole tree of its outer bark, down to the *liber*, recommended as one of these expedients. A tree might possibly be rendered more fruitful for a single season, but we apprehend, that in our climate, at least, the loss of its health, if not of its life, would soon and inevitably follow. A single winter of the Northern and Middle States, must prove a severe trial to a tree thus stripped of the larger part of its natural covering. Of this we have striking evidence in the effect of the early winter of 1831–2, a season which will long be remembered by gardeners in this vicinity. Thousands of young fruit trees were destroyed by the sudden setting in of cold weather, while older trees, of exactly the same description, were protected by their thick bark, as by a coat of mail.

The concluding section of our author's preliminary chapter treats of noxious Insects. Any treatise on agriculture would be indeed incomplete, which should omit all mention of this great branch of the animal kingdom. It has been

supposed by one of the first entomologists in our country, that the bodies of all the insect tribe, if collected together, would form a larger mass than those of all other tribes of animals united. Those numerous species which derive their food from the vegetable creation, have long been the most dreaded enemies of the farmer and gardener. It is a general maxim, that the most wonderful results, good or evil, in the works both of nature and of man, are effected by the joint agency of numerous individuals, each of whom separately would be utterly unworthy of serious notice. To no topic can this remark be applied with more force, than to that now before us. Separately contemplated, nothing can be more contemptible than the insects which prey on our fields or our gardens; but their immense swarms render their ravages often as resistless and as destructive, as those of the lightning or the tornado. Human skill and strength can avail little against enemies, which escape our notice by their minuteness, elude our grasp by their agility, or defy our power by their countless numbers. The following remarks, of the late Dr. Dwight, will recommend themselves to our readers by their good sense, as well as their piety.

"Nothing can more strongly exhibit the dependence or the littleness of man, than the destruction of his valuable interests by such minute, helpless beings. The animals, which from our infancy we regard with terror, are the fierce and voracious inhabitants of the desert, the serpent, the catamount, the tiger, and the lion; but these mercifully on the part of Heaven are few in number, solitary in their life, and unfrequent invaders of human happiness,— sources rather of solemn amusement and fireside affright, than of rational or even real anxiety. The great army which God sent upon the Jews, *before which the land was as the garden of Eden and behind as a desolate wilderness, on account of which an alarm was sounded, a fast sanctified, and a solemn assembly proclaimed,* was levied from the tribes of the cankerworm, the caterpillar, the palmer-worm, and the locust. These, and their compeers, have been in all ages the army of God, which has humbled the pride, frustrated the designs, and destroyed the hopes of man."— *Travels in New England,* Vol. III. p. 301.

Scarcely any fruit tree is so fortunate as to be liable to the attacks of only one species of insect; and a bare catalogue of those tribes, which may be found engaged in their destructive work in every garden, would occupy several pages. There are three descriptions, however, whose ravages are far more

extensive and conspicuous in New England orchards and fruit gardens, than those of any of their fellows, viz. the several species of borers, the cankerworm, and the caterpillar. A complete and convenient remedy against the first two is yet a desideratum. The borers it is true, both of the apple and the peach trees (for they are two very different insects), may be kept from their respective favorites, by a collar of any hard substance placed around the tree, just at the surface of the ground, the point at which both these assailants make their first inroads. The cankerworm, also, may be checked effectually by the process of tarring. But the application of these remedies is extremely inconvenient and troublesome, and requires a degree of attention and vigilance, which few are willing to exert. The caterpillar is completely within the control of every cultivator, who exerts only an ordinary degree of diligence. This is owing to the gregarious habits of these insects, who retire together at night to their nests, and do not leave them till the morning is far advanced. Hence they may be easily destroyed in their encampments ; and, if the process is repeated at short intervals, the tree may be thoroughly cleared.

The brief sketch here given of our author's Introduction, will, we hope, serve to recommend his work to such of our readers as feel interested in its subject, and these, we trust, form a large and increasing class. There are few changes which we contemplate with more satisfaction, than the increased interest in the progress of agriculture, recently displayed by the people, as well as the rulers, of this and the neighbouring States. It is not now our purpose to speak of field cultivation, in other words of agriculture, strictly so called, though certainly nothing is more desirable, than that its immense importance should be duly estimated by men of all vocations. But the more elegant art of horticulture, that which bears the same relation to its substantial kindred art, which the graceful capital bears to the massy shaft, this, however pleasing to its true votaries, was till lately pursued by comparatively a very small number, and altogether neglected and disregarded by the community generally. A few years since, for instance, it was scarcely possible to procure the more delicate fruits, at any price, while thousands were every year expended on luxuries of a more doubtful character. Delicate fruits are now rapidly multiplying in our cities and

their environs ; and those, who distinguish themselves in the rearing of them, may hope for a large reward, not only in profit but in reputation. Few, indeed, can render greater services to the civilized world, than it has derived from the labors of skilful and discriminating cultivators of these exquisite productions. If he who makes two spires of grass grow where one grew before, is a public benefactor, what shall we say of him, who introduces or who disseminates a new variety of delicious fruit, and thus contributes to the innocent and salutary pleasures not only of his contemporaries, but of nations yet unborn. The gratification, thus ministered to each individual singly, may be deemed trifling ; but, when we consider the number so gratified, how immense is the aggregate of human enjoyment. How long and how gratefully must such a gift be remembered. Of what moment to us, are the undaunted valor, and consummate generalship, displayed by Lucullus in his victories over Mithridates? They served only to bring one more gallant monarch into subjection to the haughty and gigantic power, whose iron sceptre has long since been shattered,— to add one more jewel to the diadem, which has been for ages trampled in the dust. But the taste and assiduity of the Roman general in naturalizing the cherry tree to the climate of Europe, have entitled him to the grateful commemoration of sixty generations. The empire, which France labored to establish on this continent, has long since passed away. The chain of fortresses which she erected on our northern and western borders, with so much skill and at such a cost, is rapidly vanishing from the soil. Her very language is fast departing from those regions, before the silent and peaceful progress of our institutions. But the orchards of magnificent and venerable pear trees, planted by French settlers on the banks of the beautiful Detroit River, yet remain, a noble monument to the honor of the parent country of modern horticulture. How few can hope for a reputation so extensive, so enduring, and so enviable, as that which will be awarded, both in his country and ours, to Thomas Andrew Knight. How long and how highly shall we honor the memory of this high-minded Englishman, as the disinterested and unwearied benefactor of our infant horticulture ? How nobly has he exemplified the great truths, that the firmest loyalty to our own country is compatible with the utmost liberality towards others, and that, when the

culture of the soil is in question, our views should know no other bounds than those of the great family of man. A few years, we trust, will show that there are those among us, who will emulate his truly honorable, though peaceful, achievements.

We speak from high authority, when we say, that the friends of horticulture in Europe are turning their eyes anxiously to this country. They are looking to our bright skies and fresh soil, for new varieties of delicious fruits, to supply the place of those, which, after centuries of existence, seem at last to be yielding to the lot of all earthly productions. Hopes so just and reasonable are surely not destined to return void. To some of our readers, the importance which we attach to our subject may seem exaggerated, if not ridiculous. Such may remark, that horticulture can form the chief business of life with very few; that generally it deserves no other name than that of an amusement; that, even in this point of view, it is better adapted to a country abounding in men of wealth and leisure, than to an economical and industrious community like ours; and that it is utterly absurd to speak of it as a subject which deserves to excite a deep and general interest.

Objections like these, however, have been frequently made among us to every secular object of pursuit, except those two leading objects of effort and ambition, wealth and political distinction. We would not refer either to the one or the other of these, with any cynical asperity. The pursuit of property has often been spoken of, by the mere votaries of literature, in a style which is any thing but creditable to their own good sense and candor. The honest enterprise of large classes who are busily engaged in providing for the reasonable comfort of their families, or in accumulating money not for its own sake, but for the sake of what may be procured and imparted by its liberal use, has been stigmatized by the name of avarice; and the unwearied industry and judicious frugality, which form the solid foundation of so many splendid virtues, and by which New England now is, and we trust ever will be distinguished, have been more than once made the theme of contemptuous reproach. Still it should be recollected, that the most active business is not without many intervals of leisure, and that the pursuit of property occupies the whole time of no individual, certainly of no large number of individuals. "Generally speaking," says one of

the most elegant writers of the present age, "our occupations leave us time enough, if our passions would but spare us."

Nor is it certain that property, or indeed any other great object, is pursued with most success by those who allow themselves least time for repose or recreation. A pursuit, which is absolutely exclusive and unremitted, is very apt to become a feverish one; and he who pauses occasionally from his labors may gain more in cool reflection than he loses in actual effort. The late Stephen Girard certainly met with a degree of success in his regular vocation, which should satisfy the wishes of any reasonable aspirant; and yet it is well known, that much of his time was devoted to the cultivation of a country-seat in the vicinity of Philadelphia, and that he pursued this recreation with the same zeal and exactness, which rendered him so conspicuous in the commercial world. A very small portion of the surplus capital, and leisure time, of the most active men of business in any of our large towns, might place its neighbourhood, to a wide extent, in a state of high cultivation, scarcely paralleled in the most beautiful districts of England or Belgium. It is only the taste and spirit, which are requisite; and any means, by which these can be enkindled or diffused, must be highly valued by every true patriot.

What we have said of the pursuit of wealth, admits of a like application in regard to that of political distinction. That in a country like ours a passion for such distinction should be often indulged to a high degree, is perhaps unavoidable, and those who are under its control, certainly earn their reward. We should be the last to speak slightly of honors of any description, which are fairly earned and gracefully worn. We know, that the government of a free country is one, which can be well carried on only by the application of a large portion of the talent and character of the community; and we are aware also, that something of the time and thoughts of every good citizen must be given to the watchful inspection of the conduct of his representatives. We entertain little respect for those, who feel or affect an utter indifference in relation to all political transactions, but who generally are the first to lose their equanimity when the bad consequences of public measures press severely on their own interests; and, much as we deprecate political bitterness, we

deem it more respectable, as well as less perilous, than political apathy. But it is certainly far from desirable, that the active and aspiring spirits of the country should consider political life as the only sphere of public usefulness, and the only passage to honorable distinction, or that political events should constitute (as they have done in former times) the all-absorbing topic of social conversation.

It will be perceived, that the above remarks apply more particularly to the inhabitants of the principal towns and their environs. It is to be expected, that horticulture should advance more rapidly to a high state of excellence in districts where the large markets render it a profitable pursuit to the mere gardener, while the amateur is more effectually inspirited by the sympathy and example of a dense neighbourhood. We trust, however, that its progress will not long be limited to such narrow bounds. Among the farmers, constituting in this country, as in all others of large extent, the great majority of the population, this art is, we believe, already emerging from its neglected condition. Considered as a mere amusement its claims are of no slight moment; for how often has it been remarked, that the amusements of a community, as they strikingly indicate, so are they most important in determining, the national character. Many of the rougher sports of the rural population of other days are now becoming obsolete; and what employment is better fitted to supply their places, whether we regard its physical or moral effects, than horticulture? Its soothing and purifying influence have been the theme of praises too trite, as well as too generally admitted, to need repetition.

There is an especial reason which should lead us to desire the general extension, throughout the community, of the culture of gardens, and more especially of fruit gardens; we mean its effects on the progress of Temperance. To all the strenuous efforts now making for the promotion of this great moral object, we need not say how cordially we bid "God speed." But it is a cause in which no fair auxiliary should be rejected, and few will be found more effectual than choice fruits. A fondness for these and for the fiery products of distillation cannot long exist together in the same individual; and, with a fair opportunity, the contest between them cannot well be a doubtful one. It has been said, that the use of a single fruit, we mean the coffee berry, has served more

effectually to check the use of ardent spirits, than all other causes united, previous to the formation of Temperance Societies.

Our remarks have been limited, almost exclusively, to that more substantial branch of horticulture, which forms the main topic of Mr. Kenrick's work, the rearing of fruit trees. The still more elegant and delicate pursuit, that in which the poetry of gardening, so to speak, chiefly consists, we mean the cultivation of Flowers, is a topic deserving to be considered at far greater length than we could allow to it on the present occasion. We shall therefore close our remarks by some general suggestions in relation to the means of rendering horticulture, in all its branches, a more common and favorite pursuit. One of the most effectual of these means is certainly, as we have already intimated, the publication of judicious elementary treatises. It cannot be expected, however, that such productions should become at once very numerous, or that they should always be composed in the manner best calculated to effect their object. Books of this character are generally written by men belonging to one of two classes, those who practise gardening as a regular business, and those who speculate upon it as theorists. The practical gardener may want the power of communicating his knowledge in a popular style; and the mere amateur is still more likely to be deficient, in that acquaintance with facts, which are necessary to render his elegant essays of direct, practical value. In other words, works of the one class will generally be made up of dry instructions, and those of the other will possess scarcely any thing of an instructive character. The truth is, an extensive knowledge of gardening is in this country rarely found in any one except a professed gardener, because the study of the general principles of agriculture and horticulture is nowhere made a part of our early education. Scarcely any other art of high practical importance is thus neglected. It is well known, that all systems of instruction in the United States are of a general and superficial character, resembling more those of Scotland than of any other foreign country. The student is taught the rudiments of a great variety of important branches of knowledge, instead of being thoroughly instructed in a small number.

It would be an interesting task to trace the causes, as well as the consequences, of this marked peculiarity; but this

would be foreign to our purpose, and we presume that the fact is unquestioned. We accordingly find the elements of almost every important art incorporated in the text-books of our principal seminaries. It would be deemed a very insufficient reason for passing over such topics, that, in most cases, they will have no immediate and constant connexion with the regular business of the pupil in after life. Hundreds of students are every year compelled, for instance, to study the first principles of architecture or navigation, although nine tenths of the number never advance any further in the practice of those arts, than to drive a nail, or steer a pleasure-boat. While it is admitted as a general principle, that no one can be a proficient in any thing but his peculiar business, it is deemed in most cases a misfortune, not to say a discredit, in any one claiming the name of a well-informed man, to be utterly ignorant in relation to any subject of high moment to the welfare of the community. Now, although the paramount importance of agricultural pursuits over all others is unquestioned, we suspect there is scarcely a school or college in the country, where a single hour is devoted to the elucidation of their leading principles ; and we doubt not, that many have finished their academical course, able, perhaps, to repeat whole volumes of metaphysics in the words of the author, while they have not merely acquired no knowledge, but have formed no conception, of those familiar operations of the farmer and gardener, to which they are indebted for their daily food. Surely some few days of the ten years of pupilage through which so many of our youth pass, might be profitably given to subjects so interesting, as well as so important, as these.

ART. VI. — *A Popular Essay on Subjects of Penal Law and on Uninterrupted Solitary Confinement at Labor, as contradistinguished to Solitary Confinement at Night and Joint Labor by Day ; in a Letter to* John Bacon, Esquire, *President of the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons.* By FRANCIS LIEBER, Corresponding Member of the Society, Professor of History in South Carolina College. Philadelphia ; published by Order of the Society.

THE previous publications of Dr. Lieber upon punishment and penal law, give him a strong claim to be heard with attention whenever he speaks upon these and similar subjects. His "Remarks on the Relation between Education and Crime," published in 1835, and his Introduction, Notes, and Additions to his translation of Beaumont and De Tocqueville's work on the Penitentiary System in the United States, contain the results of patient examination, reflection, and inquiry upon the great questions of criminal law, and the prevention and correction of crime, and recommend themselves by their enlightened humanity no less than by their philosophical spirit. The present work, an elaborate pamphlet of about a hundred pages, has been called forth by the controversy which has been some time going on in the country between the friends of what are commonly called the Pennsylvania system and the Auburn system, and is an exposition of the advantages of the former, the principle of which is uninterrupted solitary confinement at labor, while that of the latter is solitary confinement at night, and joint labor by day. A part of the work only is devoted to a comparison of the two systems ; and, before proceeding to this portion of his proposed subject, he engages in a thorough examination of the questions, whence we derive the right of civil punition, what are its due limits, and for what precise purpose we punish ; since, in point of fact, punishment is necessary, and society does possess the right to inflict it.

He first examines the various grounds, which have been assumed, in order to find the source of the right of punishment. The theory of expiation is defective in this, that expiation is a purely moral act, and belongs to the forum of conscience alone. Necessity or expediency, which seeks

for the right of punishment in the effect of the punishment alone, without regard to the offender, affords neither a right to punish, nor a standard of the application of suffering. Somewhat similar to this is the theory of deterring, — establishing examples, — the prevention of criminal action in some by exhibiting to them the suffering which it has brought upon others. This, in the first place, does not answer the question, Whence do we derive the right to punish? Moreover, we have no right to make use of one human being as an instrument simply, to make him suffer solely for the benefit of others. Besides, the theory does not give us a just standard of punishment; because the legislator would be bound to affix the several penalties, not to those crimes which are the most atrocious, but to those which men were most strongly tempted to commit. The theory of special prevention, or the depriving the criminal of the power of committing the same offence a second time, settles no principle and admits of no scale of punishment; because the means of effectual prevention must be always the same, — death or imprisonment for life. Some found the right of punishment in the theory of warning, — in the right which the state has to warn every one, not to disturb its order, by affixing beforehand a penalty to every offence. This, however, begs the question, for, "when we are asked to grant the truth, that the state has a right to warn its citizens, we either understand by warning, simply and strictly warning, or warning with the right of executing the threatened penalty in case of contravention. If we mean the first, we grant nothing, and no right of punishment can be deduced from our concession; if we mean the second, we grant the very thing to be proved, namely, the right of punishing." Besides, it is defective in affording no standard of punishment. The theory which rests the right of punishment upon a civil contract, by which society punishes offences as so many breaches of the contract entered into between it and the individual members composing it, is invalidated, in Dr. Lieber's opinion, by two objections; in the first place, that there is no such contract in point of fact; and, in the second place, if the contract were granted, we have not yet proved the right which the contracting parties had of making it.

Many philanthropists have asserted, that the only legitimate object of punishment, and therefore the only ground on which

we can found the right of punishing, is the correction or reform of the convict. Although the reform of the criminal enters largely into every true penal theory, it is far from affording us the right of punishment. The moral correction of the citizens, as such, is not one of the obligations of the state; if it were, the most insufferable inquisitorial power would be established. Various other objections may be urged against it, on theoretical grounds; and, in practice, it is next to impossible to decide, with any degree of satisfactory probability, whether reform in any given case, is real or pretended. Retaliation, as the sole basis and object of punishment, admits of nearly the same objections to which expiation is liable; and it becomes the more objectionable, the more it approaches to revenge. Retaliation and revenge, as the object of punishment, belong to those early stages of society, when the state has not yet clearly severed itself from the family, and personal wrongs are taken to be family wrongs. From this arises the system of composition, by which offences are estimated in certain rates of money to be paid by the offending to the offended party. The next step in the progress of penal law is to have these compositions assessed by a judge, with power to punish in default of payment. Some distinguished philosophers have maintained, that punishment is merely retribution, and that civil punition is inflicted for the sake of justice, and for no other reason. This opinion rests upon a confusion of sin, or offence against the moral law, with crime, or offence against the state. The theory, moreover, leaves unanswered the question, Why should a man be punished for the sake of justice? The theory, which establishes the right to punish from the principle of self-defence, originally vested in the individual, and subsequently in the state, would lead to the merest expediency; for self-defence, or self-preservation, places all means at our disposal, and leaves it to our own will to make the selection.

Having stated his objections to these various theories and opinions on the nature of punishment, Dr. Lieber proceeds to give his own views upon the subject, considering it under the following heads; What is the nature of punishment? On what grounds rests the punitory power, or whence do we derive penal right? What is the standard of punishment? What is the object of punishment?

The state he defines to be a society founded on right, or a *jural* society, the word *jural* being legitimately formed from the Latin *jus*, as *rural* is from *rus;* and with reference to state, corresponding to the word *religious* with reference to church. *Right* is here taken in its primordial sense, as that which gives the foundation of all single rights. All the relations of the individual to the state must be founded on right, or the idea of the just; and we can do nothing within the sphere of the state, for which we do not first establish the right we may have to do it. The state is by no means to be confounded with society at large. The state is established for the protection of society, and is its necessary manifestation; but it is distinct from it. "Now, if we call right, that which indicates man's relations to the state, or that which is the necessary consequence of his relations, founded on the just, towards others, that which the state is bound to grant him, punishment, is the right between society and the offender, or, however paradoxical it may appear at first glance, the right both of the society and the offender." But to meet this definition, punishment must be at once just and necessary. All idea of the just is founded in equality; and every member of the state must grant to others the right he claims for himself; and, if he interferes with the rightful state of others, he grants them the abstract right to interfere with his. The principle of the law of retaliation, which has its origin in abstract right, passes over into the state; for the state is a society, in which every one individually owes certain duties to every one collectively, and each interference with the rights of the individual is an interference with the state, a wrong inflicted upon it. The law of retaliation was deficient in this point, that it omitted the consideration of the object we have in view in the infliction of evil or suffering; for, though we may have the abstract right, yet if we inflict pain without a good purpose in view, it becomes cruelty; and this establishes the principle, "that though equality, and the idea on which the state is founded, give us the abstract right of retaliation, we can make use of it only so far as it shall be found necessary."

The question, What is the standard of punishment? is closely connected with this; What is the object of punishment? The first object of the state is the protection or security of its members; and this security is twofold, material and intel-

lectual, direct or indirect. Direct security is positive protection against direct wrong; indirect security is that security, which results from the maintenance of that general state of society, without which its ends cannot be obtained. The true standard of punishment, therefore, is the danger, material or intellectual, to society; and the effect the punishment has on society or the punished individual himself. Disproportionate punishments are objectionable on two accounts; because they are unjust, and consequently opposed to the idea of the just, on which the state is founded, and because the effect of the punishment is destroyed.

Reciprocity, on the ground of equality, being the principle of the right of punishment, immorality becomes punishable when and because it interferes with the rights of others. A committed wrong is not only the material wrong done to our neighbour, but the moral wrong of interference with the rights of others. It is on this ground, that the state has a right to punish excessive cruelty to animals; for, though no legal offence against the animal itself can be committed, if the cruelty be committed publicly, it is an offence against the rights of the citizens who see it; and it is no answer to say that the animal belongs to his tormentor, for no man has a right to do as he pleases with his own.

We are aware, that we have given a very imperfect abstract of this portion of Dr. Lieber's pamphlet, which admits, indeed, of very little condensation, it being a close and compact piece of reasoning, which embraces many original and striking views, and deserves and will well repay a diligent study. Having settled certain preliminary and fundamental principles, he proceeds to give a sketch of the various characteristics which sound punishment ought to possess. These we should be glad to transfer to our pages in full, did our limits permit; but we must content ourselves with copying the tabular abstract, which he himself has furnished.

"Punishment, with regard to its principle, ought to be;
I. A sufferance.
II. Just.
III. Striking the offender alone.
With regard to its effect;
IV. It ought to prevent crime,
By warning the community,
By correcting the offender, politically or morally,

By maintaining the moral character of the state.
V. It ought to protect.
With regard to its administration ;
VI. It ought to be certain.
VII. Free from revenge, cruelty.
VIII. Calm.
With regard to its qualities ;
IX. It ought to be graduable,
X. " " accommodable,
XI. " " calculable,
XII. " " uniform.
With regard to its psychologic effect on the offender ;
XIII. It ought not to irritate,
XIV. " to make thoughtful,
XV. " not to provoke,
XVI. " to adapt itself to the individuality of the offender.
With regard to the state ;
XVII. The state has the most sacred duty not to make the convict worse.
XVIII. It has a right to reform.
XIX. It has a duty to do so.
XX. It should endeavour to reunite the offender to society.
XXI. It has a right and a duty to make the convict work.
XXII. It must annihilate all causes of crime, wherever it has a right to act, (within or without the convict.) " — pp. 43,44.

Dr. Lieber next proceeds to examine the various punishments which have been in use among mankind, with a view to ascertain how large a proportion each one contains of the above characteristics of punishment as it ought to be. The following is the list of those he passes under review.

" Apology, or publicly asking pardon. Fine. Ridicule. Censure. Dishonor. Declaration of unworthiness of public confidence. Privation of privileges. Degradation. Distinction in dress. Infamation of the offender. Infamation of his descendants. Pillory. Whipping. Public whipping. Branding. Infliction of pain otherwise than by whipping. Imprisonment. Imprisonment with public labor. Exile. Transportation. Maiming. Death. Death, with additional pains or infamatory procedures." — pp. 44, 45.

For his valuable and judicious observations upon these kinds of punishment, and his candid estimate of their various excellences and defects, we must refer our readers to the pamphlet itself, as we could not copy them entire, without

occupying too much room, and it would be doing injustice to the author, to attempt any condensation of his views, which are already stated with great brevity. The result to which he arrives, is, that there is no form of punishment, which presents so many advantages as imprisonment, attended with the insulation of each prisoner.

The principle being thus established, the next question is, How shall it be put in practice? The advocates of the Pennsylvania system, so called, say that nothing short of actual, material insulation is sufficient; the advocates of the Auburn system, on the other hand, contend, that all the necessary effects of insulation can be obtained by actual separation during night, and joint labor in silence during the day. The remainder of the pamphlet is devoted to a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the Pennsylvania system, of the objections urged against it by the advocates of the Auburn system, and of what are conceived to be the unavoidable disadvantages of the Auburn system. We present to our readers an extract, containing an exposition of the supposed advantages of the Pennsylvania system.

"We conceive uninterrupted solitude and labor of equal importance, for the following reasons;

"1. It prevents effectually contamination, and it alone can effectually prevent it. It allows, therefore, the offender, at any rate, not to grow worse.

"2. It is essentially both a stern and a humane punishment; stern, because solitude is stern in its character and especially so to men, who nearly without exception have spent their lives in boisterous intercourse with fellow criminals; and humane, because it is a privation rather than an infliction. It is mild, and acknowledged as such by the offenders themselves, after the first irksomeness of solitude has passed, especially if they have passed previously through several other prisons or penitentiaries. Whomever of this class I have known, has voluntarily confessed it, while frequently their eyes would flash with resentment when they spoke of penitentiaries founded on other plans. Solitary confinement at labor is decidedly a calm punishment.

"3. It is emphatically graduable and accommodable, as no other species of punishment. The offender, undisturbed by others, or by new inflictions of punishment, receives from solitude just that impression, which his peculiar case or disposition calls for or is capable of.

"4. Advice and exhortation can be adapted to each single case in no other punishment, so precisely and justly like moral medicine, as in solitary confinement. The religious adviser, assistant, and comforter can enter the solitary cell at any time; and, as all religious conversations with a convict must have much of the character of a confession, the undisturbed cell, overheard by no one, is the very place for this converse. In no other penitentiaries can this religious instruction be given so effectually.

"5. Solitude is the weightiest moral agent to make the thoughtless thoughtful, — to reflect, and the only one sufficiently powerful for the criminally thoughtless. Solitude has been sought by the wisest and best of mankind, to prepare themselves for great moral tasks; it is the only means to bring the offender to a more rational course. Labor united with solitude, gives steadiness to the thought, and makes it possible to support solitude with ease for those who have not been accustomed to abstract reflection before.

"6. It is the only punishment known, which does not irritate anew, does not challenge opposition in mind or body; for it is the only punishment which can dispense with the whip or other means of coercing to obedience, because it takes away the opportunity of offending anew, with the exception of such offences as destroying instruments or materials, for which again the more negative disciplinary means of withholding labor or diminishing rations are sufficient.

"7. It makes the lonely prisoner love labor as faithfully as the dearest companion, — a companion who will be with him for life.

"8. It does not deaden shame by exposure; on the contrary, it shames many into repentance by its absence of all harshness, as I frequently have found. It does not inflict on those, who have a strong sense of shame, the additional punishment of exposure.

"9. It does not expose the convict to acquaintance, even by night, with other criminals, who out of the prison form a very compact fraternity, to escape from the clutches of which forms the most difficult obstacle in the way of resuming an honest life. The history of innumerable convicts proves this. Whenever I have asked recommitted convicts why, simply on the score of worldly prudence, they had not abstained from a second crime, they would invariably answer, 'You do not know these things;' a man leaving the prison, very often thinks, 'You shall not catch me again.' He begins to work, when old acquaintances will come, induce one to drink and talk, and all will end by agreeing upon a new job. If one re-

sists, he is ridiculed, or threatened with exposure.' No tiger's fang is so firmly buried in his victim's flesh, as that of criminal acquaintance in the life of an offender.

"10. It contradicts for the first time, by irresistible fact, the convicts in their belief that society is at war with them, in which they please themselves so much, that frequently they argue as if they were the hunted, the pursued, the injured.

"11. The punishment has, therefore, what I have called an elevating character. It touches the man in the convict, not the brute. The convict sees himself treated as one on whom far different things than stripes can have an effect.

"12. It is, perhaps, the only punishment which allows us to select men for superintendents of prisons in whom sternness does not overbalance kindness.

"13. It trains the convict in cleanliness, and paying attention to the neatness of his dwelling; it imparts an attention to the room, which becomes the incipient stage of love of home, with those who have lived in slouchy disregard of it. It is an old English saying, full of meaning, 'Cleanliness is next to godliness.' A strictly cleanly man of the laboring classes will never be so much exposed to offend against the laws, as a disorderly, dirty person. Cleanliness, a highly important ingredient of national civilization, is equally such in political reform.

"14. All the reasons given in favor of the Pennsylvania plan assume still higher importance with the youthful or first offenders, because their minds are yet more ready to receive good impressions, and they have not yet formed that vast association with criminals of older standing. I was once present when a convict was brought to be entered in the Philadelphia Penitentiary. His age, — he was past forty, and the peculiar manner with which he spoke of his mode of life, which cannot be designated precisely as frivolity, but rather professional indifference, attracted my attention. He had been seventeen years of his life in prison, never before in a penitentiary on the Pennsylvania plan; and I chose him as an experiment to observe the effect of solitary confinement on an old offender, who 'had lived in various lines, but always in that trade,' as his words were. I cannot give here an extract of my journal, respecting him, but will merely mention that John, — this was his name, — after having treated lightly the confinement, and not having changed for a long time to speak with frankness indeed, but also with perfect unconcern of his 'trade,' and the various lines in which the different nations excel, one day said to me of his own accord, and with more gravity than I had been accustomed to observe with him; 'Sir, what will be-

come of me, I don't know. To be sure, I now think it foolish enough to live as I have done ; but I do not know how it will be, when I get out. I am accustomed to nothing else. But, Sir, had they put me here when I committed my first offence, I know for certain I should not be here now.'

" 15. It appears to me a great advantage of the Pennsylvania system, that the prisoner is not prevented, by false shame, from lending his ear to better counsel, and gradually changing for the better. Wherever a number of men live together in close community under some superiors, a degree of fear exists of being considered by their comrades as a peculiar favorite of those placed over them, on account of stricter compliance with the respective laws and rules. We find this in schools, colleges, among soldiers, sailors, &c. The individual does not wish to be suspected of using unfair means, or being an informer, in order to obtain this favor ; and this well founded feeling leads generally to the excess I have alluded to. In a community, however, in which a ready compliance with the rules of the superiors becomes, in a manner, a reproach to the others, a joining of the opposite party as it were, a declaration of the intention to abandon in future those who, until then, have been associates, it requires far more resolution and moral character to brave the sneers of former comrades, and, perhaps, own false shame of declaring one's self ready to surrender. The apprehension of a nickname is one of the most powerful agents in any community ; but how easily is such a nickname, a taunt, a word of contempt, passed on in the lock-step of the Auburn system. All this difficulty is happily removed in our system ; no false shame awaits the convict when he shows the first signs of sorrow, when he utters his first acknowledgment of guilt or folly; at least no shame of appearing weak before comrades in guilt, which is far more powerful than that of surrendering to those whom the prisoner almost always allows to be better, with the same readiness with which a prostitute will always speak of other women as virtuous ones.

" 16. The convict thinks in kindness of his keepers, and the memory of the penitentiary is not a galling sore, when he has left it, and chooses to live by his labor.

" 17. This system depends less upon the skill of the officers, or a long apprenticeship, than the Auburn system, in order to make it answer at all. The Pennsylvania system, therefore, is easier to be introduced.

" 18. It is sufficient with our race and at the stage of civilization we are now in, and no more, which is what a punishment ought to be. This point, which by experience alone, i. e. by close and circumspect observation of reality, not by hasty

numbers and rash conclusions, can be decided, appears so to us; and none of us has seen reason as yet to change his opinion.

"19. Finally, it offers the greatest security, being in this superior to all other species of imprisonment."—pp. 62–67.

The disadvantages of the above system are stated to be, not of a moral or essential character, but merely accidental, and to consist principally in the greater expense of building the prison, and in the fact that many profitable species of labor cannot be pursued, because they cannot be carried on within doors, or because they require joint labor; and prisons are, obviously, not erected to make money, but to punish, and if possible to reform by punishment, and no pecuniary considerations should be allowed to interfere with this purpose.

The objections made by those who prefer the Auburn system, are stated to be comprehended under the following heads; that we have no right to condemn a human being to uninterrupted solitude, that it is a violation of the law of God, that solitude drives men to despair, and that the Sabbath cannot be properly celebrated. Dr. Lieber meets these several objections with great firmness, and controverts the positions of his opponents with much force of argument, clothed in vigorous and occasionally eloquent language. His remarks in reply to the last charge are deserving of particular attention.

The concluding pages of the pamphlet are occupied with a statement of objections to the Auburn system. The friends of uninterrupted confinement at labor, while they acknowledge the Auburn system to be a great improvement upon the former method of imprisonment, are nevertheless opposed to it on the following grounds. Because, while it admits that insulation is the fundamental principle of all sound discipline, it does not carry it out, but stops short of its true effect. Because it cannot be maintained without personal violence and the constant use of the whip. Because the inmates become known to each other, which knowledge, in after life, may be so employed as to defeat the efforts made by the discharged convict to lead a good life. Because the community ought to have confidence in a prison, which can only be maintained by free access to it; and the allowing of persons to come and gaze freely at the prisoners, when met together

for labor, is objectionable ; and, finally because, if the principle of cheapness be maintained, it will be impossible to give to the cells on the Auburn plan, those dimensions, and that character, which they should have. These various objections are earnestly and eloquently supported, and, in the course of his remarks, many curious facts are stated, which were learned by Dr. Lieber from the lips of convicts themselves. The summary of his objections to the Auburn system, is stated in the following paragraph ;

"We think, then, that the Auburn system does not effect what it strives to effect ; does not afford an accommodable punishment ; does not sufficiently prevent the growing worse of the convict; does not obtain the highest effect with the smallest means ; requires physical violence to be maintained, and, therefore, irritates anew; is not well calculated for that religious or intellectual instruction which the criminal requires; does not prevent entirely contamination, and does not calm the prisoner; while it offers no other advantage than that of saving money in the first outlay, which, we think, is vastly overbalanced by the steady, sure, mild, yet effective mode of the Pennsylvania system, and therefore believe the latter to be greatly preferable." — pp. 89, 90.

It has been our object, in the foregoing remarks, to give merely an abstract of the contents of Dr. Lieber's pamphlet, without going into any speculations of our own ; and we are sensible how little justice our imperfect analysis does to its sterling merits. To all persons who are interested in the great questions of prison discipline and penal law, we recommend its diligent perusal. It is the production of one, who has thought deeply and carefully upon these subjects, and advanced nothing rashly or crudely, and is enriched with those facts and observations, which are the results of practical knowledge and personal experience, and is written in a vigorous English style, which betrays the foreign origin of its author, only by an occasional stiffness of expression, and not by any violations of idiom. Of course, many will reject his conclusions upon the much controverted subject of the comparative merits of the two systems ; but all candid minds must unite in assigning a high value to his remarks upon the nature and ends of punishment in general, which occupy rather more than half of the whole pamphlet. Whoever, hereafter, shall write upon any of the subjects discussed in this work, with-

out first giving it a careful examination, must be considered as having undertaken a task, for which he had not yet entirely qualified himself.

Art. VII. — *Probus, or Rome in the Third Century. In Letters of Lucius M. Piso, from Rome, to Fausta, the Daughter of Gracchus, at Palmyra.* New York: C. S. Francis. Boston: Joseph H. Francis. 12mo. 2 vols.

The "Letters from Palmyra," of which the present work is the sequel, is one of the most brilliant additions to American literature. To have fallen on a subject of such admirable capabilities, and unappropriated by previous seekers after attractive themes for works of fiction, was a piece of rare good fortune, in an age of such literary abundance as the present; to have treated it in a manner fully equal to its demands on the imagination required high powers, persevering labor, and the keenest perception. All this was done in that beautiful work.

But we have already given our opinion of its merits, at a length, which forbids us now to indulge in further commendation.* The subject of the present work, is one of a deeper moral interest, but of less variety in the incidents, and less picturesqueness in the coloring. In its general outlines, the subject has also been more or less successfully treated, by other authors. The persecutions of the early Christians, under the Roman Emperors, have been described by the pens of both historians and novelists; their sufferings, their heroic endurance, and their purity of life, have become familiar to all classes of readers. So far, then, our author has entered upon already trodden ground. But in two or three important particulars, he has given us highly original pictures. Others have delineated the early Christians too much according to their own peculiar, and sectarian opinion. In this work, the primitive form and simplicity of our religion are kept steadily in view. Others have made all Christians nearly alike, as if their religion had an extraordinary power of destroying individuality of character, and of

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLV. pp. 390 et seq.

fusing all the passions, hopes, weaknesses, and fears of multitudes into one indistinguishable mass of piety and constancy ; as if all the elements of character, like the items of personal property, had been thrown into one common stock. But this disregard of the principles of human nature, and its ever-varying phenomena, has been carefully avoided by the author of Probus. His Christian characters are as firmly and distinctly drawn as his Pagan. Each man is affected, by the operations of the Christian faith, exactly according to the original tendencies of his character. He is as much a distinct individual after his conversion as before ; he acts out his own nature in the one case as much as in the other. They all have their several excellences, virtues, and weaknesses, — the necessary condition of humanity. But they are all, at the same time, under a more exalting influence, guided by a steadier light, sustained by a more satisfying hope, than Pagan mythology and philosophy had ever conceived. Thus the extravagant representations of other writers, who have used early Christianity as a means of exciting interest, nowhere occur in "Probus" ; while all the calm strength of the sincere disciple, and the burning zeal of enthusiastic natures, are most admirably exhibited.

A large part of the work is taken up with discussions of the evidences of Christianity, its claims to the love of men, and its effects upon their condition and character. This trait of the work naturally grows out of the circumstances of the times in which the scene is laid. The story runs through the last years of the reign of Aurelian. The Emperor has become corrupted by the possession of power ; his superstitions have been roused by the ferocious priest, Fronto, whose influence over his mind has become gradually more complete and more deadly ; the violent passions of his nature, which have heretofore been somewhat held in check, are stimulated to acts of fury and outrage. A storm of persecution is gradually gathering over the Christian churches, and every power of argument and persuasion is called into activity for the defence of their menaced religion. Thus the grounds of their faith are reviewed and scrutinized ; objections to it answered ; and its moral influence set forth with a clearness, and convincing power, with a simplicity and calmness of statement, which might be well imitated in works of a professedly religious character. These parts of the

work will be less interesting to those who read for amusement, than the gorgeous scenes and stirring adventures, that fill the "Letters from Palmyra"; but they are strictly in keeping with the story and the times; and they have a permanent value, as being the reflections of a profoundly thoughtful mind upon subjects of the most momentous import.

The leading Christian characters Probus, Felix, and Macer, are finely discriminated from each other, and admirably executed, whether considered as portraits of individuals or as representatives of classes. Probus is the calm and judicious Christian; ready to endure any thing, if called so to endure by his sense of duty, but never rashly provoking danger; earnestly preaching Christian truth, but never uttering harsh denunciations; leading a life of spotless purity, and charitably construing the faults and follies of others. Felix loves Christianity, but loves the shows and pomps of the world nearly as well. Luxury and parade have for him attractions, which he cannot resist. He is, therefore, showy, pompous, and luxurious, but not depraved; presenting just that mixture of regard for religion, particularly its outward observances, and of the love of worldly indulgences, which we may see at the present day, in a portion of the members of more than one established church. Macer, on the contrary, is a zealous enthusiast, not merely willing to endure the sufferings of martyrdom, but earnestly courting its honors. Human weakness modifies his Christian character, just as it modifies that of Felix; but the effect is shown in a different manner. In the one, it is a love of worldly honor to which vanity aspires; in the other, a love of honor at the hands of the church, and in the memory of all coming times. These characters are, and are meant to be, inferior to the first, to Probus, who is an example of almost faultless, yet quite attainable excellence, under Christian influences. He would have been a Socrates in ancient Pagan times; he would have been the cheerful, eloquent, and consistent pastor of modern Christendom; performing his duties calmly, and presenting in his own life all that is amiable and beautiful in the character of the Christian gentleman.

The style of these works cannot be too highly commended. It is easy, graceful, and pure, — varying with the subject, and happily expressive of all its changes. In narrative, it is simple and unadorned. In description of external

scenery it becomes ornate, and sometimes highly colored. In presenting scenes, which involve human actions and passions, it is warm, brilliant, and animated. The plot is carried on amidst the antiquities and innumerable historical associations of the Eternal City; all the proprieties of the time, and the august place, are observed, and indicated, in the language, with accurate knowledge and exquisite taste. It is a great excellence in fictitious composition, to make the reader *see* the things described; but, in order to do this, the writer must first see himself, at least in imagination. Goethe relates of himself, that he was accustomed to make sketches with a pencil, of whatever scenes struck his eye in an artistical light, while he was journeying; and these sketches were used, in the description of scenes, in his novels and poems. Hence the wonderful picturesqueness and truth of his delineations of nature. This is precisely the leading excellence of the descriptive parts in both of our author's works. They seem to be realities reduced to writing; as if he had actually drawn them first with a pencil, and, from the pictures thus accurately stamped upon his memory, traced in clear and appropriate words, the scenes amidst which his plot is carried on. This remark applies as well to the architectural scenes as to the natural.

We select as a specimen the dedication of the temple of the Sun.

"At the appointed hour we were at the palace of Aurelian, on the Palatine, where a procession, pompous as art and rank and numbers could make it, was formed, to move thence by a winding and distant route to the temple, near the foot of the Quirinal. Julia repaired with Portia to a place of observation near the temple, — I to the palace, to join the company of the Emperor. Of the gorgeous magnificence of the procession, I shall tell you nothing. It was in extent and variety of pomp, and costliness of decoration, a copy of that of the late triumph, and went even beyond the captivating splendor of the example. Roman music, — which is not that of Palmyra, — lent such charms as it could, to our passage through the streets to the temple, from a thousand performers.

"As we drew near to the lofty fabric, I thought that no scene of such various beauty and magnificence had ever met my eye. The temple itself is a work of unrivalled art. In size it surpasses any other building of the same kind in Rome, and for the excellence of workmanship and purity of design,

although it may fall below the standard of Hadrian's age, yet, for a certain air of grandeur and luxuriance of invention in its details, and lavish profusion of embellishment in gold and silver, no temple or other edifice of any preceding age ever perhaps resembled it. Its order is the Corinthian, of the Roman form, and the entire building is surrounded by its slender columns, each composed of a single piece of marble. Upon the front is wrought Apollo surrounded by the Hours. The western extremity is approached by a flight of steps of the same breadth as the temple itself. At the eastern, there extends beyond the walls, to a distance equal to the length of the building, a marble platform, upon which stands the altar of sacrifice, and which is ascended by various flights of steps, some little more than a gently rising plain, up which the beasts are led that are destined to the altar.

"When this vast extent of wall and column of the most dazzling brightness came into view, everywhere covered, together with the surrounding temples, palaces, and theatres, with a dense mass of human beings, of all climes and regions, dressed out in their richest attire, — music from innumerable instruments filling the heavens with harmony, — shouts of the proud and excited populace, every few moments and from different points, as Aurelian advanced, shaking the air with their thrilling din, — the neighing of horses, the frequent blasts of the trumpet, — the whole made more solemnly imposing by the vast masses of cloud which swept over the sky, now suddenly unveiling and again eclipsing the sun, the great god of this idolatry, and from which few could withdraw their gaze ; — when at once this all broke upon my eye and ear, I was like a child, who before had never seen aught but his own village, and his own rural temple, in the effect wrought upon me, and the passiveness with which I abandoned myself to the sway of the senses. Not one there was more ravished by the outward circumstance and show. I thought of Rome's thousand years, of her power, her greatness, and universal empire, and for a moment my step was not less proud than that of Aurelian. But after that moment, — when the senses had had their fill, when the eye had seen the glory, and the ear had fed upon the harmony and the praise, then I thought and felt very differently ; sorrow and compassion for these gay multitudes were at my heart ; prophetic forebodings of disaster, danger, and ruin to those to whose sacred cause I had linked myself, made my tongue to falter in its speech and my limbs to tremble. I thought that the superstition that was upheld by the wealth and the power, whose manifestations were before me, had its roots in the very centre of the earth, — far too

deep down for a few like myself ever to reach them. I was like one whose last hope of life and escape is suddenly struck away.

"I was roused from these meditations by our arrival at the eastern front of the temple. Between the two central columns, on a throne of gold and ivory, sat the Emperor of the world, surrounded by the senate, the colleges of augurs and haruspices, and by the priests of the various temples of the capital, all in their peculiar costume. Then Fronto, the priest of the temple, when the crier had proclaimed that the hour of worship and sacrifice had come, and had commanded silence to be observed, — standing at the altar, glittering in his white and golden robes, like a messenger of light, — bared his head, and, lifting his face up toward the sun, offered in clear and sounding tones the prayer of dedication." — Vol. I. pp. 96 – 99.

The story proceeds with the gradual irritation of the Emperor's mind against the Christians, by the machinations of Fronto. The persecutions commence, and are carried on with cruel vigor, even to the shedding of blood. For a time, Piso and his friends are shielded by their high rank and the Emperor's protection, from the dangers in which the other Christians were involved ; but, after his departure on some distant warlike expedition, the suppression of the Christian heresy is intrusted to the hands of Fronto, who takes immediate measures to arrest Piso and his wife, and prepares to go to extremities. They are brought before the tribunal, and just as the torture is to be applied, a commotion in the streets puts a stop to the proceedings, and the news is brought of Aurelian's assassination by officers in his army. Under his successor the persecution ceases, and here the narrative comes to an appropriate conclusion. The book leaves an impression of completeness, just proportion, and admirable distribution of parts, which are found in perfection only in the works of great masters.

ART. VIII. — *Moral Views of Commerce, Society, and Politics, in Twelve Discourses.* By ORVILLE DEWEY. New York : David Felt & Company. 12mo. pp. 300.

THE subjects treated in this volume are the following ; the Moral Laws of Trade ; the Moral Law of Contracts ; the Uses of Labor, and a Passion for a Fortune ; the Moral

Limits of Accumulation; the Natural and Artificial Relations of Society; the Moral Evils, to which American Society is exposed; Associations; Social Ambition; the Place which Education and Religion must have in the Improvement of Society; War; Political Morality; and the Blessing of Freedom.

A glance at this list shows the subjects to be out of the usual range of pulpit discussion. Adverting to this fact in his Preface, Mr. Dewey says;

"The question then is, What is the proper range of the pulpit? What is the appropriate business of preaching? The answer is plain; To address the public mind on its moral and religious duties and dangers. But what are its duties and dangers, and where are they to be found? Are they not to be found wherever men are acting their part in life? Are human responsibility and exposure limited to any one sphere of action, to the church or to the domestic circle, or to the range of the gross and sensual passions? Are not men daily making shipwreck of their consciences in trade and politics? And wheresoever conscience goes to work out its perilous problem, shall not the preacher follow it? It is not very material, whether a man's integrity forsakes him at the polls in an election, or at the board of merchandise, or at the house of rioting, or the gates whose way leadeth to destruction. Outwardly it may be different, but inwardly it is the same. In either case, the fall of the victim is the most deplorable of all things on earth; and most fit, therefore, for the consideration of the pulpit. I must confess, I cannot understand by what process of enlightened reasoning and conscience, the preacher can come to the conclusion, that there are wide regions of moral action and peril around him, into which he may not enter, because such unusual words as, Commerce, Society, Politics, are written over the threshold." — pp. vi. vii.

We heartily assent to the justness of these remarks. If preaching is to do any considerable good, it must be through a reference and application to the circumstances of condition, and the habits of thinking and feeling, of the minds which it addresses. Like other speech, it will make an impression in some degree proportioned to the attention and interest with which it is met; and a speaker is sure of being heedfully listened to, who makes intelligent suggestions upon subjects, which they whom he addresses have to consider from day to day. If the business of preaching is to keep men from grow-

ing worse, and help them to grow better, nothing can be more undeniably its proper sphere, — however different the view, which from any cause may have been taken of it, — than the consideration of those dangers and duties which specially concern those whom it undertakes to improve.

Certainly, we would by no means have a preacher always treating rules of conduct belonging to peculiar circumstances of social relation, in which he understands his hearers to be placed ; or even rules of conduct, of any kind. His task is by no means so limited, nor is the inculcation of special rules so much as its chief office. But, with his expositions of the relation of the human being to the divine being, and to the eternal world, and his more general enforcements of the obligation of the principle and spirit of obedience, we confess, that we would have him blend largely his counsels, cautions, and encouragements, having reference to the particular wants of individual consciences. If you would help a man to be a good Christian, in short, show him what are the duties of that character in the particular place in society which he fills, and how, from any circumstances of that condition, he is exposed to the danger of becoming otherwise. Help him to some guidance in his daily perplexities ; some insight into his daily temptations ; some intelligent firmness for his daily struggles.

Preaching in this country needs to be a somewhat different thing from what it has been elsewhere ; and the American preacher should beware of keeping himself too closely to the foreign models of his art. Society, among us, is undoubtedly in some respects in an unsettled condition ; and, in many more, in an extremely novel one. One whole important department of virtuous or vicious action is here opened to every citizen, with which the mass of other communities have nothing to do. Every citizen here is, in a material sense, a public man ; needing, therefore, for his own and the common good, to be acquainted with the obligations of public virtue. In the different relations which a condition of political equality brings about, the duties of social intercourse take a new modification. And, though it might not be safe to trace the intenseness of the commercial spirit among us to any peculiarity of our institutions, yet, since that spirit, in that excited degree, is, from whatever cause, a marked characteristic of our society, it makes a loud call for appropriate moral treatment.

We hold, therefore, that the American preacher is executing his office suitably, profitably, and honorably, when he finds a place in his public instructions, for such as relate to obligations and dangers especially belonging to the place and time. We would not, of course, have every preacher undertake such a task as that, which Mr. Dewey has so well performed. Questions of casuistry, of the kind of some which he has treated, demand a grasp of mind by no means possessed by every useful and respectable clergyman. A style of animadversion, which he has sometimes used, could only be borne out by much knowledge of mankind, skill and force in the methods of address, and acknowledged weight of character. And not a few of his speculations on the aspects of society, and the tendencies of opinions and institutions, are of a sort to be beyond the capacity of any, who, in addition to high mental endowments, had not enjoyed advantages for extended observation upon life. Not all, or great part, of what he has done could be done, or should be attempted, by many ministers of religion, who yet fill their place with credit and dignity. But it must be owned, that a religious congregation is greatly privileged, which may command the fruits of the meditation of a profound and original mind upon practical questions of such high interest, which only such a mind is competent to treat; and Mr. Dewey has made the public his debtor by extending to them the benefit of his reflections in this volume.

Mr. Dewey's earlier works, particularly his previous volume of Sermons, and his account of a tour in Europe, under the title of "The Old World and the New," are so well known to the American reading community, that it would be scarcely worth while, — even had we space for it, which we have not, — to go into any consideration of the excellences and defects of his genius and manner. It would, no doubt, be easy to find fault with some peculiarities. In the Sermons, there is a personal reference, under such forms of expression as "I persuade myself," "I think," "I deny," which is perhaps altogether too frequent to be consistent with good taste; and there is often a cumbrous, careless, and colloquial construction of sentences, which offends the cool reader, however, in the excitement of listening, it might pass unobserved. But it is ill complaining of such

peccadillos as these, when one sees a full and earnest mind pouring itself out in forms of utterance, which to itself are the most natural and true. Perhaps, even if we could correct them, we ought not to wish it; for it may well be, that a man's habits of thought and of expression shall so belong to each other, that, in altering what does not please us in the latter, we should part with that in the former, which we could hardly consent to lose. At all events, such blemishes, in the writings of Mr. Dewey, are relieved by a fervor and copiousness of thought, and, in the happiest passages, by a glow, beauty, and vigor of expression, which forbid them to impair the reader's satisfaction, to any extent worth considering. The views which he presents, on subjects so various, and singly of such wide relations, it is to be supposed will be found, in different places, more or less striking and weighty. But this is apparent throughout, that he is speaking his own observations and convictions; that he is uttering himself; that, however he may have been indebted to books for excitements and illustrations, he owes to them none of his processes of inquiry, and none of his conclusions. Often his views, while they are novel, are sagacious and satisfactory; his appeals are often strongly exciting. But this charm is never absent from what he writes, that it is evidently fresh from the author's own mind. And, as to style, there is often a grace and gorgeousness, and often a condensed force of diction, which make ample amends for the somewhat characteristic infelicities, to which we have referred.

It would require an ethical treatise to follow Mr. Dewey in a discussion of the questions which he has so ably handled. We are free to say, that the first four discourses, relating to the objects and the rules of trade, are those from which we have derived the least satisfaction. In particular, we do not find the light, which we seek, shed upon the exceedingly critical question of the degree to which one of the parties in a contract of sale may honestly avail himself of the ignorance of the other. The principle, which lies at the basis of a solution of this problem is plain enough; viz. that in a fair contract one party cannot take an advantage which he does not understand that the other party expects him to take, if he can. But, when the conscience of one party is to dictate to him what view is taken by the other of the implied conditions of a bargain, there is of course room for an extremely lati-

tudinarian construction of this principle. When, endeavouring to arrive at something more definite, Mr. Dewey maintains, that the market price of an article is to be taken for its just price, we fear that his scheme is liable to this objection among others, that, since the market price is itself the result of single bargains, it cannot be made to serve for their rule; and when, premising that "the case of general information and opinion which it is lawful to use," is to "be separated from the case of particular knowledge," he affirms, that a buyer or seller is bound to avow what he *knows*, but not what he *believes*, of the article in which he proposes to traffic, after all the ingenuity and extent of view with which Mr. Dewey has defended his theory, we remain at a loss for some principle by which a difference in the degree of conviction in the trafficker's mind, respecting a material fact, shall make all the difference between a moral right and wrong in concealing that conviction.

Though a fast friend to our political institutions, Mr. Dewey uses no reserve in the castigation of what he conceives to be some of their unfortunate influences. In his "Discourse on the Moral Exposures of American Society," having remarked, that "every man in this country is dependent for his position upon public opinion," he proceeds in the following eloquent strain of expostulation against a demoralizing tendency of this state of things.

"The greatest of all dangers here, as I conceive, is that of general pusillanimity, of moral cowardice, of losing a proper and manly independence of character. I think that I see something of this in our very manners, in the hesitation, the indirectness, the cautious and circuitous modes of speech, the eye asking assent before the tongue can finish its sentence. I think, that, in other countries, you oftener meet with men, who stand manfully and boldly up, and deliver their opinion without asking or caring what you or others think about it. It may, sometimes, be rough and harsh; but, at any rate, it is independent. Observe, too, in how many relations, political, religious, and social, a man is liable to find bondage instead of freedom. If he wants office, he must attach himself to a party, and then his eyes must be sealed in blindness, and his lips in silence, towards all the faults of his party. He *may* have his eyes open, and he may see much to condemn, but he must *say* nothing. If he edits a newspaper, his choice is often between bondage and beggary. That may actually be the choice,

though he does not know it. He may be so complete a slave, that he does not feel the chain. His passions may be so enlisted in the cause of his party, as to blind his discrimination, and destroy all comprehension and capability of independence. So it may be with the religious partisan. He knows, perhaps, that there are errors in his adopted creed, faults in his sect, fanaticism and extravagance in some of its measures. See if you get him to speak of them. See if you can get him to breathe a whisper of doubt. No, he is always believing. He has a convenient phrase that covers up all difficulties in his creed. He believes it "for *substance* of doctrine." Or, if he is a layman, perhaps he does not believe it at all. What, then, is his conclusion? Why, he has friends who do believe it; and he does not wish to offend them. And so he goes on, listening to what he does not believe; outwardly acquiescing, inwardly remonstrating; the slave of fear or fashion, never daring, not once in his life daring, to speak out and openly the thought that is in him. Nay, he sees men suffering under the weight of public reprobation, for the open espousal of the very opinions *he* holds, and he has never the generosity or manliness to say, '*I* think so too.' Nay, more; by the course he pursues he is made to cast his stone, or he holds it in his hand, at least, and lets another arm apply the force necessary to cast it, at the very men, who are suffering a sort of martyrdom *for his own faith!*

"I am not now advocating any particular opinions. I am only advocating a manly freedom in the expression of those opinions which a man does entertain. And if those opinions are unpopular, I hold, that, in this country, there is so much the more need of an open and independent expression of them. Look at the case most seriously, I beseech you. What is ever to correct the faults of society, if nobody lifts his voice against them; if everybody goes on openly doing what everybody privately complains of; if all shrink behind the faint-hearted apology, that it would be over-bold in them to attempt any reform? What is to rebuke political time-serving, religious fanaticism, or social folly, if no one has the independence to protest against them? Look at it in a larger view. What barrier is there against the universal despotism of public opinion in this country, but individual freedom? Who is to stand up against it here, but the possessor of that lofty independence? There is no king, no sultan, no noble, no privileged class; nobody else, to stand against it. If you yield this point, if you are for ever making compromises, if all men do this, if the entire policy of private life here, is to escape opposition and reproach, every thing will be swept beneath

the popular wave. There will be no individuality, no hardihood, no high and stern resolve, no self-subsistence, no fearless dignity, no glorious manhood of mind, left among us. The holy heritage of our fathers' virtues will be trodden under foot by their unworthy children. *They* feared not to stand up against kings and nobles, and parliament and people. Better did they account it, that their lonely bark should sweep the wide sea in freedom, — happier were they, when their sail swelled to the storm of winter, than to be slaves in palaces of ease. Sweeter to their ear was the music of the gale, that shrieked in their broken cordage, than the voice at home that said, "Submit, and you shall have rest." And, when they reached this wild shore, and built their altar, and knelt upon the frozen snow and the flinty rock to worship, they built that altar to freedom, to individual freedom, to freedom of conscience and opinion ; and their noble prayer was, that their children might be thus free. Let their sons remember the prayer of their extremity, and the great bequest which their magnanimity has left us. Let them beware how they become entangled again in the yoke of bondage. Let the ministers at God's altar, let the guardians of the press, let all sober and thinking men, speak the thought that is in them. It is better to speak honest *error* than to suppress conscious truth. Smothered error is more dangerous than that which flames and burns out. But do I speak of danger ? I know of but one thing safe in the universe, and that is truth. And I know of but one way to truth for an individual mind, and that is, unfettered thought. And I know but one path for the multitude to truth, and that is, thought, freely expressed. Make of truth itself an altar of slavery, and guard it about with a mysterious shrine ; bind thought as a victim upon it ; and let the passions of the prejudiced multitude minister fuel ; and you sacrifice upon that accursed altar the hopes of the world ! " — pp. 164 – 167.

Mr. Dewey is a discriminating republican.

" I maintain, that our democratic principle is not that the people are always right. It is this rather ; that, although the people may sometimes be wrong, yet that they are not so likely to be wrong and to do wrong, as irresponsible, hereditary magistrates and legislators ; that it is safer to trust the many with the keeping of their own interests, than it is to trust the few to keep those interests for them. The people are *not* always right ; they are often wrong. They must be so, from the very magnitude, difficulty, and complication of the questions that are submitted to them. I am amazed, that thinking men, conver-

sant with these questions, should address such gross flattery and monstrous absurdity to the people, as to be constantly telling them, that *they* will put all these questions right at the ballot-box. And I am no less amazed, that a sensible people should suffer such folly to be spoken to them. Is it possible that the people believe it? Is it possible that the majority itself of any people can be so infatuated as to hold, that, in virtue of its being a majority, it is always right? Alas! for truth, if it is to depend on votes! *Has* the majority always been right in religion or in philosophy? But the science of politics involves questions no less intricate and difficult. And on these questions, there are grave and solemn decisions to be made by the people; great State problems are submitted to them; such, for instance, as concerning internal improvements, the tariff, the currency, banking, and the nicest points of construction; which cost even the wisest men much study; and what the people require, for the solution of these questions, is *not* rash haste, boastful confidence, furious anger, and mad strife, but sobriety, calmness, modesty, — qualities, indeed, that would go far to abate the violence of our parties, and to hush the brawls of our elections. I do not deny, that questions of deep national concern may justly awaken great zeal and earnestness; but I do deny, that the public mind should be bolstered up with the pride of supposing itself to possess any complete, much less, any suddenly acquired knowledge of them. I am willing to take my fellow-citizens for my governors, with all their errors; I prefer their will, legally signified, to any other government; but to say or imply, that they do not err, and often err, is a doctrine alike preposterous in general theory, and pernicious in its effects upon themselves." — pp. 282 – 284.

But if his attachment to popular institutions is discriminating, it is not the less ardent and true.

"I should not exhaust the subject, even in this most general view of it, if I did not add one further consideration in behalf of freedom; a consideration that is higher and stronger than any reason; I mean the *intrinsic desirableness* of this condition to every human being. In this respect, freedom is like virtue, like happiness; we value it for its own sake. God has stamped upon our very humanity this impress of freedom. It is the unchartered prerogative of human nature. A soul ceases to be a soul, in proportion as it ceases to be free. Strip it of this, and you strip it of one of its essential and characteristic attributes. It is this, that draws the footsteps of the wild Indian to his wide and boundless desert-paths, and makes him

prefer them to the gay saloons and soft carpets of sumptuous palaces. It is this that makes it so difficult to bring him within the pale of artificial civilization. Our roving tribes are perishing, — a sad and solemn sacrifice upon the altar of their wild freedom. They come among us, and look with childish wonder upon the perfection of our arts, and the splendor of our habitations ; they submit with ennui and weariness, for a few days, to our burdensome forms and restraints ; and then turn their faces to their forest homes, and resolve to push those homes onward till they sink in the Pacific waves, rather than not be free.

" It is thus that every people is attached to its country, just in proportion as it is free. No matter if that country be in the rocky fastnesses of Switzerland, amidst the snows of Tartary, or on the most barren and lonely island shore ; no matter if that country be so poor, as to force away its children to other and richer lands, for employment and sustenance ; yet, when the songs of those free homes chance to fall upon the exile's ear, no soft and ravishing airs that wait upon the timid feastings of Asiatic opulence, ever thrilled the heart with such mingled rapture and agony, as those simple tones. Sad mementoes might they be of poverty and want, and toil ; yet it was enough that they were mementoes of happy freedom. And more than once has it been necessary to forbid by military orders, in the armies of the Swiss mercenaries, the singing of their native songs.

" And such an attachment, do I believe, is found in our own people, to their native country. It is the country of the free ; and that single consideration compensates for the want of many advantages, which other countries possess over us. And glad am I, that it opens wide its hospitable gates to many a noble but persecuted citizen, from the dungeons of Austria and Italy, and the imprisoning castles and citadels of Poland. Here may they find rest, as they surely find sympathy, though it is saddened with many bitter remembrances !

" Yes, let me be free ; let me go and come at my own will; let me do business and make journeys, without a vexatious police or insolent soldiery to watch my steps ; let me think, and do, and speak, what I please, subject to no limit but that which is set by the common weal ; subject to no law but that which conscience binds upon me ; and I will bless my country, and love its most rugged rocks and its most barren soil.

" I have seen my countrymen, and have been with them a fellow wanderer, in other lands ; and little did I see or feel to warrant the apprehension, sometimes expressed, that foreign travel would weaken our patriotic attachments. One sigh for

home, — home, arose from all hearts. And why, from palaces and courts, — why, from galleries of the arts, where the marble softens into life, and painting sheds an almost living presence of beauty around it, — why, from the mountain's awful brow, and the lovely valleys and lakes touched with the sunset hues of old romance, — why, from those venerable and touching ruins to which our very heart grows, — why, from all these scenes, were they looking beyond the swellings of the Atlantic wave, to a dearer and holier spot of earth, — their own, own country ? Doubtless, it was in part, because it *is* their country. But it was also, as every one's experience will testify, because they knew that *there* was no oppression, no pitiful exaction of petty tyranny ; because that *there*, they knew, was no accredited and irresistible religious domination ; because that *there* they knew, they should not meet the odious soldier at every corner, nor swarms of imploring beggars, the victims of misrule ; that *there* no curse causeless did fall, and no blight, worse than plague and pestilence, did descend amidst the pure dews of heaven ; because, in fine, that *there*, they knew, was liberty, — upon all the green hills, and amidst all the peaceful valleys, — liberty, the wall of fire around the humblest home ; the crown of glory, studded with her ever blazing stars, upon the proudest mansion !

" My friends, upon our own homes that blessing rests, that guardian care and glorious crown ; and, when we return to those homes, and so long as we dwell in them, — so long as no oppressor's foot invades their thresholds, let us bless them, and hallow them as the homes of freedom ! Let us make them, too, the homes of a nobler freedom, — of freedom from vice, from evil, from passion, — from every corrupting bondage of the soul." — pp. 297 – 300.

Mr. Dewey writes in New York, a centre of commercial, social, and political operations, which affords him the best opportunities for observations relating to the subjects which he treats. We mention the fact, because there is no indication of it on the face of the work, since the imprint and notice of the copy-right might have been what they are, though it had been produced in some village of the interior. It is not the first time that we have had occasion to wish, that writers would observe the homely old fashion of giving some brief account of themselves on their title-page. In the case of authors so well known to fame as Mr. Dewey, the omission may produce little inconvenience. But others of less consideration will of course use their method ; and

we receive not a few books with the naked name of the writer prefixed, when that name is of so little notoriety, that, for any use which it serves to the distant reader, the publication might just as well have been anonymous.

Art. IX. — *A Historical Discourse, delivered by Request, before the Citizens of New Haven, April 25th, 1838, the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the First Settlement of the Town and Colony.* By James L. Kingsley. New Haven: B. & W. Noyes. 8vo. pp. 115.

Notwithstanding the degree of attention, which, of late years, has been given to the details of American History, no adequate estimate has yet been formed of the importance of the subject. It is known and felt, that the men and the events of our early annals are worthy of our notice and study; but the share which they bore in determining and promoting the political and social progress of the world is not yet appreciated.

Philosophers, in all times, have attempted to resolve the forms and institutions of society into their original elements, and to trace the powers of government back into a social compact entered into by the fathers of the race, as they passed from a state of individual independence into a political organization of mutual subjection. But, as the infancy of the world is shrouded in impenetrable darkness, and no records or express indications of such primitive compacts can be found, it has not been possible to give to the speculations, founded upon the supposition of such early agreements, any firm and substantial basis. Resting, as they do, upon shadows, a breath has ever been sufficient to blow them down.

Such was the irremediable defect of all scientific political disquisitions previous to the colonization of America. The sources of reasoning on the subject were enveloped in absolute uncertainty, and the fundamental principles of the powers of government and the rights of the governed, howsoever put forth and maintained, could claim no better character than of fanciful conjecture and imaginary probability.

America was reserved to be the theatre on which, in the broad view of the civilized world and in an advanced and enlightened age, the entire process of the formation of civil society and political institutions, out of a state of purely natural independence, might be distinctly exhibited. The political forms and customs of this country can be followed back, by unquestionable and recent historical records, to their origin, and can be shown to have sprung from precisely such voluntary compacts and deliberate concessions on the part of the communities governed by them, as liberal reasoners have always affirmed to be the true sources of political power. And, as if for the very purpose of rendering the example, thus, for the first time, here presented of the formation of the social structure, as complete and instructive as possible, it was ordered by Providence that the experiment should take place in every conceivable variety of form, and method of procedure, in the different sections of the North American coast where settlements were established.

The Pilgrim passengers of the *May Flower*, before they left their weary and storm-worn vessel, gathering themselves on her deck, in a state more destitute of fixed political relations than can be imagined of the earliest infancy of mankind, floating on the ocean, outcasts from the Old World and not yet assured of a landing in the New,—disconnected, as it were, from the earth itself, without a home on its surface, not able to call an acre of its soil their own,—in this more than primitive condition of unorganized social existence, deliberately conferred together respecting the grounds on which to become associated as a community, and agreed upon their original compact; and when they stepped upon the Rock of Plymouth, the great republican principle, that the will of the people is the rule of government, began its operation on the earth.

When Winthrop and the other associated founders of Massachusetts determined, and after a strenuous struggle succeeded in the effort, to bring their charter over with them, then the doctrine of independence of foreign dominion was really established and permanently secured. When the pious and enlightened founders of the settlement at Salem assembled to erect the institutions of religion, they met together in what has been understood as the state of nature, by those who have written and argued on this subject; they recog-

nised no privileges or rights, on the part of any of their company, in consequence of offices they might have borne, or relations they might have held, in the church establishments of the part of the world from which they came. In the exercise of their original and natural equal rights, they agreed upon such articles and forms as they thought proper, and thus started into action the great principle of the absolute independence of particular churches and congregations, of all other bodies of men, both ecclesiastical and political.

So too, wherever the emigrants from the Old World planted themselves in the New, feeling their substantial independence of foreign power, regarding the Atlantic as literally a wall of separation from all existing established forms and fashions and customs, they went to work, in the exercise of their own free choice, and by the use of their own wisdom and judgment, to contrive and originate their social and political institutions; and the American student, who wishes to explore the formation, and compare the operations and results, of any of the practices or principles, which enter into the fabric of our society and government, will find them all clearly delineated in the various communities, which have sprung from the different European settlements on the American continent. The materials, which are already provided for illustration and instruction to this end, are eminently satisfactory and abundant, and will be found of more and more value as the progress of knowledge and civilization renders the world more sensible of the importance of sound and just and liberal political institutions.

These remarks have been drawn from us by the interesting and valuable Discourse whose title is at the head of this paper. Among the numerous productions of its class, there are few which bring forward a larger amount of information and useful suggestion for the philosophical historian and scientific politician. Professor Kingsley was well selected to prepare and present the contribution, which the ancient Colony of New Haven supplies to the fund of our national historical literature, and he has well discharged his office.

All who take pleasure in contemplating the elements of beauty, virtue, patriotism, science, and learning, find themselves readily and spontaneously attracted by the name of New Haven. Itself one of the most delightful spots in America, in its natural and cultivated aspect, it is adorned and

dignified by as many cherished associations as can often be gathered around any one scene. It is the seat of a collegiate establishment, which in some respects is generally acknowledged to take the lead of all the institutions of the sort with which our country is blessed, numbering among its present instructers names identified with science and learning, and showing, on the list of its presidents, a Dwight and a Stiles. New Haven is memorable as the residence of Hillhouse, Sherman, Whitney, Whiting, and Wooster, within the last century; and Professor Kingsley has carried us back to the beginning, and made us feel acquainted with Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport, Edward Hopkins, and the other wise and good men, who there laid the foundations of learning, religion, and liberty.

Immediately after the fathers of New Haven had obtained titles to their lands, and had built houses to shelter themselves from the approaching winter, and thrown up fortifications to keep off the savages, they proceeded to form their social compact and organize their political institutions. For this purpose they met in a "new barn, built by Mr. Newman, one of the principal colonists." They acted, as the other founders of New England colonies had done, without reference to the mother country, or any authority but that of their own reason and consciences. The ground they took was, "that the Scriptures do hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men, in all duties, which they are to perform to God and men, as well in families and commonwealth, as in matters of the church." They then ordained, that none but church members should exercise the right of voting, or be capable of holding public office. Professor Kingsley discusses this peculiarity of the early New England institutions with great candor, fairness, and intelligence.

In order to take a just view of this subject, the scheme or plan on which those institutions were projected must not be overlooked. The first settlers of New England, having exiled themselves from Christendom, intended to keep heretics and scoffers from following them into the American wilderness, and were sanguine in the belief, that, by means of the system of education they had determined to apply, they would be able to rear their children and descendants in so thorough a knowledge, and complete a reception, of their own faith and

principles, that they would become, as a matter of course, members of the church. In that event, there would have been no exclusiveness in the operation and effect of the qualification they adopted, as the test of fitness for the exercise of political rights. But this was more than any system of education could be made to accomplish. Time has shown how delusive were their expectations in this particular.

There is one point in the experience of the infant colony of New Haven, of great value in political science. Instead of having a fixed body of laws, they submitted all questions and causes, as they rose, to their best men, to be determined by them, without the intervention of a jury, or any technical observances, in accordance with what they deemed equity and justice in each particular case. In no circumstances could this experiment have been more favorably attempted. Such was the character of the judges, that as much reliance could be placed upon their integrity and Christian wisdom, as can ever be placed in any body of magistrates that may be found. But in a few years it became necessary to frame a system of fixed and authoritative laws, and to bring the New Haven courts into a conformity with the practice of the other colonies.

Professor Kingsley has found, what, perhaps, will surprise some, that the popular notion of the existence in Connecticut of a code of sumptuary legislation, commonly spoken of as the Blue Laws, is utterly without foundation. There never was such a code of laws in the colony, either printed or unprinted. So far as the belief to this effect did not originate in a spirit of malice or sarcasm, on the part of those who wished to vilify or ridicule the good people of New Haven, it may, in part, be accounted for by supposing, that some of the particular decisions of the judges, in the infancy of the colony, when, from the nature of the code, questions of a more private and minute and domestic nature than could be entertained in the tribunals of an advanced and numerous population, came before them, were mistaken for standing laws, enacted by legislative authority.

On this, as on other points, Professor Kingsley writes with the enthusiastic zeal of one who is justly sensible of the honor due to a worthy and excellent community, and with the talent and eloquence to be expected of him.

Art. X. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *Historical Sketches of the Old Painters.* By the Author of "Three Experiments of Living." Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1838. 16mo. pp. 296.

In the course of our critical labors, it has rarely been our lot to meet with a more agreeable volume than the present. A work on artists could not be more appropriately dedicated, than to Washington Allston; — a man whom future generations will rank in the same order of genius with the great Italian masters; whose residence will throw a poetic interest, even over the dull scenes of Cambridgeport, for the lovers of art, in all coming time.

The little book contains sketches of the lives of painters, beginning with Apelles and Protogenes, and ending with Claude Gelée, commonly known as Claude Lorraine. They are written in a most genial spirit, and with a delicate appreciation of the several peculiarities of genius in the artists commemorated. Fact and fiction are blended with much taste and skill; and the stories are all told in a style remarkable at once for simplicity, beauty, and grace. A cultivated literary taste, and a ready perception of the refining and exalting beauties of art, are manifested on every page. Such books cannot be too cordially welcomed among us. The riches of intellectual attainment, and the graces of accomplishment in the fine arts, ought to exercise through the press a greater influence over the yet forming character of the national mind. We have among us capacity enough, knowledge enough, and taste enough; but capacity, knowledge, and taste, are too exclusively confined to the circles of private society, which they enrich and adorn; while they only contribute, indirectly, to the formation of a just taste in the public.

The little poems, scattered through this volume, are marked by great delicacy of expression and harmony of numbers.

We take the following passage from the sketch of Raphael.

"It was necessary for him to reside at his native place for a number of months. During that time, he painted several fine pictures. His heart, however, yearned for Florence, and he returned to it once more with the determination of making it his home. With far different sensations did he a second time enter the city of beauty. The freshness of his gayety was blighted; lessons of earthly disappointment were ever present to his mind, and he returned to it with the resolute purpose of devoting himself to serious occupation.

"How well he fulfilled this resolution all Italy can bear witness. From this time he adopted what has been called his *second manner.* He painted for the Duke of Urbino the beautiful picture of the Saviour at sunrise, with the morning light cast over a face resplendent with divinity; the flowers glittering with dew, the two disciples beyond, still buried in slumber, at the time when the Saviour turns his eyes upon them with that tender and sorrowful exclamation, — 'Could ye not watch one hour?'

"Raphael enriched the city of Florence with his works. When asked what had suggested some of the beautiful combinations of his paintings, he said, 'They came to me in my sleep.' At other times, he called them '*visions*'; and then again said, they were the result of 'una certa idea che mi viene alla mente.' It was this power of drawing from the deep wells of his own mind, that gave such character, originality, and freshness to his works. He found that power *within*, which so many seek, and seek in vain, *without.*

"At the age of twenty-five, Raphael was summoned by the Pope to paint the chambers of the Vatican. The famous frescos of the Vatican need neither enumeration nor description; the world is their judge and their eulogist.

"No artist ever consecrated his works more by his affections than Raphael. The same hallowed influence of the heart gave an inexpressible charm to Coreggio's, afterwards. One of Raphael's friends said to him, on looking upon particular figures in his groups, 'You have transmitted to posterity your own likeness.'

"'See you nothing beyond that?' replied the artist.

"'I see,' said the critic, 'the deep blue eye, and the long fair hair parted on the forehead.'

"'Observe,' said Raphael, 'the feminine softness of expression, the beautiful harmony of thought and feeling. When I take my pencil for high and noble purposes, the spirit of my mother hovers over me. It is her countenance, not my own, of which you trace the resemblance.'

"This expression is always observable in his Madonnas. His portraits of the *Fornarina* are widely different. Raphael, in his last and most excellent style, united what was graceful and exquisite in Lionardo, with the sublime and noble manner of Michelangelo. It is the privilege and glory of genius to appropriate to itself whatever is noble and true. The region of thought is thus made a common ground for all, and one master mind becomes a reservoir for the present and future times.

"When Raphael was invited to Rome by Pope Julius the Second, Michelangelo was at the height of his glory; his character tended to inspire awe rather than affection; he delighted in the majestic and the terrible. In boldness of conception and grandeur of design, he surpassed Lionardo, but never could reach the sweetness and gentleness of his figures. Even his children lose something of their infantine beauty, and look mature; his women are commanding and lofty; his men of gigantic proportions. His painting, like his sculpture, is remarkable for anatomical exactness, and perfect expression of the muscles. For this union of magnificence and sublimity, it was necessary to prepare the mind; the first view was almost terrific, and it was

by degrees that his mighty works produced their designed effect. Raphael, while he felt all the greatness of the Florentine, conceived that there might be something more like nature, — something that should be harmonious, sweet, and flowing, — that should convey the idea of intellectual rather than of external majesty. Without yielding any of the correctness of science, he avoided harshness, and imitated antiquity in uniting grace and elegance with a strict observation of science and of the rules of art.

"It was with surprise that Michelangelo beheld in the youthful Raphael a rival artist; nor did he receive this truth meekly; he treated him with coldness and distance. In the mean time Raphael went on with his works; he completed the frescos of the Vatican,* and designed the cartoons.† He also produced those exquisite paintings in oil which seem the perfection of human art.

"Human affection is necessary to awaken the sympathy of human beings; and Raphael, in learning how to portray it, had found the way to the heart. In mere grandeur of invention he was surpassed by Michelangelo. Titian excelled him in coloring, and Coreggio in the beautiful gradation of tone; but Raphael knew how to paint the soul; in this he stood alone. This was the great secret of a power which seemed to operate like magic. In his paintings there is something which makes music on the chords of every heart; for they are the expression of a mind attuned to nature, and find answering sympathies in the universal soul.

"While Michelangelo was exalted with the epic grandeur of his own Dante, Raphael presented the most finished scenes of dramatic life, and might be compared to the immortal Shakspeare, — scenes of spiritual beauty, of devotion, and of pastoral simplicity, yet uniting a classic elegance which the poet does not possess. Buonarotti was the wonder of Italy, and Raphael became its idol." — pp. 132–137.

In the notice of Apelles and Protogenes, we find the following; "'How does it (Rhodes) compare with thy native Cos?' said Protogenes, as they walked, arm and arm, back to his dwelling," &c. Will the author excuse us if we doubt whether this is exactly in keeping? Did antique gentlemen walk *arm in arm*, like the moderns? or is that convenient and sociable, but not very picturesque fashion, an invention of later ages? We observe, in the account of the Caracci school, the expression, "he was compelled to leave, and went to Rome." This use of the verb "to leave," though not uncommon in this

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"* These are the celebrated works which have been so much visited, admired, and imitated for more than three centuries. They are tolerably preserved; but are said to have been much injured by the fires of the German soldiers, who used these rooms as their barracks, in the sack of Rome by Charles the Fifth's generals, soon after Raphael's death.

"† Where Raphael's cartoons are spoken of, certain paintings on paper are meant, which he executed as patterns for tapestry, to be used in the Procession of Corpus Domini at Rome. It is believed that they were carried into England from the Low Countries, where they were sent to be executed in tapestry. The tapestries are annually exhibited at Rome.

country, is incorrect, and unauthorized by good usage. It should be "to leave the city."

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2. — *Homeward Bound, or the Chase. A Tale of the Sea.* By the Author of "The Pilot," "The Spy," &c. In Two Volumes. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 12mo.

The recent productions of Mr. Cooper have added nothing to his own reputation, or to the stores of American literature. He has set up for a master of the elegances of life, and has discoursed learnedly, through volume after volume, upon the arbitrary refinements of fashionable society. Professing to be a sturdy republican, he has exhausted his powers of invective upon the manners and characters of his countrymen, who are, taking his own descriptions for truth, ignorant of the first principles of social refinement, and no better than a nation of brutes and savages. If such are the friends of Republicanism, she may well pray Heaven to save her from them. Mr. Cooper's works, for the last three or four years, seem to have been written under no higher inspiration than that of spleen. They abound in uncalled-for political disquisitions, filled up with expressions of the bitterest scorn and hatred. They are deformed by perpetual outbreaks of a spirit, which might be expected to show itself in the pages of a ruthless partisan, careless of truth in aiming at the reputation of an opponent whom he wishes to ruin; but from which the writings of the poet and the man of letters, sitting apart, "in the still air of delightful studies," ought to be wholly exempt. He has added nothing to the range of characters in fiction, which amuse and occupy our hours of leisure, and to which the mind returns, as to old familiar scenes, or the faces of friends; he has told no new tale of human passions, for our instruction or warning; but he has given us, both in his books of travels, and his last novel, a few brilliant descriptions of natural scenery, both by land and sea.

"Homeward Bound" is a sort of log-book of a passage from London to New York. We are entertained *ad nauseam*, — until we are absolutely sea-sick, — with the rocking of the packet-ship Montauk, in fair weather and foul. These scenes, wearisome by repetition and prolongation, are diversified but not relieved, by the doings and sayings of a set of passengers, the like of whom, for stupidity and absurdity, could scarcely be gathered together, from the whole circuit of the British dominions and the United States. A couple of more tiresome gen-

tlemen than the two Effinghams, the pet characters in the passengers' cabin, it has never been our lot to meet, either in fact or fiction; and the heroine, Miss Eve Effingham, is a special nonentity. The newspaper editor, Mr. Stedfast Dodge, is plainly designed for a cruelly severe satire upon the editorial corps in the United States. But the character of this worthy is drawn in such exaggerated colors, that it shows the unskilfulness and ill-feeling of the author, but by no means the real faults and follies, — many and serious enough, — of the persons against whom the satire is aimed. The fact is, Mr. Cooper has no facility in drawing characters. With two or three exceptions, his personages are mere wooden images, with no semblance of life. Their conversation would be intolerable, or rather impossible, between men and women of flesh and blood; their actions would be inconceivable, out of the pages of a romance. People never talk as Mr. Cooper imagines. There are far fewer blockheads, male or female, in the real world, than in that possessed by Mr. Cooper's imagination.

This novel has almost no plot. The characters, such as they are, figure in a few dull dialogues; and there are a few faint indications of an incipient love story, which is probably to be unfolded in the next work. As it stands now, there is no completeness, no conclusion, no plan, to be found in the book. Nothing redeems it from utter and deplorable dulness, save a few descriptive passages, and two or three animated actions. The battle with the Arabs, on the African coast, is the best of the latter; and the storm which precedes it, is the most brilliant of the former.

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3. — 1. *The Lady's Annual Register and Housewife's Memorandum Book, for* 1838. By Caroline Gilman. Boston: T. H. Carter. 12mo. pp. 140.
   2. *Recollections of a Southern Matron,* by Caroline Gilman, Author of "Recollections of a New England House-Keeper." New York: Harper and Brothers.
   3. *The Poetry of Travelling in the United States.* By Caroline Gilman, with additional Sketches, by a few Friends, and a "Week among Autographs," by the Rev. S. Gilman. New York: S. Colman. 12mo. pp. 430.

The title-page of the first-named of these works, is an index to its contents. It is a manual for the use of housekeepers, containing pertinent hints and instructions in the various departments of housekeeping, including a garden Calendar for

Northern and Southern latitudes, and good advice on the subject of economy and domestic thrift. A proper proportion of the *dulce* is mingled with the *utile*, in the shape of stories, anecdotes, and poems, many of which are original. Much of the original matter is very good, and the poems are generally graceful and pleasing. We think it would have been better, if the anecdotes had been omitted entirely, as the greater part of them are old, and many of them not in perfectly good taste. We were somewhat surprised to observe the vulgarism of "learn," for "teach," on page 51. The paper, print, and engravings are all good, and the work deserves success, and we hope will obtain it.

Viewed simply as a work of art, the "Recollections of a Southern Matron" cannot claim much commendation. It does not pretend to have any regular plot, with a beginning, a middle, and an end, but is merely a sort of family journal, in which the events stand to each other in no other relation, than that of sequence or succession. The style is often careless, and generally very diffuse; the sentimentality is occasionally excessive, and the fine writing sometimes degenerates into superfine. In spite of these defects, however, there is a good deal to praise in the book. It has the merit of being an original sketch of American life, and not a tame copy of a transatlantic model, and it is written with considerable freshness and spirit. There is a truth and naturalness about many of its pictures, which make up most amply for slight defects in drawing and coloring. Many of the incidents are told exceedingly well, and with a vein of quiet and graceful humor, which is very pleasing. The chapter describing the difficulties encountered by a Southern matron in teaching her children, already well known by its having been appended to Miss Martineau's "Society in America," is one of the most capital things we ever read; and there are many others in the same style, nearly as good. The moral and religious tone of the work is of a high order, and it has that charm, which flows from the constant manifestation of an amiable temper and an affectionate disposition. It has the staple of literary excellence, and wants only more of artistical skill in the finish and execution.

The character of Mr. Bates, the Yankee schoolmaster, strikes us as a decided failure,—a broad caricature, which has not even the merit of novelty. Does our fair author imagine, that a letter of ten printed pages was ever written by anybody, in which every period contains some Yankee vulgarism? It is as great an absurdity as a plum pudding would be, that was made wholly of plums. Jack Downing understands this thing better.

It gives us great pleasure to speak more favorably of Mrs. Gilman's last published work. "The Poetry of Travelling" is made up of sketches, touched with a light and graceful pencil. It is written in a highly descriptive style, and diversified by a great variety of interesting scenes. The fine points in the picturesque parts of the country, which were included in our author's travels, have been viewed with a poet's eye, and are brought out with an artist's hand. The language is neat, expressive, and simple, flowing with a natural ease and propriety. The first half of the volume is made up of "Notes of a Northern Excursion," and contains descriptions of the principal places, in the Northern States, remarkable either for picturesque beauty or historical renown. Reminiscences of the past are mingled pleasantly with delineations of the present, and the parts are connected, by a thread of individual adventure, enough to give them the interest of a personal journal. Not a little is added to the attractiveness of the book by several very agreeable little pieces of poetry, suggested by the associations of the scenes, in the midst of which they were composed. The local sketches of the South are drawn with as much skill as those of the North, and will be more interesting, on account of their novelty, at least to Northern readers. Mrs. Gilman's writings are finely adapted to the promotion of social intercourse and kindly feelings between the different parts of the United States. No one understands better than she, the excellent qualities of the Southern character, — its warm and generous feelings, and its open-handed hospitality, — and the peculiar beauties of Southern scenery; and no one can hold them up to the love and admiration of the North in more attractive colors. To this end, her literary labors seem to have been specially directed; an end as laudable as the means she has often taken are delicate and tasteful.

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4. — *Joanna of Naples.* By the Author of "Miriam." Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1838. 12mo. pp. 213.

The author of this little volume is already well known to the literary public by her much applauded tragedy of "Miriam." That work has been reviewed at length in the pages of this Journal.* "Joanna of Naples" is founded on the historical events in the life of that unhappy queen; a life signalized by the greatest misfortunes, and, in the opinion of some, stained

* Vol. XLV. pp. 312 et seqq.

by the most atrocious crimes. The question of her guilt or innocence is one of those historical problems, which human ingenuity is unable to solve in a manner to set doubts and inquiries at rest. The author of this little tale, obeying her sympathies as a woman, and her taste as an artist, has happily chosen the favorable view of her heroine's character. Giving this color to her narrative, which is as likely to be the truth as the opposite, the author has combined the scattered facts, recorded in history, and woven them in with a train of fictitious incidents, harmonizing with their general character, thus producing a story of uncommon beauty and interest. It is perhaps hardly fair to compare two works, so different in object and spirit as "Miriam" and "Joanna"; but we cannot help giving the preference to the latter, in respect both to strength of conception, and finish of execution. Its style is marked by a sustained dignity and power, in admirable keeping with the elevation of the subject. It is polished to a very high degree of literary completeness; and, though showing abundant signs of the presence of a brilliant poetical imagination, able to pour out a profusion of splendid images, yet is tempered down, by the restraining influence of a thoroughly cultivated taste, to a chastened tone, which will please the reader more during a second perusal, than at first. The character of Joanna is finely and firmly drawn, according to the author's conception of it. The tenderness of the woman, the dignity of the queen, and the heroic patience of the martyr, are truly, feelingly, and most skilfully blended in this noble delineation; and this character is sustained with perfect consistency through all the vicissitudes of the story. Charles of Durazzo is not so successfully handled. The qualities of this character are beyond the scope of a woman's experience; she can know them only at second hand; she has no intuitive knowledge of them from the sympathies of her own heart; and she cannot, therefore, represent them with the force of life and reality. This character is not drawn with an unwavering hand. We feel that the author has not fully mastered the elements of which it is composed. We plainly see the faltering and uncertainty of her mind, and the perplexity of her imagination.

We hope the author of this book will employ her rare powers of invention, and her admirable command over all the resources of language, in making further contributions to the literature of the country, and thus adding to the high reputation she has already gained.

5.—1. *Annual Address delivered before the Albany Institute*, April, 1838, by James Ferguson. Albany: Alfred Southwick. 8vo. pp. 34.

2. *An Address, delivered before the Penobscot Association of Teachers, and Friends of Popular Education, at Levant, December 28th*, 1837. By E. G. Carpenter. Bangor: S. S. Smith: 8vo. pp. 26.

3. *An Address on the Utility of Astronomy, delivered before the Young Men's Society, of Lynchburg, September 26th*, 1837. By Professor Landon C. Garland, of Randolph-Macon College. Richmond: T. W. White. 8vo. pp. 8.

Mr. Ferguson's discourse is chiefly devoted to a history of literary and scientific associations. He begins by stating the causes, which led to their establishment in the fifteenth century, and then proceeds to an historical sketch of several of the most celebrated national academies, such as the National Institute of France, and the Royal Society of England. He next details some of the objections to the established courses of universities, and quotes the severe comments of Bacon, Smith, Playfair, and Babbage. The concluding part of the Address discusses the effects of these societies upon the progress of science, and the material prosperity of nations, presenting on these topics a variety of interesting and striking views. The Address is written in a simple, correct, and unpretending style, and the matter is highly appropriate to the occasion on which it was delivered.

Mr. Carpenter's Address is on Popular Education, and the claims of our common schools. Bating a little high-flown language about liberty, knowledge, and so forth, and a few touches, towards the peroration, of exaggerated enthusiasm concerning the sacred office of the teacher and his immense responsibilities, the discourse is a very good one; and the views expressed in it, though by no means novel, are sound and manly. The last part of the Address is given to a statement of the powers and qualifications necessary to an efficient teacher. Some of them, surely, it was unnecessary to say any thing about. It seems like uttering uncalled-for truisms to declare gravely, that a good teacher "should be versed in the common branches of an English education," that "he should have a capacity for imparting instruction," that "he should know how to govern a school," that "he should tell the truth," and "that he should be a man of high moral character." These things are insisted on with infinite earnestness and convincing eloquence. Possibly this tone may be neces-

sary. Recent investigations have shown up the common-school system in a light not altogether so favorable as could be wished, and seem to indicate a very prevalent agreement with Dogberry's opinion, that reading and writing come by nature.

Professor Garland's Address on Astronomy is written with very great ability, and contains matter of high and permanent value. It is a popular exposition of the Utility of Astronomy in the practical concerns of life, and is worthy of all praise for clearness of statement and chaste beauty of style. It shows, on every page, the accurate attainments of the man of science, and the well-tempered enthusiasm of the scholar. We have rarely read a popular address, with which we have been so well pleased, both in respect to instruction and the gratification of taste, as with this.

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6. — *Manual of Political Ethics, designed chiefly for the Use of Colleges and Students at Law. Part I. Book I. Ethics, General and Political. Book II. The State.* By Francis Lieber. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1838. 8vo. pp. 443.

The title of this book authorizes us to hope, that it will supply a want which has been painfully felt in colleges and professional schools. We have had no treatise on the science of politics at all adapted to the progress of inquiry and information, or to the state of civil and political institutions at the present day. Scraps might be gathered from Montesquieu, Locke, and Hume, and from the writers on natural law and civil polity; but it was difficult to fuse these into a connected system, or to collect from them any answer to most interesting questions, which may be said to have grown out of the historical events of our own times. Practice has outrun theory, but has not superseded the necessity of it. Perhaps the necessity is even increased; for, when men are once beyond the bounds of these much abused speculative principles, they are apt to catch fire, as it were, from license, and forget that abstract truths of limitation and restraint exist at all, or have any basis but individual opinion. They need to be reminded, that, though moral right forms the sure foundation of political privileges, it also circumscribes and hems them in, and that they cannot overleap the barriers without throwing discredit on the first principles of civil freedom. To consider political science, therefore, in its ethical relations, to show that the

immunities and the duties of a citizen rest alike on the laws of conscience, and that all questions respecting their extent must be settled by an appeal to this moral code, is a task for the highest abilities and the utmost strength of moral character, but which the state of the times loudly requires to be performed. The work must be executed, moreover, in the spirit and with the views, — not of a mere statesman, seeking to justify on abstract grounds a course first marked out by considerations of political expediency, — nor of a mere lawyer, endeavouring to reconcile his regard for precedents and positive institutions with a reverence for lasting truth and justice, — but of a rigid and philosophical moralist, not unacquainted with the magnitude and importance of the interests which he undertakes to discuss, but unflinching in his resolve to direct them by his own convictions of right.

From a very hurried survey of Dr. Lieber's work, — all that could be afforded to it, from the lateness of the publication, — we are not prepared to say how far he has answered the expectations excited by the title. But from his ceaseless activity as a literary man, his high reputation, and the known bent of his studies, for some time, to subjects kindred with general politics, we cannot doubt, that his book will fully answer the end proposed. The present publication, though it is called Part First, and will be followed by another volume, yet forms a whole by itself. It is divided into two books, of which the one treats of "Ethics, General and Political," and the other, entitled, "The State," is occupied with a discussion of the fundamental questions pertaining to civil government. A mere glance at the table of contents shows, that the topics discussed are somewhat multifarious, and the work, if deficient in any respects, will probably be found wanting in compactness and systematic arrangement. We hope to find room in our next number, for a more extended notice of it, and an examination of the writer's theories and opinions.

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7. — *Records of Travel.* Boston. Otis, Broaders, & Co. 1838. 12mo. pp. 180.

This unpretending little volume contains a series of extracts from a private journal, kept during a voyage round the Mediterranean. It is written in a pure style, and narrates, in an agreeable manner, the incidents of travel, which befell the author in those classic and venerable regions. The descriptive passages show an eye trained to the observation of scenery

in nature, and a hand skilled in delineating the impressions made by natural scenery on the mind. There is no attempt to collect and impart novelties in the way of information, or to throw new light on scenes of ancient historic renown. We have no elaborate descriptions of the remains of ancient art, or the miracles of modern ; we have no attempts at philosophical analysis of national character ; no disquisition on literature; and few sketches of manners. But we are entertained with a lively succession of adventures, told in an easy way, like that of an intelligent traveller, amusing his friends, after his return, by the domestic fireside.

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8. — *General History of Civilization in Europe, from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution. Translated from the French of* M. Guizot, Professor of History to "La Faculté des Lettres" of Paris, and Minister of Public Instruction. First American from the second English Edition. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 346.

We rejoice to see an English translation, respectably executed, of Guizot's lectures on the "History of Civilization in Europe." We know not who the translator is ; but, from the circumstance that his Preface is dated at Oxford, presume that he is among the scholars attached to that University, who, by the attention they have recently paid to French and German letters, as evinced by numerous translations, and works partly original and partly compiled, seem no longer inclined to keep the literature and scholarship of England so exclusively insular, as they have been in former times. Thanks are particularly due to them, and their brethren at Cambridge, for introducing to their countrymen the historical works of Niebuhr, Müller, and other eminent scholars on the continent. On this side of the Atlantic, we are slowly profiting from their labors by the reprints that are occasionally issued. The work now before us amply deserved its presentation to the English and American people. Its author, as is well known, was associated with Cousin and Villemain in delivering courses of lectures at Paris, during several successive years. Their merit attracted crowded audiences, while, to gratify the curiosity of those who were not able to attend, the lectures were published weekly from the notes of stenographers. They were, however, revised by the authors previous to publication, and may

therefore be considered as authentic. The two other lecturers treated respectively of philosophy and literature; while Guizot confined himself to history, the object of his early and constant attention.

We mention these circumstances, because they account for some peculiarities of manner in the present publication. The work is, in fact, a series of brilliant disquisitions on the history of Europe, drawn up in the most popular form, and in a more rhetorical style, than appears altogether becoming for so grave a subject. There is hardly an attempt at the narration of particular events, but the grouping together of general facts is striking and often picturesque in its effect, and the reasoning, if not always profound, is certainly ingenious. Add to these qualities a perfectly lucid manner, an admirable arrangement of topics, and a keen perception evinced of the distinctive qualities of different institutions and systems of society, and you have an entertaining and instructive book. We can hardly object to some national traits of character in the mode of treating the subject, since they are displayed in such an unconscious and amusing fashion. The writer is a thorough Frenchman. He has a passion for bold and sweeping views and hasty generalizations. The expression too, without being positively arrogant, has an air of easy confidence, of more perfect reliance on the correctness of the opinions advanced, than is altogether warranted by the array of proofs. The reader is sometimes stunned by rhetoric, rather than convinced by sober appeals to his understanding.

This dashing and off-hand mode of speculating on abstract topics strikes us as peculiarly French. It is even more conspicuous in the lectures of Cousin and Villemain, than in the work before us. Here, it is in a great measure excused by the nature of the subject and the limited intentions of the writer. He has aimed at a survey of European history from the highest point of view, where only the most general and prominent facts come into notice. His object was, to arrange these facts in orderly succession, as causes and effects, and to show the bearing of each on his main subject, the progress of European civilization. The limited time allotted made it necessary to go over the ground with great rapidity; and accordingly he travels over the annals of Europe as if equipped with seven-league boots. With hardly a glance at particular events, he seizes on the prominent traits in the history of each century, and the character of the various political and religious institutions, and shows how these

assisted or retarded the developement of society and of the individual. Owing to this rapid execution, the inductions often rest on a narrow basis of facts, and the writer seems frequently to make perilous leaps from premises to conclusions. His learning, also, appears in a manner strikingly contrasted with the display of painful erudition by the German historians. There is no parade of references, no sifting of authorities, and but little discussion of the conflicting opinions of former writers. But, from the lecturer's unpretending familiarity with the subject, and his easy way of stating a fact as the necessary result of causes previously examined, one can hardly find it in his heart to be skeptical. On the whole, the work deserves high praise as an introduction to the philosophy of history. The writer's views are liberal, and his speculations throw a new and pleasing light on most interesting points in the annals of Europe. We propose soon to recur to the volume, and to treat its subject somewhat at large.

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9. — *How shall I govern my School? Addressed to Young Teachers; and also adapted to assist Parents in Family Government.* By E. C. Wines, Author of "Two Years and a Half in the Navy," and "Hints on a System of Popular Education." Philadelphia: W. Marshall & Co. 12mo. pp. 309.

Most writers on education have some hobby of their own, which they ride with an exclusive fondness for that particular exercise. The views of such men are consequently partial and one-sided. Founded on the consideration of one part of human nature, or upon some theory of improvableness or perfectibility, their schemes are generally very ingenious on paper, but wholly unsuccessful in application. It often happens that very experienced teachers fall into mistakes of this kind; and speculative writers on education rarely escape them. But the author of the book with the rather *questionable* title, given above, is remarkably free from vague enthusiasm and theoretical projects. Taking human nature as he finds it, scrutinizing its powers, passions, and weaknesses with the eye of a philosopher, he applies the results of this scrutiny to the government of a school, in a plain, practical, and common-sense manner. He discusses his subject methodically, beginning with some exceedingly sound considerations upon the responsibility of

the teacher's office, and the inadequate honors and rewards which he must expect. He then proceeds to the plan and principles of government, which ought to be settled in the outset. In this part of the discourse Mr. Wines shows himself to be a very judicious guide. The moral preparation which the teacher should himself undergo, the moral means he should make use of, the modes of impressing truth and a sense of duty on the scholars' minds, the methods of correcting faults and removing false and pernicious notions from them, are considered with an earnest sense of their great importance to the prosperity of a school, and the well-being of the pupils. In the next place, follows a sensible view of "punishment," which, the author says, should be sparingly applied, but by no means wholly disused; and the last section is devoted to the importance of the teacher's knowing how to control the public opinion of his school, and turn it to the side of virtue.

In discussing these several topics, Mr. Wines shows himself a calm and dispassionate observer. He has no optimism, — no ultraism of any kind. He is willing to use all the means which are adapted to the weaknesses as well as the strength of human nature, particularly the human nature of children. A high moral and religious tone pervades the book, undebased by any admixture of cant. The style is animated, but a little diffuse; the same sentiment is frequently repeated, under a slight modification of expression. With this exception, it is an excellent model for discussions on similar subjects. It is warm, free and impressive. Take it for all in all, the book is one of the best in the whole range of the literature of education.

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10. — *Notes on the Western States; containing Descriptive Sketches of their Soil, Climate, Resources, and Scenery.* By James Hall, Author of "Border Tales," &c. &c. Philadelphia: Harrison Hall. 12mo. pp. 304.

Though furnished with a new title, this work is but another edition of Judge Hall's "Statistics of the West," published in 1836. Our readers may remember, that, in a former Number, we commented at some length on certain erroneous, and otherwise exceptionable matter, contained in the Preface to that publication. There can be no doubt, we presume, on the part of any one who read our animadversions, that they were not only completely borne out, but absolutely called for, by the facts. But if it is hard to guess beforehand *furens quid fœmina possit*, conjecture is often equally at fault respecting the doings

of an angry author. Had we been asked to name the course to which Judge Hall would probably betake himself, when we had exposed some of the errors of his imperfect information and hasty writing, we should have replied, that, if he did not see fit to correct them, and thank us for our aid in doing it, which would have been the best way of proceeding, he would have taken the next best, and, by saying nothing about the matter, have suffered it to pass tranquilly into oblivion, as many writers of more note have done, when they found themselves in a perplexity. And this expedient Judge Hall might have adopted with the better grace, as his work was essentially ephemeral ;—we do not say from its degree of merit, but from the very showing of its title, which announced the object of the book to be, to give the Statistics of the West at a particular period. The last method, certainly, which we should have imagined he would hit upon, would be to recall public attention to his lapse, by a simple repetition of the blunders of which he had been convicted.

Yet, little as it could have been anticipated, this is the method he has chosen. He has now reprinted the Preface to the former publication, with the insertion of a few unimportant lines, (ten or twelve, in the whole,) and two or three trifling alterations, including the correction of a grammatical error, which we had pointed out. He has not so much as professed to make an attempt to defend the erroneous statements which we censured, and of course has afforded us no opportunity to do any thing in the way of argument, unless indeed we should follow his rather odd example, and reprint our comments, as he has reprinted the matter which occasioned them. Our readers, we suppose, will be as well satisfied with a reference to the place where they may be found ; which is, the 234th page of our XLVth volume.

To the reprinted Preface in question, the author has appended a couple of paragraphs of new matter, which serve to give further expression to his discontent. In other respects, they are of no significance, except as containing his avowal, that, before republishing his Preface, he had read our remarks upon it, above referred to ; a fact, which on worse authority we should have been disinclined to credit. The language is vastly spirited, no doubt. But such is not unapt to be the strain of a person who finds himself in a position of discomfort. Does Judge Hall remember a line of Crabbe ? There is philosophy in it ; it reads,

"He put his anger on to hide his shame."

But it is pity that so meritorious a writer as Judge Hall should ever be either much ashamed or much incensed. He

has rendered service to the literature of the country, as it has repeatedly given us pleasure to declare. If he would only be more careful to avoid inaccuracies, and less disturbed when he is found to have fallen into those

> "quas aut incuria fudit
> Aut humana parum cavit natura,"

we make bold to say, that, on a twofold account, he would appear before the public to more advantage. And meanwhile, as we have fallen upon one poet, whose wisdom contemplated many of the emergencies of life, we will fain be indebted, in closing, to another such, for a few words, which with a little alteration might be made pertinent to different occasions, from that familiar one for which he designed them;

> "What then remains, but well our power to use,
> And keep good humor still, whate'er we lose;
> And trust me, dear, good humor will prevail,
> When airs, and flights, and screams, and scolding fail."

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11. — *Passages in Foreign Travel.* By Isaac Appleton Jewett. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 2 vols. 12mo.

We have suffered these beautiful volumes to lie by us, because we were unwilling to dismiss them with mere general phrases of commendation, and yet we saw no medium between this course, and that of enriching our pages with copious extracts, which neither in the last Number nor the present have we found space to do. Without being absolutely what one would call a philosophical observer, — which we dare say, however, he will become with the advantage of more years, — that is to say, when he has grown more dull, — Mr. Jewett has at least shown, that he had a quick eye and a sagacious comprehension for the many notable things which came under his view, on the surface of foreign society; and, without having absolutely the touch of a poet or a painter, he has undoubtedly described with an uncommon vivacity and grace of style, and brought his reader most agreeably to the knowledge of, many facts, which for their importance or their curiosity well deserve to be known. Happy the traveller, be he but right-minded and capable of a just appreciation of his privilege, who goes to see the world at that jocund age when a good dinner is a luxury and a bad one a joke, and wild roads and damp sheets have no terrors, and abbeys and castles, and parks and saloons, are seen in just the same lights and shadows, the same awfulness

and witchery, the same glory and deliciousness, that had been about them in dreams; and lucky the reader, who may set himself down to a book by a writer of genius and enthusiasm, who at that age has gone on his way rejoicing through the old seats of power and magnificence, the haunted scenes of story and song.

Mr. Jewett is not very much of a sentimentalist. We think we might have liked him better, had he been a little more tainted with that too much discredited infirmity. Music and spectacles are his great delight; the French *cuisine* has strong charms for him; and we are not sure that his taste for the elegances of artificial society does not wrong a little that relish for some better things, which, however, well vindicates its right to be heard in not a few parts of his fascinating volumes. He loved Paris; who can wonder? We should have been glad to have him speak rather more decidedly of some of its abominations, which it fell in his way to mention. But though he has not found himself inclined to act the censor as much as we might have wished, we remember nothing in his volumes which could fairly be construed into any compromise of the stern displeasure due to those monstrosities of a depraved condition of social life, some of which he has occasion to depict.

With all his liking for foreign splendor, Mr. Jewett is a proud and hopeful American, to a degree sufficient, we should think, to satisfy the most exactingly patriotic among his compatriot readers. His work is issued in a style, which shows that he well knew what a highly cultivated eye requires in the external appliances of book-making. The American press has scarcely ever done its office with a more rich and tasteful elegance.

Mr. Jewett has come back to America, and gone back to Ohio. We are too much his well-wishers to desire that his literary may prejudice his legal pursuits; but, on the other hand, we are too sincere friends to the literature of the country, not to desire earnestly that he may find leisure to render it some of those services of which he is so eminently capable.

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12. — *Sketches of a New England Village, in the Last Century.* Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 110.

This little book has been suffered to make its way too silently; but its way it has made and will make, notwithstanding. It deserved, not a flourish of trumpets, but some softer

prelude, say of flutes and pastoral reeds. We account it one of the sweetest specimens yet produced of a style of composition, which our women of genius will perhaps vindicate for their own *peculium*, or in which, at least, he who will compete with them must be a brave and bright adventurer. It pretends to no great continuity of story, though it contains stories as well compacted as could be desired; and one especially, that of Grace, a tale of as much simple pathos as it would be easy to find elsewhere. Some of the characters are true representatives of classes in New England, as every one may know who has been conversant with its people; though it is by no means every eye that sees them for what they are, till they have been sketched by some such pencil as our author's. Others of the group, as the serving-woman Hannah, and the melancholy schoolmaster, are so much out of the common course, that, if it were less notorious that extraordinary oddities have their large place in this system of things, we should be doubtful respecting the fidelity of the likeness. If the tone of the book is plaintive, its plaint is melodious and soothing. It is apt aliment for the mood which says, "Give me some music; see that it be sad."

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13. — *Democracy in America, by Alexis de Tocqueville, Avocat à la Cour Royale de Paris. Translated by* Henry Reeve, Esq.; *with an Original Preface and Notes*, by John C. Spencer, Counsellor at Law. New York: George Dearborn & Co. 8vo. pp. 464.

Shortly after the publication of M. de Tocqueville's work upon this country, we took occasion to treat its contents at length.* We then expressed our opinion of it as "by far the most philosophical, ingenious, and instructive work, which had been produced in Europe on the subject of America." Of course, we welcome cordially its appearance among us in a form, which opens its contents to our whole reading community. The present publication is a reprint of a translation made in England, with a short Preface by the American editor, who has also appended about twenty pages of Notes. These are not designed to furnish "comments on the theoretical views of the author," an attempt which could have led to little less, on the part of a competent and independent inquirer, than the composition of a new work on the same subjects, but are "confined, with very few exceptions, to the correction of what

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 178 et seq.

appeared to be misapprehensions of the author in regard to some matters of fact, or some principles of law, and to explaining his meaning where the translator has misconceived it." We repose on the authority of the work with more confidence than ever, when we see how little it contains, which so acute and well-informed an annotator as Mr. Spencer found to require correction or explanation. And we earnestly wish, that it may come into extensive circulation among our countrymen; agreeing as we do with its editor, that "the people described by a work of such a character should not be the only one in Christendom unacquainted with its contents," and that it cannot fail to promote, with American readers, "a more thorough knowledge of their frames of government, and a more just appreciation of the great principles on which they are founded."

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14. — *The Life and Adventures of Black Hawk, with Sketches of Keokuk, the Sac and Fox Indians, and the late Black Hawk War.* By Benjamin Drake. Cincinnati: George Conclin. 12mo. pp. 252.

This well-written volume is disgraced by a scarecrow wood-cut, in the frontispiece, bearing the name of Black Hawk, and by the unpardonable paper on which it is printed. If the reader can overcome his repugnance to the repulsive externals, he will find matter for interest and amusement. The incidents in the life of Black Hawk are well told, and much important historical information, concerning the intercourse between the United States and the Western tribes, is appropriately intermingled.

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15. — *The Deserted Bride and other Poems.* By George P. Morris. New York: Adlard & Saunders. 8vo. pp. 80.

The poems of Colonel Morris have enjoyed so wide a newspaper celebrity, that it would be affectation in us to pretend to introduce them to our readers. Many of them, moreover, have been united to Mr. Russell's music, and said and sung in the saloons of the fashionable world. Their author has now collected them in a volume, which, for elegant type and luxurious paper, is surpassed by no book hitherto issued from the American press. We intended to invite him to speak for himself in our columns, in the "Lines for Music" (pp. 30, 31), but we find ourselves too soon at the end of our sheet.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ANNUALS.

The American Almanac, and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the Year 1839. Boston: Charles Bowen. 12mo. pp. 324.

The Token and Atlantic Souvenir. Edited by S. G. Goodrich. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 16mo. pp. 294.

Annual Announcement of Jefferson Medical College, for the Session of 1838–9. Catalogue of Students and Graduates for the Session of 1837–8. Philadelphia: A. Waldie. 12mo. pp. 15.

Annual Circular and Catalogue of the Woodward College, and of the High School; with an Address by the President. Cincinnati: Pugh & Dodd. 8vo. pp. 33.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

Biographical Sketches. By John McDonald, (of Poplar Bridge, Ross Co., Ohio.) Cincinnati: E. Morgan & Son. Columbus: I. N. Whiting. 12mo.

BOTANY.

A Flora of North America; containing abridged Descriptions of all the known Indigenous and Naturalized Plants, growing North of Mexico, arranged according to the Natural System. By John Torrey and Asa Gray. Vol. I. Part I. New York: G. & C. Carvill & Co. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 184.

EDUCATION.

French Practical Teacher. A Complete Grammar of the French Language, on the Progressive System; by which the Acquisition of Writing and Speaking French is made easy. By Mons. B. F. Bugard. Boston: 1838. 12mo. pp. 480.

We recommend this Book to the attention of all teachers and students of the French Language. It is the best of its kind which has ever fallen in our way; and we should think it impossible for any one of tolerable capacity to go through it faithfully, without a very competent knowledge of French. The author's plan is to teach both theoretically and practically. The student is taken through a series of rules and exercises, in which no part of speech is employed, until its use has been fully stated and illustrated. The Rules are numbered, and there are abundant references to them by figures, in the Exercises. At the end of the book is a Vocabulary of all the words used in the Exercises, so that no other Dictionary is wanted in writing them. The whole plan is carried through with great care and fidelity. *Fabricando fit faber*, is the author's motto; and he has produced a work, calculated, we think, to facilitate in no ordinary degree the student's labor in acquiring the French Language.

Progressive French Grammar and Exercises. Philadelphia: Kay & Brother. pp. 251.

Fireside Education. By the Author of "Peter Parley's Tales."

New York: F. J. Huntington. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 12mo. pp. 396.

Graphics; a Manual of Drawing and Writing. For the Use of Schools and Families. By Rembrandt Peale. Third Edition, improved. Philadelphia: J. Whetham. 12mo. pp. 96.

Historical, Geographical, and other Lessons from Memory; compiled by the Principal of Friends' Infant School. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins.

A Complete System of Practical Book-keeping. By Nicholas Harris, A. M., Principal of the Hartford Commercial Academy. Hartford. 8vo. pp. 224.

Remarks on Teaching Penmanship. By B. F. Foster, Author of "The Art of Rapid Writing," "Elementary Copy Books," &c. &c. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 12mo. pp. 11.

HISTORY.

Connecticut Historical Collections, containing a General Collection of Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, etc., relating to the History and Antiquities of every Town in Connecticut, with Geographical Descriptions. Illustrated by 190 Engravings. By John Warren Barber. Second Edition. New Haven: Durril & Peck. 8vo. pp. 500.

Historical Sketches of the Origin and Progress of the Massachusetts Medical Society. By Ebenezer Alden, M. D., Fellow of the Society. Read at the Annual Meeting of the Society, May 30th, 1838. Boston: Whipple & Damrell. 8vo.

Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Vol. VII. of the Third Series. Boston: C. C. Little & Co. 8vo. pp. 304.

History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic. By William H. Prescott. Third Edition. Boston: C. C. Little & Co. 3 vols. 8vo.

LAW.

An Abridgment of the American Law of Real Property. By Francis Hilliard, Counsellor at Law. In 2 vols. Vol. I. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 519.

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INDEX

TO THE

FORTY-SEVENTH VOLUME

OF THE

North-American Review.

A.

Adams, John, cited as to Washington becoming commander-in-chief of the American army, 367.

Æthelstan, King, his Victory at Brunanburh, 115.

Agricultural geology, 243, 250.

Agriculture, in Massachusetts, 256 — effects of education on, in Europe, 290 — increased interest in, 445.

Alfieri, 217 — the last of the Italian classics, 218.

Alfred, King, Anglo-Saxon Version of Boëthius, by, reviewed, 90 — 118, 126 — manuscript by, 91 — notice of, and of his character, 125 — writings by, 126 — cited, 127 — his complaint of the ignorance of his age, 292.

Alliteration, commonness of, 100, 101, *note*.

Amazons, dress of, described, 152.

America, Voyages to, ascribed to the Zeni of Venice, reviewed, 177 — expedition of the Wandering Brothers to, 178 — voyage to, by Madoc, in 1170, *ib.* — by Cortereal, 179 — by Szkolney, *ib.* — by the family of Zeno, 180, 191.

American Health Convention, proceedings of the, May 30th, 1838, with Resolutions and Addresses, reviewed, 381 — importance of the enterprise, 393.

American History, importance of, 480.

Amherst, descent from the merchant ship, on the eastern coast of China, 400.

Anglo-Saxon language, facilities for studying the, 92 — notice of the, 94 — Cardale cited on the dialects of the, *ib.*, *note* — similarity of names in the, to the Indian, 98, *note*.

Anglo-Saxon literature, works on, reviewed, 90 — value of, 91 — remarks on the, 99 — the poetry of, 100 — Beowulf, 102 — Cædmon, 106 — poetical fragments in, 113 — odes and ballads, 115 — Battle of Brunanburh, *ib.* — the Poetic Calendar, 118 — minor poems in, 121 — Soul's Complaint against the Body, 122 — rhyming poem, *ib.* — The Grave, 124 — the prose of, 125 — Saxon Laws and Saxon Chronicle, *ib.* and *note* — King Alfred's Writings, 126 — Apollonius of Tyre, and Bible Translations, 129 — Dialogue between Saturn and Solomon, cited, 130 — Colloquy of Ælfric, cited, 132.

Anglo-Saxon poetry, structure of the verse of, 100 — other peculiarities of, 101.

Anglo-Saxon prose, 125.

Anglo-Saxons, notice of the, 95 — their conversion, 96 — their religious habits, 98.

Antillia, manuscript map of, at Venice, 179.

Apollonius of Tyre, Anglo-Saxon Version of, 129, and *note*.

Apples in England, 430 — excellence of, in New England, 431, 433 — on the uses of, 432.
Apple trees, early cultivation of, in New England, 424 — grafting, 431 — the propagation of, 432 — size and hardihood of, 433 — average life of, *ib.*
Arabian Expedition to North America, 178.
Artist, Michael Angelo's definition of, 63.
Asiatic dress, compared with the Egyptian, 151, 152.
Astronomy, Garland's Address on, noticed, 493.
Auburn Penitentiary system of punishment, considered, 458, 462.
Auscultation, in medical practice, nature and process of, 165, 166, 170 —the bearing of,on percussion,174.
Avenbrugger, inventor of percussion in medical practice, 169.
Azeglio, Massimo d', his Ettore Fieramosca, 225.

B.

Barlow, Joel, sells Ohio lands to Frenchmen, 35.
Beowulf, Anglo-Saxon Poem of, 91 — noticed and analyzed, 102 — Thorkelin's editions of, *ib.* and *note*, 134 — the third canto of, cited, 104.
Berchet, Giovanni, Poesie di, reviewed, 206 — remarks on his writings, 232 — cited, 233, *note.*
Biddle, Richard, on the discovery of Newfoundland by Cortereal, 179 — on the voyages of the Zeni, 195.
Birds, the destruction of, 252.
Black Hawk. See *Drake.*
Blue Laws, non-existence of, 484.
Bombazine, origin of the word, 157.
Bosworth, J., his Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language, reviewed, 90 — importance of it, 92.
Bouquet, receives captives from the Indians, 14.
Boylston, Ward Nicholas, fund established by, for medical prize dissertations, 161.
Boylston Prize Dissertations for the years 1836 and 1837, by O. W. Holmes, M. D., reviewed, 161 — a History of Intermittent Fever, *ib.* — on the Nature and Treatment of Neuralgia, 164 — on the Utility and Importance of Direct Exploration in Medical Practice, *ib.* — the publication of the, *ib.*
Bradbury, Charles, his History of Kennebunk Port, noticed, 259.
Braddock's expedition and defeat, Washington's connexion with, 356.
Brewster, Charles W., National Standard of Costumes by, reviewed, 148.
British ministry, see *Sparks.*
Broadhead, Colonel, expels Virginians who had crossed the Ohio River, 8, *note* — influence of, over the Indians, 9, *note.*
Butler, errors in his History, 4.
Bugard, B. F., his French Grammar, noticed, 505.

C.

Cædmon, Paraphrase of Holy Writ by, 106 — notice of, *ib.* — of his Work, 110 — cited, 111 — its authenticity considered, 113.
Cahokia, on the settlement of, 4.
Callender, John, notice of him and of his Historical Discourse on the Civil and Religious Affairs of Rhode Island, 253, 254.
Canals in Ohio, 43, 54.
Canton, American trade with, 398, 404 — American envoy ordered from, 402 — British trade with, cut off, 403.
Capital, in political economy, 86.
Cardale, cited on the Saxon Dialects, 94, *note.*
Carey, Henry C., Principles of Political Economy by, reviewed, 73 — his bird's eye retrospects, 76 — conclusions of,respecting value,82.
Carpenter, E. G., Address on Popular Education by, noticed, 493.
Cartoons of Raphael, 487, *note.*
Catechism, legislation as to teaching the, 277.
Catholic nations compared with Protestant, 290.
Channing, William Ellery, on the Education of teachers, 306.
Chase, Salmon P., his Statutes of Ohio and the North Western Territory, reviewed, 1 — notice of the work, 3 — errors of, 4, 8, *note.*

Cherokee Alphabet, account of the, 146.
Cherry tree, the naturalization of the, to the climate of Europe, 446.
China, American trade with, 398 — institutions of, 399 — descent of Lindsey and Gutzlaff upon the eastern coast of, 400 — misadventure of Lord Napier there, 403 — on the establishment of consular agencies in, 419.
Chinese, remarks on the, 404 — system of instruction in, 405.
Cider, law of the Plymouth colony respecting, 424.
Cincinnati, first settlement of, 26 — troops sent to, 29 — exports of, in 1836, 34. See *Losantiville*.
Civilization, necessity of roads to, 291 — Guizot's General History of, in Europe, noticed, 496.
Classical dress, the ancient, described, 153.
Clerk, Lord Justice, on the number of criminals in Scotland, 314.
Climate, observations on, in different countries, 427 — the American better for fruits than the English, 429.
Coal, substance resembling, found in Maine, 244.
Cochin-China, Roberts's negotiation at, 406.
Coffee berry, effects of the, on temperance, 449.
Columbus, Christopher, 181.
Commerce, in Massachusetts, 257.
Common Schools, establishment of, in Massachusetts, 278 — religious qualifications necessary for teaching, 279 — legislation respecting, 281 — defects in, 299 — means for improving, 300 — establishment of a Board of Education for, 301 — libraries for, 302 — interference of private schools with, 303 — amount paid for, in Massachusetts, 304 — on the education of teachers for, 306 — a prevention of crime by, 312, 313. See *Education* and *Schools*.
Conchology, Dr. Gould's Report on, 253.
Connecticut Reserve. See *Western Reserve*.
Consular agencies, on the establishment of, in Eastern Asia, 395, 419 — remarks on American, 421.
Conway's Cabal, account of, in Washington's Writings, 372.
Conybeare, John Josias, Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry by, reviewed, 91.
Cooper, J. Fennimore, his Homeward Bound, noticed, 488 — his late productions. *ib.*
Cortereal, John Vas, discovery of Newfoundland by, 179.
Corvisart, awakens an interest in medical percussion, 169.
Costumes, National Standard of, by Charles W. Brewster, reviewed, 148 — distinguishing marks in the Grecian and Roman, 157.
Cow, a Yankee boy's journey with a, 41, *note*.
Cowardice, Dewey on moral, 474.
Credit given to minors, legislation respecting, 278.
Crime, relation of ignorance to, 311.
Cutler, Manasseh, Reverend, anecdote of, at the passing of the vote respecting schools in Ohio, 48.
Cuyahoga Falls, notice of, 40.

D.

Dana, Dr., his method of analyzing soils, 250.
Dano-Saxon language, remarks on the, 94, 96, *note*.
Dante, the father of romanticism, 215.
Dark Ages, mode of life in the, 98.
Dartmouth, Earl of, cited respecting Bunker's Hill battle, 368.
Dayton, in Ohio, settled, 31 — facts as to, 32 —, Germans settled near, 33.
Denman, Matthias, his interest in the early settlement of the Miami country, 22.
Deserted Bride. See *Morris*.
Dewey, Orville, Moral Views of Commerce, Society, and Politics, in Twelve Discourses by, reviewed, 469 — early works by, 472 — his blemishes and excellences, *ib.* — his views on trade considered, 473 — cited, 474.
Diet, inconveniences as to, 393.
Dietetics. See *American Health Convention*.

Domestic Education, early attention to, in Massachusetts, 277.
Drake, Benjamin, the Life and Adventures of Black Hawk by, noticed, 504.
Dress, time given to, 148 — causes of difference in, 149 — the Egyptian described, 150 — Asiatic compared with the Egyptian, 151, 152 — of the Amazons, 152 — the Grecian female, 153 — the Roman female, 154 — the Roman male, 156, 157 — historical account of, in England, 158.
Du Quesne. See *Pitt*, Fort.
Dwight, Dr., cited respecting insects, 444.

E.

Eastern Asia, notice of embassies to, 395 — American trade with, 397, 414 — on protecting it, 412 — on establishing consular agencies in, 418 — plan for their establishment, 419.
Editor's Note, 262.
Education, Milton's definition of, 61, 283 — works on, reviewed, 273 — early interest in, in Massachusetts, 274 — legislation respecting, 277 — definition and objects of, 282 — connexion of, with religion, 284 — hopes from the prevalence of, 287 — change in the human family produced by, 288 — effects of on modern Europe, 289 — on agriculture, 290 — on manufactures, 291 — on internal intercourse and social wellbeing, 293 — upon the individual, 294, 295 — objects of, are twofold, 294, — influence of moral, on happiness, 296 — defects in, 299 — necessity of providing for a universal, *ib.* — means for improving the system of, 300 — establishment of a board of, in Massachusetts, 301 — amount paid for, in Massachusetts, 304 — system of, in China, 405 — Carpenter's Address on Popular, noticed, 493.
Education Almanac, published at Cincinnati, 48.
Egyptian dress, described, 150 — compared with the Asiatic, 151, 152.
Eliot, Jared, the father of New England husbandry, 425.
Eloquence, Milton's idea of, 64.
Emmons, Dr., Report of, on Animals, noticed, 251.
Endicott, Governor, his pear tree, 424, 435.
England, historical account of dress in, 158 — ignorance in, in the time of Alfred, 292.
Entomology, Dr. Harris's Report on, 252.
Europe, effects of education on modern, 289. See *Guizot.*
Everett, Edward, Address of, at Williams College, noticed, 261.
Exploration in Medical Practice, Holmes's Dissertation on, 164 — the nature and process of, 165.

F.

Fairfax, Lord, facts respecting, and Washington's intimacy with him, 341.
Family education and government, legislation in Massachusetts respecting, 277.
Fashions in dress, historical account of, 148.
Federal Constitution, Washington's influence in the formation and adoption of the, 323.
Feet, ancient coverings for the, 157, 158.
Felspar, abundance and purity of, in Maine, 243.
Ferguson, James, his Annual Address before the Albany Institute, April, 1838, noticed, 493.
Fever. See *Intermittent Fever.*
Fishes, Dr. Storer's Report on, 252.
Flint, errors of, 4.
Flint, Hezekiah, one of the first settlers of Ohio, anecdote of, 1.
Foscolo, Ugo, and his writings, 219.
Fox, Samuel, translations from the Anglo-Saxon by, 118.
Freedom, Dewey on, 477.
French Creek, ancient names for, 6, *note.*
French emigrants, settlement of, in Ohio, 35 — their troubles, *ib.* — their mode of clearing land, 37 — the French grant to, by Congress, 38.
Frisland, the Zeni in, 185 — the locality of, 199.

Fruits, in America and England compared, 429 — decline of ancient varieties of cultivated, 436 — on the production of new, 437 — increase of delicate, 445.
Fruit trees, early cultivation of, in New England, 424 — insects injuring, 443.

G.

Gage, Thomas, General, correspondence of with the Earl of Dartmouth, in Washington's Writings, 367 — his recall, 368.
Gallipolis, in Ohio, history of the settlement of, 34.
Gardening. See *Horticulture*.
Garland, Landon C., his Address on Astronomy, noticed, 493.
Geology of Maine, Jackson's Second Report on the, noticed, 241.
Geology of Massachusetts, Hitchcock's Report on a Reëxamination of the, noticed, 250.
George, Prince, his journey from Windsor to Petworth in 1703, 292.
George III., extracts from the correspondence of, with Lord North, respecting the American revolution, 326.
Giannone, Pietro, L'Esule di, reviewed, 206, 232.
Gilman, Caroline, works by, noticed, 489.
Giunti, Tomaso, his edition of Ramusio's Collection of Voyages, 197, 203.
Glee-man, the Anglo-Saxon, described, 99.
Goethe, habits of, as to sketches, 467.
Gould, A. A., Report of, on Shells, noticed, 253.
Grafting, remarks on, 423, 431.
Graham, Sylvester, remarks by, 386, 390.
Grammar Schools, legislation respecting, in Massachusetts, 279, 281.
Granite, variety and abundance of, in the State of Maine, 242.
Grapes, on the cultivation of, in America, 439.
Grecian female dress, described, 153.
Greenland, early discoveries of Zeno in, 188, 205 — commerce with, 188.
Greenville, treaty of, 30, 31.
Grossi, Tommaso, works by, reviewed, 206, 230 — notice of, and of his writings, 229.
Guesclin, Du, constable of France, ignorance of, 292.
Guilford, Nathan, editor of an Education Almanac at Cincinnati, 48 — object of, in becoming senator, *ib.*
Guizot, his General History of Civilization in Europe, noticed, 496.
Gutzlaff, his descent upon the eastern coast of China, 400.

H.

Hair, great care anciently bestowed upon the arrangement of the, 153.
Hall, James, errors of, 4 — his Notes on the Western States, noticed, 499 — its identity with his Statistics of the West, *ib.* — work by him and Thomas L. McKenney, on the Indians, 134, 137.
Happiness, necessity of morality to, illustrated, 296.
Harmar, General, arrival of, at Cincinnati, 29 — his unsuccessful expedition, *ib.*
Harris, T. W., Report of, on insects of the order *coleoptera*, noticed, 252.
Harvard College, facts as to the foundation of, 276.
Hats, as an article of dress, 151.
Head, on coverings for the, 151, 157, 159, 160.
Health. See *American Health Convention*.
Historical Romance in Italy, 224 — subjects for, 225.
Hitchcock, Edward, his Report on a Reëxamination of the Economical Geology of Massachusetts, noticed, 250.
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, M. D., Boylston Prize Dissertations by, reviewed, 161 — on the Nature and Treatment of Neuralgia by, 164 — on the Utility and Importance of Direct Exploration in Medical Practice by, *ib.*
Home, the American's attachment to, 478.
Homeward Bound, or the Chase, noticed, 488.

Hone slate, abundance of, in Maine, 243.
Horn stone, mountain of, in Maine, 243.
Horticulture, on works respecting, 423, 425, 426 — increasing interest in, 426 — importance of pursuits in, 446 — European interest in American, 447 — effects of, on the progress of temperance, 449 — means of improving, 450.
Huguenots, introduce the more delicate fruits into New England, 424, 435.
Hutchinson, Thomas, geographer of the United States, surveys lands in the West, 9.

I.

Ignorance, connexion of, with morality, 284 — in England in the time of Alfred, 292 — of the constable of France, *ib.* — relation of, to crime, 311.
Independence, the feeling of, a safeguard of morality, 286 — urged, 474.
Indians, lands ceded to the United States by, 9 — troubles from the, at the settlement of the Miami country, 24, 25 — treaty with, 30 — work by McKenney and Hall on the, reviewed, 134 — its history and value, 137 — unsuccessful attempts to civilize, 138 — false representations of, by poets and novelists, *ib.* — their eloquence and mode of reasoning, 140 — remarks on treaty-making with them, *ib.* — sale of McKenney and Hall's work in England, 148.
Insects, Dr. Harris's Report on, 252 — injuring fruit trees, 443.
Intelligence, on the transmission of, 292.
Intemperance, frequency of, among the Anglo-Saxons, 98. See *Horticulture.*
Intercourse, influence of knowledge upon, 291.
Intermittent Fever, a Dissertation on the History of, in New England, by O. W. Holmes, M. D., 161 — comparative infrequency of, 162 — case of, described by Dr. Partridge, 163.
Iron, valuable ores of, in Maine, 243.
Italian language, popularity of the study of the, 207.
Italian literature, 209, 213 — in a state of transition, 214 — moral tone of, 231 — modern writers on, 232.
Italy, present aspect and regeneration of, 208 — romantic literature in, 209, 213 — revolution of, during the age of Napoleon, 210 — political condition of, 211 — character of the literature of, 213, 215, 231 — skepticism in, at the fall of Napoleon, 223.

J.

Jackson, Charles T., M. D., his Second Report on the Geology of Maine, noticed, 241 — his attention to agricultural geology, 243.
Jenkins, Warren, The Ohio Gazetteer and Traveller's Guide by, reviewed, 1.
Jewels, passion for, among the Romans, 155.
Jewett, Isaac Appleton, Passages in Foreign Travel by, noticed, 501.
Joanna of Naples, by the Author of Miriam, noticed, 491.
Joutel, chronicler of La Salle's voyage, 4.
Jumonville, Washington's agency in the death of, considered, 352 — particular notice of, commended to the attention of M. Guizot, 380.

K.

Kaskaskia, on the settlement of, 4.
Kemble, John M., his edition of the Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf, reviewed, 91, 134.
Kennebunk Port, History of, by Charles Bradbury, noticed, 259 —
Kenrick, William, The New American Orchardist, by, reviewed, 423 commended, 426.
Kentucky Historical Society, 253, 255.
King, portrait painter of Indian chiefs, 134.
Kingsley, James L., Historical Discourse at New Haven by, reviewed, 480.

Knight, Thomas Andrew, his labors in horticulture, 437, 446.
Knowledge. See *Education*.

L.

Lafayette, General, Sparks's obligations to, 326 — character and services of, in the Revolutionary war, 371.
Land, on value in, 82.
Lands, ceded to the Union by individual States, 8 and *note* — by Indians, 9.
Language, Milton's mastery of, 63.
La Salle, errors respecting, 4 — his chroniclers, *ib*.
Lear, antiquity of the story of, 114.
Letters, on the transmission of, 292.
Libraries for common schools, 302.
Lieber, Francis, his Essay on Penal Law and Uninterrupted Solitary Confinement, reviewed, 452 — commended, 463 — his Manual of Political Ethics, noticed, 494.
Logan, his place of residence, 14.
Long Island, error in relation to the battle of, corrected, 369.
Losantiville, in Ohio, origin of the name and settlement of, 22, 26 — population of, 29 — named Cincinnati, *ib*.
Lungs, on direct exploration for diseased, 167.

M.

McIntosh, Fort, treaty of, 9.
McKenney, Thomas L., work on the Indians by him and James Hall, reviewed, 134 — Qualifications of, for the work, 136 — value of the work, 137 — particulars respecting it, 142, 148.
Madoc, land discovered by, in 1170, 178.
Maine. See *Jackson*.
Majority principle, of always being right, considered, 477.
Manufactures, Statistical Tables of, in Massachusetts, 258 — effects of knowledge on, 291.
Manzoni, notice of him and his writings, 221 — of the school of, 226.
Marietta, first plan and settlement of, 13 — historical associations with, 14 — first settlers of, 15 — naming of the city and public squares of, *ib*. — its growth, 17 — letter respecting, cited, 18.
Mariotti's Romanze, noticed, 245.
Massachusetts, Reports on the Geological and Zoölogical Survey of, noticed, 250 — Statistical Tables, exhibiting the Condition and Products of certain Branches of Industry in, April 1st, 1837, noticed, 255 — works on education in, reviewed, 273 — legislation by, respecting domestic education, 277 — common schools, 278, 281 — grammar schools, 279 — establishment of a Board of Education in, 301 — sum appropriated by, for the education of teachers, 307.
Massachusetts Board of Education, their establishment and First Report, 273, 301, 302 — views of, on the education of teachers, 308.
Massachusetts Historical Society, noticed, 253.
Mazzini, Giovanni, notice of, 228.
Meigs, Return Jonathan, appointed to administer laws in the Muskingum valley, 15 — poetry of, cited, 24.
Miami country, notice of the settlement of the, 20 — troubles there from the Indians, 24 — effect of the treaty at Greenville on the, 31 — causes of the rapid advance of the, 32 — internal improvements, population, and products, 33.
Mifflin, Thomas, General, agency of, in Conway's cabal, 372 — is president of Congress at the close of the war, and replies to Washington's valedictory address, 374.
Milton, John, Poetical Works of, reviewed, 56 — his contemporaneous fame, 57 — his Defence of the People of England and his Areopagitica, 58 — his modern fame and influence, 59 — his delineation of man, 60 — natural endowments of, 61 — his education, 63 — moral greatness of, 64 — his humility, 66 — a schoolmaster, 67 — character of his age, 68 — his love of liberty, 69 — relation of his poetry to his character, 70.
Mohongo and her child, account of, 143.
Money value, differences in, 81.

Monti, compared to Dante, 219.
Moral cultivation and character, the preëminent worth of, 285 — the ordinary consequences of, detailed, 295 — necessity of, to happiness, 296.
Morality, connexion of, with ignorance, 284 — the feeling of independence a safeguard of, 286 — removes the causes of poverty, 298.
Morris, George P., The Deserted Bride and other Poems by, noticed, 504.
Muscat, false representations to the Sultan of, by a British functionary, 411, *note* — treaty with, 415 — notice of the Sultan of, *ib.* — trade with, 416.
Muskingum, valley of the, selected for settlement, 11.

N.

Napier, Lord, misadventure of, in China, 402.
Navigation in Massachusetts, 256.
Neuralgia, Nature and Treatment of, a Boylston Prize Dissertation, by O. W. Holmes, M. D., 164.
New England, diminution of intermittent fevers in, 162 — early education in, 275 — early cultivation of fruit trees in, 424.
New England Village, Sketches of a, noticed, 502.
Newfoundland, discovery of, by John Vas Cortereal, 179.
New Haven, Kingsley's Discourse at, reviewed, 480 — interest in the place, and associations, 482 — early government of, 484.
Newspapers, on the transmission of, 292.
Normal Schools, the establishment of, 308, 318.
North, Lord, views of, at different stages of the American War, 322, 326.
Novaculite, abundance of, in Maine, 243.

O.

Ohio, works on, reviewed, 1 — causes of its rapid growth, 2 — scarcity of materials for its history, 3 — the late period of its settlement, 6 — first settlers of, and first steps towards a settlement, 8, 13, 15 — St. Clair arrives at, as governor, 16 — settlement of the Miami country, 20 — effects of a flood in, 25 — effects of St. Clair's defeat on the settlement of, 30 — the three settlements in, before Wayne's treaty, 38 — territorial and State governments of, 41 — steamboats in, 42 — canals and roads, 43, 54 — commercial facilities of, 46 — common schools in, 47 — high Schools and Colleges in, 50 — influences favorable to the future growth of, 51 — statistical abstract respecting, 52.
Ohio Company, facts relative to them and their lands, 10, 19.
Ohio Historical Society, 3.
Orchardist. See *Kenrick*.
Ornithology, Mr. Peabody's Report on, 252.
Ox, Dr. Emmons on the, 251.

P.

Painters, Historical Sketches of, Old, noticed, 485.
Palmyra, letters from, 464.
Paolo. See *Poli*.
Parsees of India, notice of the, 417, *note*.
Parsons, Samuel Holden, General, agent of the Ohio Company, selection of lands in the West by, for a settlement, 10, 11, 19.
Partridge, Dr., case of intermittent fever described by, 163.
Peabody, W. O. B., Report of, on Ornithology, noticed, 252 — cited as to the destruction of birds, *ib.*
Peach tree, introduction of, into New England, 424 — on the origin of, and its cultivation in New England, 437 — introduction of, into Rome, 438.
Pear tree, Governor Endicott's, 424, 435 — observations respecting the, and its culture, 434 — varieties of, verging to extinction, 435 — planted by the French on the Detroit river, 446.
Peat bogs in Maine, 244.
Pellico, Silvio, his Prisons and other writings, 226.
Pennsylvania penitentiary system of punishment, advocated, 458.
Peplum, as an article of dress, 154.

Percussion in medical practice, the method of, 166 — historical notice of, 169 — the bearing of, on auscultation, 174.
Philanthropy, the true promoters of, 283.
Pilgrims, interest of, in education, 274 — foundation of Harvard College by the, 275.
Pindemonte, notice of, and of his writings, 219, 220.
Pitt, Fort, facts respecting, 5.
Poli, travels of the, 181 — their return to Venice, 182.
Political distinction, on the pursuit of, 448.
Political Economy, Carey's Principles of, reviewed, 73 — defined, *ib.* — meaning and causes of value in, 74 — money value in, 79 — differences in money value in, 81 — agents, instruments, and materials of production, 82 — excess of population, 85 — definition of *capital* in, 86 — affected by the character and habits of a population, 87, 247 — division of labor in, 88 — defects in treatises on, *ib.*, 247 — Vethake's Principles of, noticed, 246.
Political Ethics, Lieber's Manual of, noticed, 494.
Polo. See *Poli*.
Poor-laws, remarks on, 248.
Population, on excess of, 85.
Poverty, on moral education as a removal of the causes of, 298.
Preaching, the appropriate business of, 470 — on American, 471.
Prisons, facts as to ignorance in the tenants of, 312. See *Punishment*.
Private Schools, interference of, with common schools, 303.
Probus, or Rome in the Third Century, reviewed, 464 — defects of former writers on the subject, *ib.* — its peculiar characteristics, 465 — its discussions of the evidences of Christianity, 465 — personages and their characters, 466 — style, *ib.* — the narrative, *ib.* — cited, 467.
Production, instruments and materials of, 82.
Protestant nations compared with Catholic, 290.
Public lands, ordinances of Congress respecting, 9 — price of, in Ohio, 13, *note*.
Punishment, origin of the right of society to inflict, 452 — nature, standard, and object of, 455 — Lieber tabular abstract of the characteristics of sound, 456 — various kinds of, and their excellences and defects, 457.
Push-mā-ta-hā, the Choctaw warrior, notice of, 144.
Putnam, Rufus, memorializes Congress, 8.

R.

Ramusio's Collection of Voyages, 196 — Giunti's edition of, 197, 203.
Raphael, notice of, and of his paintings, 485 — his cartoons, 487, *note*.
Records of Travel, noticed, 495.
Red Jacket, an Indian chief, notice of, 142.
Reformation, effects of the, in Europe, 289.
Religion, connexion of, with ignorance, 284.
Rhode Island Historical Society Collections, Vol. IV. noticed, 253.
Roads, necessity of, to civilization, 291.
Roberts, Edmund, his Embassy to the Eastern Courts, reviewed, 395 — notice of, and of his services, 396 — ordered from Canton, 402 — cited on Chinese instruction, 405, 408 — his negotiation in Cochin-China, 407 — at Siam, 409 — at Muscat, 415 — remarks on his work, 416.
Robinson, John, speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses, communicates the thanks of the Assembly to Washington, 361.
Roman dress, described, 154,156,157.
Romantic Poetry in Italy, 209, 214 — early writers of, 215 — Alfieri, 217, 218 — Monti, Foscolo, and Pindemonte, 219, 220 — Manzoni, 221 — remarks on it, 235.
Romanticism, Italian, remarks on, 214, 226 — Grossi, 229 — Giannone, 232 — Berchet, *ib.*
Rome in the Third Century. See *Probus*.
Roofing slate in the State of Maine, 242.

Rumsey, James, his project of navigating the Ohio by steamboats, 42.
Ruschenberger, W. S. W., his Voyage round the World; including an Embassy to Muscat and Siam, reviewed, 395 — its character and interest, 417.

S.

St. Clair, Arthur, General, 14 — his arrival at Muskingum, and his authority, 16 — his defeat, 30.
St. Gregory, conversion of the Angles during the popedom of, 96.
Saxon dress, described, 158.
Saxons, notice of the, and of their early settlement in England, 95.
School books, errors in European, 207.
Schools, Wines on the government of, noticed, 498. See *Common Schools.*
Schools in Ohio, account of the, 47 — laws and projects respecting the, 49 — present state of the funds for, 55.
School teachers, laws respecting the religious qualifications of, 279, 280 — on the education of, 306. See *Teachers.*
Sciolvus, voyage of, to Greenland and Labrador, 179.
Scioto Land Company, 36.
Scioto valley, fertility of the, 38.
Scotch School System and its effects, 215.
Scott, Sir Walter, popularity of his works in Italy, 224 — his interest in transplanting trees, 442, *note.*
Sequoyah, inventor of the Cherokee Alphabet, notice of, and of his labors, 146.
Serpentine on Deer Isle, 243.
Shreve, Henry M., his steamboat on the Ohio, 42.
Siam, Roberts's negotiation at, 409, — account of the king of, 410.
Sinclair, Earl of the Orkneys, account of, 186.
Sketches. See *New England Village.*
Slates. See *Roofing slate.*
Slavery, exclusion of, from Ohio, 7.
Small pox, remarks on the, 345.
Social well-being, influence of knowledge upon, 291.
Solitary Confinement, Lieber's Essay on, reviewed, 452 — reasons for, 458.
Sparks, Jared, Life and Writings of Washington by, reviewed, 318 — his qualifications for the work, 319 — his manner of executing it, 320 — his obligations to Lord Holland, 323, 326 — to Lafayette, 326 — to Mr. Justice Story and Samuel A. Eliot, 328 — his plan and purposes in the work, *ib.*, 329 — original materials collected by, respecting the correspondence between General Gage and the Earl of Dartmouth, 367 — errors corrected by, 369 — cited as to Washington's religious character, 376 — liberality of the British and French ministers to, 380.
Sporting of seeds, 436.
States, cession of lands by, to the Union, 8, and *note.*
Statues, difficulty of representing modern costumes in, 157.
Steam, advantages of, to society, 292.
Steamboats on the Mississippi and its tributaries, 43.
Stearns, Samuel H., Life and Select Discourses of, noticed, 236 — facts respecting, *ib.* — the memoir of, 239.
Storer, Dr, Report of, on Fishes, noticed, 252.
Stowe, Professor, Report of, on Schools, 50.
Symmes, John Cleves, his interest in the purchase and early settlement of the Miami country, 20 — perplexities of, as to purchase, 22 — Judge of the Northwest Territory, 23 — sketch of changes made in the contract of, *ib.*, *note* — dislike and opposition to, 28 — in collision with St. Clair, 30 — uniformly unfortunate, 31.

T.

Tanacharisson, services rendered by, in the French War, 351.
Tartary, travels of the Poli into, 181 — measures for converting the Great Khan of, to Christianity, 183.
Teachers, on the education of, 306, 309 — hints to, 498. See *School teachers.*

Tecumthé, an Indian chief, notice of, 145.
Temperance, effects of the culture of gardens on, 449.
Thomaston, extent of limestone in, 242.
Thorpe, Benjamin, Analecta Anglo-Saxonica by, reviewed, 91.
Tocqueville, Alexis de, Spencer's edition of Reeve's Translation of his Democracy in America, noticed, 503.
Tonti, the Chevalier, account of La Salle's adventures by, 5.
Trade, Dewey's views of, remarked on, 473.
Trade, American with the East, 397 — commencement of it in China, 398 — on protecting, in the East, 412 — extent of it, 414 — with Muscat, 416.
Transplanting trees, 440.
Trees, comparative growth of in America and Europe, 438, *note*— on transplanting, 440.
Tubercles in the lungs, remarks on, 167.
Tupper, Benjamin, Colonel, his visit to the West, and its consequences, 10.

V.

Value, meaning of, in political economy, 74 — laws of, 75 — in money, 79 — in land, 82.
Varnum, James M., extracts from his Oration, July 4th, at Muskingum, 15.
Venice, political and commercial preëminence of the Republic of, during the Middle Ages, 180 — voyages from, to America, *ib.* — travellers from, to Tartary, 181.
Vernon, Mount, origin of the name, 339.
Vethake, Henry, The Principles of Political Economy by, noticed, 246 — his defects, 249.
Vines. See *Grapes*.
Virtue, necessity of to happiness, 296. See *Morality*.
Volney, on the settlement of a French colony in Ohio, 35.

W.

Waa-pa-shaw, a Sioux chief, anecdote of, 145.
Wandering Brothers, expedition of the, to North America, 178.
Washington, Fort, built at Cincinnati, 29.
Washington, George, Sparks's Life and Writings of, reviewed, 318 — value of them in a national point of view, 319 — subsidiary matters appended to the work, 320 — survey of its contents, 321 — his influence after retiring from the American army, 323 — materials for the work, 325 — plan and purpose of it, 328 — importance of the example of, 330 — his ancestry, 333 — his birth, 335 — education and early writings of, 337 — his midshipman's warrant, 340 — early pursuits of, 341 — a surveyor, 342, 344 — adjutant-general, 344 — voyage of, to the West Indies, 345 — attacked with the small pox, 345 — commissioner from Dinwiddie to the French on the Ohio, 347 — his dangers and sufferings, 348 — military service of, in the French war, 350 — agency of, in the death of Jumonville considered, 352 — conduct of, in Braddock's expedition, 356 — married, 360 — member of the House of Burgesses, 361 — Robinson's communication of the thanks of the Assembly to, 361 — his agricultural pursuits, 363 — interest of, in the Revolution, 365 — his nomination and appointment as commander-in-chief of the Continental army, 366 — the relations of, to Lafayette, 370 — his character in his revolutionary career, 374 — his religious character, 375 — his life from the close of the Revolution to his death, 377 — peculiar eminence of the character of, 378 — measures for the foreign circulation of his writings, 379.
Washington, Henry, his valiant defence of Worcester, 333 — cited, *ib.*
Washington, Lawrence, at the siege of Carthagena and capture of Porto Bello, 339 — his voyage to the West Indies, 345 — his death, 346.
Wealth, virtue as a means for accu-

mulating, 296 — on the pursuit of, 448.
Wellington, Duke of, courtesy of his administration to Mr. Sparks, 380.
Western Reserve, in Ohio, history and flourishing state of, 39 — character of the soil, 40 — of the people, *ib.*
Western States. See *Hall*.
Williams College, Everett's Address at, noticed, 261.
Windsor, journey from, to Petworth, in 1703, 292.
E. C., on the government of ls, 498.
Winslow, Hubbard, his Woman as She should be, noticed, 512.

Y.

Yankee boy, anecdote of his travelling with a cow, 41, *note*.
Young Italy, 228.

JUN 5 1939